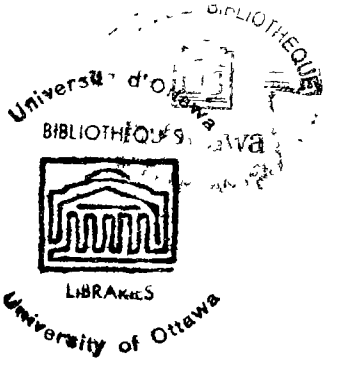
NIAGARA FRONTIER AND THE WAR OF 1812

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA



by
Edward Bernard Hein
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PREFACE

War, for any nation, means co-operation, work, and self sacrifice on the part of civilian, and soldier alike. The purpose of this thesis is to show how effectively the civilian population on the Niagara Frontier aided its country and its fighting men during the War of 1812. This was truly a period in which the souls of the pioneers were severely tried and their noble character has been an inspiration to the descendants of the past generation. It is hoped that this thesis may partially recognize their achievements in laying a solid foundation on which we now enjoy happiness and prosperity.

To have a correct idea of our subject, it is necessary to understand what we mean by the home front. This definitely refers to the manner in which the American civilian population lived, suffered and supported the War effort during the War period from June 18, 1812 to the spring of 1815. We are to consider these pioneers working as a unit in carrying on a war program under wartime restrictions. These restrictions naturally included problems affecting their daily lives, viz., maintaining adequate shelter for their families, obtaining food, food prices, burning of villages, sickness, supplying man power for national defense, financial support to the government,

business reactions, education, recreation, religion, preservation of life against the enemy, morale and like phases of human existence.

It is well to consider in a general way what we consider as the Niagara Frontier. Our discussion concerns the major localities on the Niagara Frontier, viz., Niagara Falls, New York, Lewiston, Williamsville, Black Rock and particularly Buffalo. Therefore, they will be considered throughout the thesis. Only where events and localities on the Canadian side of the border have direct bearing on our subject or aid it in any way, will they be made a part of our discussion.

Data for this thesis was obtained by visiting the Grosvernor Library where was found a map of the Niagara Frontier, a picture of Buffalo Port in 1813 and a picture of the Burning of Buffalo, as well as much other historical material.

The Buffalo Historical Library provided much valuable information on the Niagara Frontier and Buffalo as follows: Studies of the Niagara Frontier; Dobbins Papers: William Hodge Papers; Augustus Porter Papers: Documents Relating to the War of 1812: Issues of the Buffalo Gazette; Manlius Post; Papers relating to the Burning of Buffalo and the Buffalo Historical Publications.

The Buffalo Public Library and those already mentioned also provided valuable information particularly in Annals of Congress 1811-1812; and aid through splendid secondary sources.

This study contains a discussion of the Niagara Frontier in the War of 1812 according to the following parts and a brief summary following each part. After an introductory chapter giving a general description of the Niagara Frontier in the period of the War of 1812 with brief insights into the early history of this frontier, we bring out events leading to the War of 1812 and the reactions of the American citizens to the impending conflict. War on the Frontier receives a bit of attention in the next chapter.

The second part describes the home front immediately preceding the War of 1812 and its reactions when news of the Declaration of War reaches the Niagara Frontier.

Part three gives a glimpse into the village of Buffalo before the war bringing to one's attention the early citizens of "Buffaloe" and their avocations.

Part four considers the effect of the Declaration of War and herein is shown the change of spirit among the population as the realities of war affect them.

In part five, morale is studied. We shall see what was done to maintain a high standard of courage during a period when every bit of encouragement was needed.

The home front business on the Niagara Frontier during 1812-1814 changed to a war time necessity. It is the purpose of part six to explain how business was affected by the arrival of war.

The home front was called upon to contribute considerably to the War effort nationally and locally. Part seven explains in what degree the population co-operated and the achievements they made.

The final chapter concludes our discussion, and hence contains a summary and conclusions, reviewing the extend of the impact of the war on the population and a comparison of the efforts made with the contributions made by the Niagara Frontier in the War of 1898, World War I and II.

Mr. Robert W. Bingham, director and Miss Alice J. Pickup, librarian of the Buffalo Historical Society gave the writer much valuable assistance. The members of the staffs of the Grosvernor Library and the Buffalo Public were must co-operative. Thanks are due to Alfred Zack for the sketches and etchings he made, Arthur M. Ernest for permission to reproduce some pictures of the Buffalo Gazette; Robert Albert for the loan of his photostatic equipment.

Thanks are also due to Miss Evelyn Stutts and Miss Hilda Bender for so gratiously proofreading the thesis.

The writer obtained interviews from Brigadier General Louis Locke Babcock and Robert W. Bingham.

Without the aid of each and everyone mentioned,the thesis could never have been realized. To all I am grateful.

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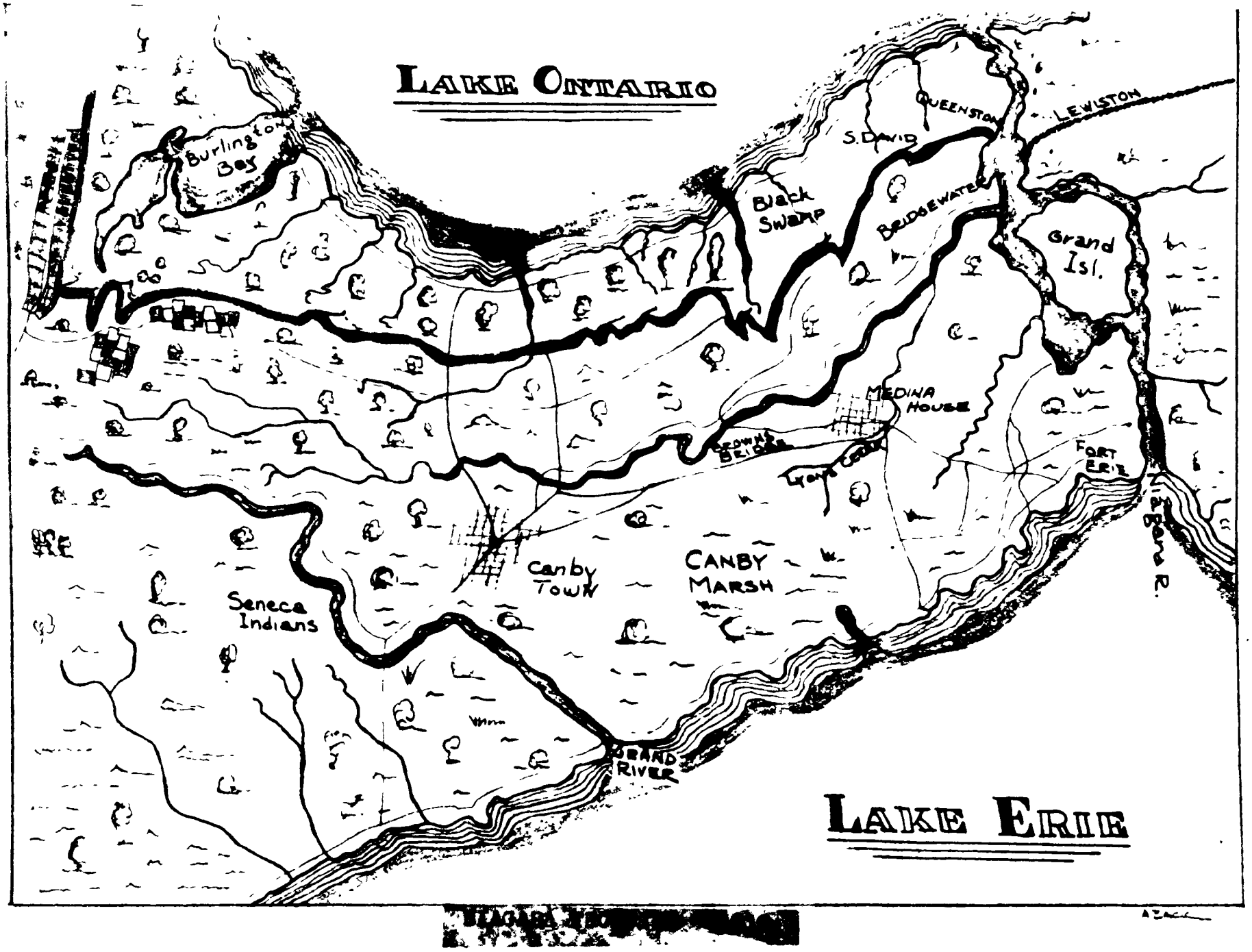
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LAKE ONTARIO
Burlington Bay
Black Swamp
S. DAVID
QUEENSTON
LEWISTON
BRIDGEWATER
Grand Isl.
MEDINA HOUSE
BROWNS BRIDGE
FORT ERIE
Niagara R.
Canby Town
CANBY MARSH
Seneca Indians
GRAND RIVER
LAKE ERIE

PART I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

NIAGARA FRONTIER AS OF 1812

In the never ceasing development of an all-wise Creator's dispensations, the conquests of this western world, the wresting of its vast territory from its native possessors, in particular the area surrounding the Niagara River, became an object of persistent and heroic effort by two great powers.

The Niagara Frontier has always remained an important landmark in the history of the North American Continent. This has been largely due to the part that the Niagara River has played in the history of the frontier.[1]

The Niagara River is the outlet to that cluster of lakes in the Northwest portion of the North American continent, and for the most part now forms the boundary line of the British possessions. It emerges from the foot of Lake Erie, running due north about thirty miles and empties into Lake Ontario. About forty miles from the head of this

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[1] Truman C. White, Our County and its People (Boston: The Boston History Company, 1898), Vol. 1, p.40.

river stands the City of Buffalo on the one side and Fort Erie on the other.

Eighteen miles below Buffalo is the Village of Chippewa, at the mouth of a little river by that name. On the Canadian side, two miles below this are the great falls, and a mile from this, is the famous battle ground of Lundy's Lane. Seven miles farther down is the Village of Queenston with Lewiston on the opposite side. On the right bank at the mouth, is old Fort Niagara built by the French over two hundred years ago. Opposite this fort stands the Town of Newark and a mile above is the British Fort George. This is nearly a mile wide along its whole distance, with the exception of the space between the Falls and Queenston, where it is narrow.

In the War of 1812, this river brought the two nations as nearly face to face as probably any other boundary between them. Consequently, this area was naturally chosen as the seat of the war; and as a result of this, it was the place where more strife and bloodshed occurred than any other.

The Niagara Frontier was thinly settled in 1812. It had a boundary of twenty-six miles on the West, bordering on the Niagara River; twenty-four miles on the North, bounded by Lake Ontario. The territory was in a more exposed condition than any in Western New York. The Frontier

was dotted here and there with small populated villages and nine-tenths of the population were poor and struggling for a scanty subsistence upon small patches or openings in the forest. Black Rock competed in importance with Buffalo as did Williamsville on Ellicott Creek, nine miles north of Buffalo.[2]

Buffalo at this period was handsomely situated at the end of Lake Erie where it commanded a beautiful view of the Lake, of upper Canada and Fort Erie. The site of the village extended quite to the Lake Shore and was primarily built on an eminence of about thirty feet; at a little distance and to the south along the creek were rich bottom lots of marshy soil. The little village with its low banks which were fringed with trees and shrubbery commanded an important position. The population was nearly five hundred. The buildings were located on one main street and mostly made of wood and painted white, though here and there stood a few brick and stone structures. There were four taverns, eight stores, two schools and a weekly paper. In the Spring of 1812, Chippewa Street was the northern boundary of the village lots, but a few scattered settlers dwelt beyond these lots as far as North Street. Beyond that were farms

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[2] Frank Severance, Dobbins Papers, Buffalo Historical Society Publications, 1905, Vol. VIII, pp.257-260.

and army barracks.[3]

The history of the Niagara Frontier region really begins with Jacques Cartier, a French explorer, who on May 10, 1534, guided his two small vessels into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It was not untill 1608 that a French trading station was opened by Samuel de Champlain on the St.Lawrence. Later this settlement became the city of Quebec. After considerable exploring, he entered what is now the north eastern part of New York State.

In the year 1640, two Jesuit priests came into the Niagara Valley. They were the only white men to enter the region until 1669. In that year, Rene de La Salle, accompanied by two Sulpician priests, passed the mouth of the Niagara River. La Salle returned to France, but on May 12, 1678, he was commissioned to explore the Western part of New France. While in France, La Salle became acquainted with Henri de Tonty. He became La Salle's Lieutenant. In their fairness to the Indians, they were joined by Father Hennepin, a Franciscan Priest, who on January 1, 1679, conducted the first religious service on the Niagara Frontier. It was held at the place where Lewiston is now

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[3] Sophie C. Becker, Sketches of Early Buffalo and the Niagara Region (Buffalo, New York: The McLaughlin Press, 1904), pp.118-119.

located.[4] Before Father Hennepin left for Frontenac he explored the Niagara River to its source to make sure that under favorable winds a ship could reach the lake beyond. On this trip, he passed Grand Island which he called "Le Grand Isle".[5]

The Iroquois had resented the trespassing of the French upon their lands, and for several years they continued to attack the settlements along the St. Lawrence. In the meantime, Monsieur de la Barre had succeeded Count Frontenac as Governor of New France. In 1684, the Governor decided to send an expedition against the savages to crush them, and consequently he called upon all the French soldiers and traders living in New France to aid him. A large force of men came down the lakes from the Middle West. They followed the Niagara River until they reached the site of the present Fort Niagara where they camped.

The Iroquois persuaded La Barre to meet with them on the shore of Lake Ontario. They made excuses for their actions in the past, and La Barre agreed to a treaty of peace. The Western Indians at the mouth of the Niagara River were persuaded to return home without any of the

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[4] Robert W. Bingham, Niagara the Highway of Heroes (Buffalo, New York: Foster and Stewart Publishing Corporation, 1943), pp.15-19.

[5] Ibid., p.20

promised plunder, and as they were enemies of the Iroquois, they had welcomed the chance to join the French.

Soon after this affair occurred Marquis de Denonville succeeded La Barre as Governor. The Iroquois had broken their promises to La Barre, so Denonville decided to destroy their power. Again the Western Allies were summoned, and a great force followed the same route as in 1684 and encamped at the same location at the mouth of the Niagara River.

On July 11, 1687, Denonville landed with his forces at Irondequoit Bay near the present City of Rochester. A small force was left to watch the base, and then the main army started to march inland. The Senecas retreated, destroying their villages and fields as they went although at one place they nearly defeated the French forces in a skirmish. Denonville, now discouraged, returned with his army to the mouth of the Niagara River. There on the site of the present Fort Niagara, Denonville built a stockaded wooded fortress which he called Fort Denonville. He left a commandant with one hundred soldiers in charge, and took the rest of his army across the lake to Fort Frontenac. Later, a ship from Frontenac docked at Fort Denonville with provisions, and after the supplies were unloaded, the ship sailed away. But the soldiers soon found that the supplies were spoiled and could not be used. The Senecas who had gathered outside the gates of the fort refused to



Blessing of the Cross by Father Milet
Mural by Alice Russell Glenny in museum of The Buffalo Historical Society

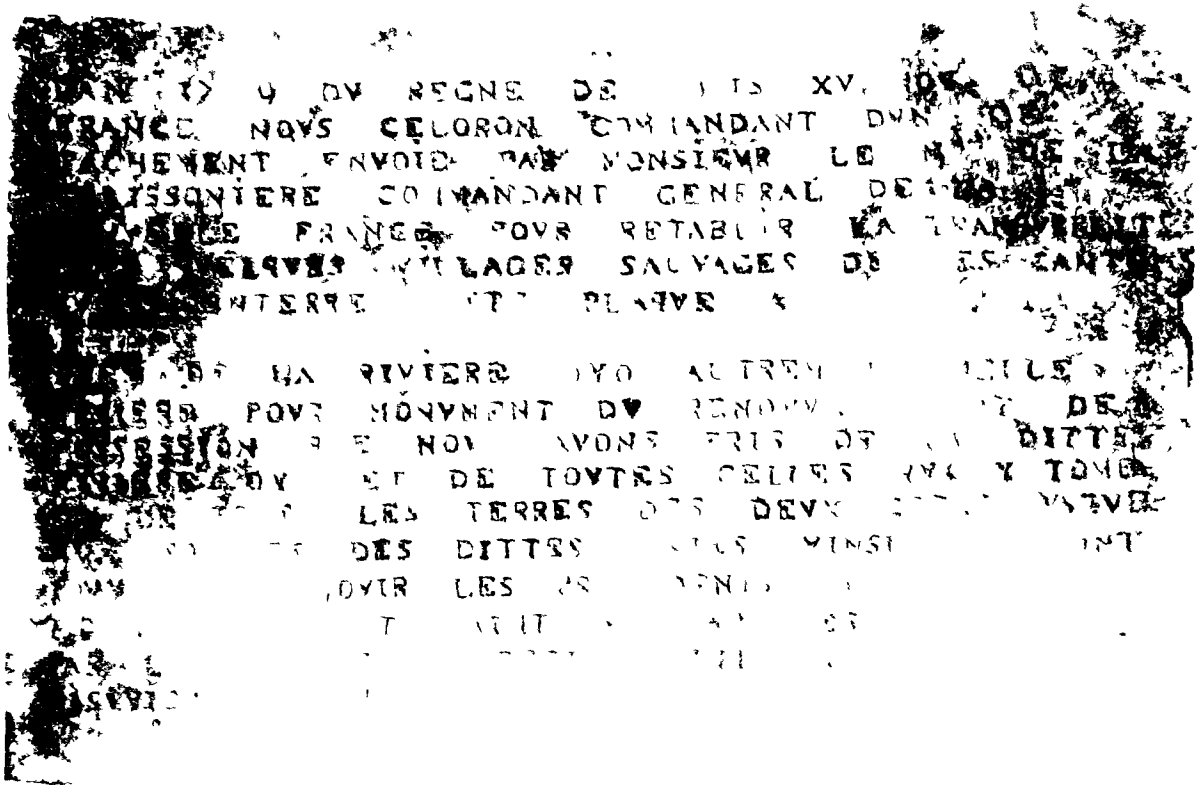
allow the French soldiers to come out and hunt. In desperation, the men of the garrison tried to plant and raise a few crops inside the stockade, but the season was far advanced and the crops failed to mature. Throughout the long, terrible winter which followed, eighty of the men, including the commandant, Chevalier de Troyes, died of starvation and disease.

When spring finally came, a band of friendly Miami Indians arrived at Fort Denonvolle. They went to Frontenac and came back with aid for the besieged men. Father Milet, a Jesuit priest, came with the relief party. His first act was to set up a great wooden cross in honor of the brave men who had died during the winter. On the cross, the priest carved with his own hands the symbol of the Sacred Heart, and the Latin abbreviations for the words "Christ Reigns, Conquers and Masters".[6]

A large enough force had arrived to re-garrison Fort Demonville which was held by the French throughout the summer, while its fate was being discussed far away in Paris. It was found necessary to give up either Fort Frontenac or Fort Denonville, and since Denonville preferred to hold Frontenac, the fort at the mouth of the

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[6] Bingham, op. cit., pp.21-24.
Also see Photostat on following page for further documentation.


DV REGNE DE XV
NOVS CELORON COMMANDANT DVN
ACHEVENT ENVOIE PAR MONSIEVR LE
ISSONIERE COMMANDANT GENERAL DE
FRANCE POVR RETABLIR LA
ELAVES VILLAGES SAUVAGES DE
NTERRE ET PLAINE
DE LA RIVIERE DVO AUTREM
POVR MONVMENT DV
NOVS AVONS PRIS DE
DE TOVTES CELLES
LES TERRES
DES DITTES
POVIR LES

Niagara was abandoned in September, 1688.

For more than a quarter of a century, the mouth of the Niagara River remained unfortified. The English Governor at Albany, fearing lest the French would control the fur trade to the West, sent traders to the region of the Niagara. The French soon captured them.

In 1749, the two Joncaire brothers, Daniel and Philippe accompanied Pierre Joseph Celeron on his expedition to the Ohio region. The Governor of Canada had sent Celeron to reestablish the claims of King Louis XV of France to the inland regions of the North American continent. They explored the Niagara and the eastern shore of Lake Erie, and then they journeyed along Chautauqua Lake and on to the Ohio River. As they traveled they stopped from time to time to bury leaden plates in the ground. Each plate bore an inscription in French which stated that the land had been claimed in the name of the French King.[7]

Warfare between the English and French swept over the land, and as a result in 1755, the British suffered a serious defeat when General Braddock was ambushed near Fort Duquesne. In 1758, the Governor of New France established a settlement on the land between the mouth of Buffalo Creek and Lake Erie. From there, supplies could

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[7] Bingham, op. cit., p.29.
Also see photostat of Celeron's lead plate on the following page.

be shipped between Fort Niagara and the posts to the South. This settlement at La Riviere aux Chevaux was the first white settlement in Buffalo.[8]

The English decided to attack Fort Niagara in 1759 and General Prideaux commanded the expedition landing his forces near Fort Niagara where he prepared for an attack. Meanwhile the French were assembling an army at Fort Machault in order to capture Fort Pitt. But while the French army at the fort was awaiting reinforcements from the west, an Indian messenger arrived from Captain Pouchot, the Commandant at Fort Niagara bringing news of the attack by General Prideaux army. Immediately the French force set out on the long trail to Niagara to aid the garrison there. Partly by boat and partly by land they journeyed to Presqu' Isle, there they embarked in boats on Lake Erie. With them was Father Claude Virot, a Jesuit priest, who was the chaplain of the expedition.

The great flotilla skirted the eastern shore of Lake Erie and passed into the Niagara River where the men camped overnight at the northern end of Grand Island and early the following morning they crossed the river and

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[8] Bingham, op. cit., p.30.

landed near the ruins of Little Fort Niagara. Joncaire had burned the fort as well as the settlement at Buffalo Creek when he heard of the expected British attack and then retired to Fort Niagara itself.

The British were now dangerously near to the fort, which was defended by only two hundred men. During the siege that followed, the British Commander General Prideaux and Colonel Johnson of the Royal Americans were killed. When Sir William Johnson, now in command heard about the approach of the French reinforcements, he ordered part of his army to proceed to La Belle Famille, about one mile south of the Fort, to meet and engage the coming enemy. The French supported by western Indians of the Sioux, Sauks and Ottawa Nations, approached along Portage Road. In the ensuing battle the British poured volley after volley into the French lines, and as the French reeled back, Johnson's Indians rushed from the nearby woods. The battle became a massacre, as scarcely two hundred Frenchmen were able to escape the dreaded tomahawks. One of the French Commanders, De Lignery, was wounded, and many Frenchmen were taken prisoners. Father Virot was killed by Iroquois tomahawks, to become the only Jesuit martyr of the Niagara Region.[9]

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[9] Robert W. Bingham, Niagara the Highway of Heroes (Buffalo, New York: Foster and Stewart Publishing Corporation, 1943), pp.30-33.

It was a complete victory for the English, and on the following day, General Francois Pouchot, the French Commander surrendered the fort.

Sir William Johnson ordered the bodies of General Prideaux and Colonel Johnson buried under the chancel of the old French chapel, which stood inside the walls of the Fort near the Castle. It had been built as a Catholic house of worship, so the Reverend Ogilvie, the Chaplain of the victorious English army, first reconsecrated the edifice as an Episcopal Chapel. Then he officiated at the funeral services of the two officers. And so the chapel at Fort Niagara became the first Episcopal Church on the Niagara Frontier.[10]

In the autumn of 1763, Pontiac, a Seneca chieftain, who had resented the British, endeavored to drive the white men from the western territory. The Indians attacked the white men at Devil's Hole at the brink of the Gorge. The British endeavored to present serious difficulty but were almost completely massacred. At the time of this massacre, Sir William Johnson was in charge of Indian affairs for the British Government. He was enraged by the attack of the Senecas. As a token of their regret, the

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[10] Bingham, op. cit., p.33.

Senecas promised to give the British the use of a strip of land the full length of the portage on each side of the Niagara River. When the treaty was signed with the Senecas at Fort Niagara, Sir William obtained the use of land four miles wide on each side of the river extending from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie. As a personal gift to Johnson, the Senecas presented him with all the islands in the river.

In 1764 General Bradstreet was placed in charge of an expedition to establish British supremacy over the western tribes of Indians. He had ships built on Navy Island, and was ably assisted by Captain John Montresor. On August 9, 1764, the entire force departed from Fort Erie in sixty-eight boats, and began the journey along the southern shore of Lake Erie and on to the west. The many Indian tribes whom they met manifested willingness to obey.

When war clouds darkened the North American continent and the American Revolution finally began, the Cayugas, Onondagas and Mohawks allied themselves with the British. The Senecas joined the British in 1777. Finally the British Government took all the Indian tribes under its protection.

When Spring came in 1780, the Indians, under British supervision began building villages along the Niagara Frontier, and as a result one of the villages was established on Buffalo Creek. About 1500 persons were then moved to the villages. The British officers at Fort Niagara devoted

their efforts to aiding and encouraging the new settlements of the Indian Allies.

In 1791, Robert Morris, who had given valuable financial assistance to the American Revolution, purchased the rights to the Indian land which later was deeded to the Holland Land Company, a group of Dutch bankers living in Holland.

During this period of land speculation, Buffalo Creek was the center of much activity. Just across the river was the British garrison at Fort Erie. From there and from Fort Niagara, the British made many visits to Buffalo Creek Village.

When the Holland Land Company decided to purchase the Western New York lands from Robert Morris, the Holland Land Company selected Joseph Ellicott to survey the land. He arrived in 1797 at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, and on September 15th of the same year, all the Indian lands in the Western part of New York, west of a line drawn from north to south a little east of Batavia, passed to the Holland Land Company. In 1800, Joseph Ellicott was appointed agent for the company in the management and sale of the land in Western New York.[11]

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[11] Bingham, op. cit., pp.35-57.

Slowly but surely "Buffaloe" was increasing in size, destined to become the center of progress in the Niagara Frontier, a position that she still holds to today.

CHAPTER II

EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE WAR OF 1812, AND THE REACTIONS OF THE AMERICAN CITIZENRY TO THE IMPENDING CONFLICT

Many and varied are the developments that contributed either directly or indirectly to the War of 1812. Therefore, it seems quite necessary to discuss briefly a few basic facts which brought about this war between United States and England.

The rivalries and wars of European powers had enabled the United States to establish its independence. Separation from British sovereignty straightway had made it possible to escape participation in the next European conflict, the wars of the French Revolution. Neutrality had given to Washington and Adams a free hand to preserve and strengthen American independence, to protect the federal experiment in the years of its infancy, to redeem the territorial integrity of the United States by Jay's Treaty and Pinckney's Treaty, to escape by the treaty of 1800 from the entanglement and patronage of the French alliance of 1778. Europe's distress, again, had given Jefferson the chance in 1803 by an unparalleled stroke of good fortune to double the territory of the United States with the procurement of Louisiana.[1]

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[1] Samuel Flagg Bemis, A Diplomatic History of the United States (Revised Edition; New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1942), p. 138.

The two main causes of the War were the impressment of American sailors by British ships of War, and the losses imposed upon American trade by the British regulations as to neutral commerce. Both were considered by the British people absolutely necessary to their success against Napoleon; and, in actual fact, their view was to a large extent a correct one. So long as the methods then in vogue for maintaining the naval power of Great Britain continued, it was essential that no easy refuge should be found from the dangers and trials of that service. By 1812, indeed, the main danger of the maritime war had disappeared, and great concessions could undoubtedly have been made to America without endangering British sea power. Nevertheless the extent of the War and the future demands on the fleet could not be foreseen, and one concession might lead to another. Interference with neutral commerce was, also, in some form essential to the winning of the war. Had Napoleon been able to use a neutral fleet, he could almost certainly have successfully defied the maritime power of Great Britain, while irreparable injury would have been inflicted on British commerce. Yet Britain was able, in June 1812, to relax to some extent restrictions, which had grown more severe with every year of war, though too late to avert the struggle with the United States.[2]

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[2] W.A. Ward and P.A. Gooch, editors, The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy 1783-1919 (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1922), Volume I, p.523.

In 1806, Napoleon was dominant on the European continent from the Adriatic to the Baltic. At this period an important neutral was the United States whose citizens for a time reaped large profits from commerce between the United States and European ports. American ships were rapidly built and foreign ships were transferred to American registry to the discomfiture of British owners whose own profits were lessened by the high insurance they had to pay. The mobile sailor population came into American service. Out of this situation grew regulations to impede American neutral trade and a greater activity in impressing sailors on American ships.

But, from the outbreak of the European War, the effort which the United States was making to obtain a due share of the carrying trade and colonial commerce of the world took upon itself a new significance. A competition, which in peace time was indeed resented by Britain and Frence alike, became a vital factor in the decision of the struggle in Europe. Since 1794, when the Senate refused to accept the few concession which Jay had secured as in any way adequate to satisfy the pretensions of the United States, dispute had succeeded dispute, and incident. The Americans gradually found that their position as a neutral was almost as difficult as if they had been a belligerent. Every expedient was tried, even the practical abandonment

of their over-seas commerce, to find an issue from the position in which they were placed. But the European War still went on, and as it broadened and grew yearly more intense, the restrictions to which the Americans had to submit grew more and more irksome.[3]

Impressment rested on inalienable citizenship held at the time by all nations of Europe. According to this doctrine, citizens or subjects of a nation could not divest themselves of that citizenship without the consent of the nation. Allegiance of the nation began with birth and ended only in death.

The claim of Great Britain that she was entitled to the services of her seamen was never challenged by the American government. Her practice of taking them from American vessals in the ports of Great Britain was reluctantly permitted, but the practice of taking them out of American ships on the high seas involved certain principles of international law, on which there was a definite disagreement between the two nations.[4]

Popular objection to the doctrine of perpetual Allegiance is in large part to be explained by the manner

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[3] Ward and Gooch, op. cit., pp.523-524.

[4] James Fulton Zimmerman, Ph.D., Impressment of American Seamen (New York: Columbia University, 1925), p.19.

in which that doctrine was related to the practice of impressment. It must be observed that the central point at issue was not the question of allegiance, but the practice followed by Great Britain of enforcing the British law of allegiance on board American vessals on the high seas.

The British position was clearly stated from time to time during the controversy. Grenville, British Foreign Secretary, in correspondence with Thomas Pinchney, American Minister to Great Britain, in 1796 expressed it in the following language:

> It appears perfectly clear that the belligerent has a right to visit neutral vessals on the high seas and to take therefore all goods belonging to such subjects of the enemy (a right inconsistent with every idea of territory) and to take the subjects of the enemy, found on board, as prisoners of war it also has the right to take its own subjects found on board of a foreign vessal on the high seas, for all the purpose for which they are liable to be taken by an act of its legal power and discretion ....[5]

The Prince regent in a Declaration dated January 9, 1813, again presented in clear terms the position of the British Government, as follows:

> His royal highness can never admit, that, in the exercise of the undoubted and hitherto undisputed right of searching neutral merchant vessels in timeof war, the impressment of British seamen, when found therein, can be deemed any violation of a neutral flag.[6]

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[5] James Fulton Zimmerman, op. cit., p.23.

[6] Ibid., pp.24-25.

Indeed Great Britain never formally renounced the claim of impressment, but she never exercised it after the War of 1812, and in later years she has permitted the expatriation of her subjects. Americans held for transferable citizenship, and the naturalization laws of the United States were framed on that basis. Sailors on British ships frequently deserted in American ports, took out citizenship papers and shipped on American vessels. Such duplicity was not to be endured by the mother country. British ships retaliated by sending officers aboard American vessels, mustering the crews on deck and taking off all of whom they chose to declare British subjects. Sometimes they took men who undoubtedly were American born. Each instance of this wrong announced in the American papers aroused the popular wrath and prepared the way to the War of 1812.[7]

Finally, the British ships cruised off the American harbors and searched all the vessels that were coming in and going out. Immediately after that, the Americans were prompted to seek revenge. American merchants, though, found a way around this situation by taking cargoes from the West Indies to their home ports where the goods became

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[7] John Spencer Bassett, A Short History of the United States (Revised Edition; New York: The MacMillan Company, 1934), p.306.

American, and if the goods were re-exported to Europe they were liable to seizure. The British shippers complained that the Americans used this as a subterfuge to engross all the trade of the French and Spanish possessions in America. The Prize Appeal Court of the Privy Council, Sir William Grant presiding, in the celebrated case of the Essex decided that goods could not be neutralized by importation into a neutral country unless they paid a bonafide import duty; remission of this duty upon re-exportation of the same goods was a mere subterfuge. To all effects, transit of goods under such circumstances constituted a continious voyage from enemy colony to enemy homeland and was thus a violation of the rule of 1756. At one stroke this wiped away the neutral carriage by broken voyage that had become established since Jay's Treaty. But the British Navigation interests were demanding even more. An influential publicist, James Stephen, in 1805 published a famous pamphlet, War in Disguise, or The Frauds of the Neutral Flags, attacking any concessions to neutral navigation. According to Stephen, neutrals were to be excluded as much as possible from war-time trade so that British ships might take over in order that commerce could be made to pass to Europe by the way of England, paying import taxes on the way. His idea was put into effect in addition to the rule of 1756 as interpreted in the Essex Case.[8] To enforce these measures

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[8] Bemis, op. cit., pp.141-142.

English ships cruised up and down the American coast, Impressment began again on a large scale.

In lieu of any satisfactory agreement on the main issue, the United States, almost from the beginning of the controversy sought ways and means for protecting its citizens from impressment. Requests were frequently made that orders be given to British naval officers not to impress American seamen. The British Government acceded to these requests, and from time to time issued such orders, but on account either of their direct violation, or of the difficulty of discriminating between British and American seamen, or both, the practice did not cease. Testimonials of American citizenship secured in a variety of ways were carried by many American seamen, but often these papers were disregarded by the British either on the ground that they had been fraudulently obtained, or because they were regarded as inadequate.

Special agents were stationed in Great Britain and the West Indies by the American Government,whose duties were to protect American seamen from impressment and to obtain the release of those impressed . Despite the faithful work of these agents, however, thousands of American seamen were impressed, and efforts to secure their release were only partially successful largely

because of the rigid rules of evidence required by the British Admiralty and the dilatory procedure followed by that body in dealing with the subject.[9]

Against these outrages, the United States government remonstrated; but Jefferson wanted to keep the peace and instead of building warships, he urged Congress to spend $1,600,000 in building a flotilla of small gun boats for coast defence. In 1804, the commercial clause of the Jay Treaty of 1794 was allowed to exoire, and then we had no commercial treaty at all. To compel Britain to come to terms, Congress enacted a "Non-importation Act" in 1806. It provided that certain specified goods which could be produced in the United States or in the countries other than England, should not be imported from the ports of Great Britain. The Act went into effect December 14,1807.[10]

The culmination of insults to the American Flag and enslavement of its citizens to fight naval battles for England came when in June, 1807, the United States public ship of war Chesapeake was leaving the bay of that name for the Mediterranean cruise. Not anticipating any hostile action, her decks were encumbered with gear and supplies which made her guns unworkable. In this helpless condition

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[9] James Fulton Zimmerman, op. cit., pp.28-29.

[10] Bassett, op. cit., p.309.

she was stopped by a British man-of war, the Leonard off Cape Henry, so that she could be searched for deserters from certain British ships. The Leonard herself had just issued forth from Lynnhaven Bay, where she had been enjoying the hospitality of American waters. When Commodore Barron refused to submit, the Leonard fired into the Chesapeake, killing three and wounding eighteen men, forcing submission. Four alleged deserters were taken off. Of these four one was a genuine British deserter, who was promptly hanged. The other three were native born Americans who had escaped from a British warship after being impressed.

This was the first instance of impressment from a public vessel of the United States, and it aroused the indignation of the country. It was considered the logical result of the illegal practice and therefore to call for immediate resistance.

The President at once issued a proclamation interdicting the use of American waters to all British armed vessels, and he caused instructions to be sent to the minister at London to make a demand for reparation from the British Government. The least, said he, that was to be expected in this regard was a disavowal of the act and a restoration of the men impressed. In addition, an entire abolition of the practice of impressment was deemed "an essential and indispensable part of the satisfaction...

and, if possible, without the authorized rejection from the service of the United States of British seamen who have not been two years in it". The American Government, it was stated, had a right to expect not only ample reparation, but reparation made without delay. Monroe was ordered, in case the expectation of reparation should fail, to hasten home all American vessels in British ports and to communicate the state of affairs to all American war vessels in the Mediterranean. He was instructed to cease all negotiations with the British Government on other subjects "until satisfaction on this be so pledged and arranged as to render negotiation honorable".[11]

There was a strong popular demand for war in the United States, but Madison considered its unjustifiable at that time, inasmuch as the act had probably been that of a British admiral alone and unauthorized by the British Government. A declaration of war at once was, in Madison's judgement, tactically unwise because of the numerous British cruisers in American waters which could have readily seized American ships as they gradually returned from foreign seas.

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[11] Frank A. Updyke, The Diplomacy of the War of 1812 (Baltimore; The John Hopkins Press, 1915), pp.42-43.

Even before Monroe had officially learned of the attack upon the Chesapeake, Canning had informed the American minister of the fact and had hastened to express his regret, giving assurances that, if the British officers were found to be culpable, the American Government should be offered á "most prompt and effectual reparation" for the act.[12]

Monroe, before he had received his instructions, thought it was incumbent upon him to press the British Government for reparation. He, therefore, addressed a note to Canning in which he referred to the attack to the Leopard upon the Chesapeake as an attempt "to assert and enforce the unfounded and most unjustifiable pretension to search for deserters". He asked for a frank disavowal of the principle upon which the search was made and an assurance that the officer who had been responsible should suffer punishment.

Canning, apparently irritated by Monroe's letter, replied a few days later in a rather harsh tone, stating that Great Britain would make reparation when all the facts were known. He disclaimed any pretension on the part of Great Britain of a right to search ships of war in the national service of any state for deserters. If the

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[12] Frank A. Updyke, op. cit., p.44.

facts should prove as represented, he assured Monroe, the British Government would disavow the act and reprove the conduct of their officers.[13]

The two countries were now on the verge of war. The American people generally took a defiant attitude, and in Great Britain there was a strong war party made up of ship owners, the navy, East and West India merchants, and leading politicians. The British Government strongly resented the proclamation of the President, which had been issued "without requiring or waiting for any explanation" from Great Britain. This formed a pretext for delaying action on the part of the British Government.

The special joint negotiation of Monroe and Pinkney having been suspended by the affair of the Chesapeake, Monroe alone made a formal demand upon the British Government for reparation. In presenting this claim, he urged the general question of impressment from merchant vessels, maintaining with forceful argument that the objections to impressment from ships of war were equally applicably in the case of merchant ships, for public law and private rights were violated in both cases and the liability to individual suffering was the same.

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[13] Frank A. Updyke, op. cit., pp.44-45.

Monroe suggested to Canning as a suitable way of making reparation the return of the impressed men to the ships from which they were taken, the punishment of the officers involved in the affair, the suppression of impressment from merchant vessels, and the announcement of such reparation through the medium of a special mission. The British Government held that the proclamation of the President interdicting British vessels from American waters was an act of redress, while the American minister maintained that it was merely a police measure and not an act of retaliation.[14]

Canning argued that the affair of the Chesapeake was different from the practice which the British alleged as a right, and should not be brought into a discussion of the general question. The right to search ships of war, Canning stated, was not, insisted upon, not because the employment and detention of British marines on board national ships was any less injurious to Great Britain than on merchant ships, but because the redress in the one case was to be sought by the Government from the other Government and need not be summarily enforced by the unauthorized officer of a ship of war. Canning declared that it was important to find out whether the Government

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[14] Frank A. Updyke, op. cit., p.46.

of the United States had been guilty of refusing to discharge British seamen in its national service previous to the hostile acts of the British officers. He expressed regret that the American minister had coupled with the discussion the question of impressment of seamen from merchant vessels. This right, he maintained, had been exercised by Great Britain from the earliest ages of the British naval power, even without any qualification or exception in favor of national ships of war and the distinction which had been omitted had been observed for a century.[15]

Monroe proposed to take up the subject of impressment informally, but Canning refused utterly to treat of impressment until after the question of the Chesapeake had been settled. Canning refusing to treat of the Chesapeake in connection with the general subject of impressment, and Monroe refusing to separate the two questions, the negotiations ended. Monroe shortly after returned to the United States, leaving Pinkney as his successor. He found upon reaching home that his popularity had suffered because of the treaty which he had signed, and that the friends of Madison had made much capital out of this in promoting Madison's candidacy over him for the presidency.

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[15] Frank A. Updyke, op. cit., pp.46-47.

The British Government now decided to send George Henry Rose as a special minister to America to adjust the differences over the Chesapeake affair. This minister was instructed to confine himself to this subject alone and to entertain no proposition respecting the search of merchant vessels. He was further forbidden to enter upon any negotiation for reparation, until the proclamation of the President should be withdrawn.

Rose upon his arrival at Washington urged the importance of the withdrawal of the alleged hostile act of the President upon the grounds that it prejudiced the interests of Great Britain; that it was discreditable to the British flag; and that it resulted in a spirit of ill feeling and retaliation. It might be held, Rose stated, "to affect materially the question of the reparation due to the United States, especially inasmuch as its execution has been persevered in after the knowledge of His Majesty's early, unequivocal, and unsolicited disavowal of the unauthorized act to Admiral Berkeley, his disclaimer of the pretension exhibited by that officer to search the national ships of a friendly Power for deserters, and the assurances of prompt and effectual reparation, all communicated without loss of time to the minister of the United States in London, so as not to leave a doubt as to His Majesty's just and amicable intentions.[16]

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[16] Frank A. Updyke, op. cit., pp.47-49.

Secretary Madison replied to Rose that the demand of the British Government that the proclamation of the President be revoked before the negotiations for reparation be entered upon might justly suggest the simple answer, that, before the proclamation of the President could become a subject of consideration, satisfaction should be made for the acknowledged aggression which preceded it, and that this was agreeable to the order of reason, and, it might be added, to the order of usage, as maintained by Great Britain, whenever, in analogous cases, she was the complaining party. The American Government absolutely refused to withdraw the proclamation until the British minister should diclose the exact nature of the reparation which he had been instructed to offer. It was implied that such reparation should include a pledge for the discontinuance of the pratice of impressment. The British minister having expressed his inability to comply with the terms of the American Government, the negotiation terminated, and Rose returned home.[16]

Not until 1812, on the eve of the war, did Great Britain, when it was too late to preserve peace, make belated amends by formally restoring the two surviving men

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[16] Frank A. Updyke, Ph.D., The Diplomacy of the War of 1812 (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1915), p.49.

to the deck of the Chesapeake, and providing indemnities for the wounded and for the families of those killed.[17]

The accumulated injuries called for some action. Jefferson feared that by fighting, we would lose all our trade. However, General Turrean, the French Ambassador at Washington, in a report to his superior, Minister Talleyrand, stated that in the course of a confidential conversation with President Jefferson, sometime in July 1807, he (President Jefferson) said:

> If the English do not give us the satisfaction we demand (i.e. for the attack on the Chesapeake), we will take Canada, which wants to enter the Union, and when, together with Canada, we shall have the Floridas, we shall no longer have any difficulties with our neighbors; it is the only way of preventing them.[18]

On December 22, 1807, he signed the Embargo Act prohibiting the sailing of any ship carring a cargo from the United States to a foreign port. Those who suffered most were the New Englanders who were heavy exporters and as the year 1808 wore on, thousands of people lost their livelihood and ships mouldered at their wharves and foods rotted in warehouses. The New England shippers slipped their goods over the Canadian border. Pressure induced Jefferson to accept repeal of the Embargo Act on March, 1809.

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[17] Bemis, op. cit., pp.145-146.

[18] Colonel E.A. Cruikshank, editor, A Study of Disaffection in Upper Canada in 1812-5 (Ottawa; Government Printing Bureau, 1912), Vol. VI, Section 11, p.12.

Great Britain leaving the treaty of 1783 unexecuted, forcibly retained the American posts upon the northern frontier; and, slighting every overture to place the diplomatic and commercial relations of the two countries, upon a fair and friendly foundation, seemed to contemplate the success of the American revolution, in a spirit of unextinguishable animosity. Her voice had indeed been heard from Quebec and Montreal, instigating the savages to war. Even the victory of General Wayne was achieved in the presence of a fort which she had erected far within the boundries of the United States, to stimulate and countenance the barbarities of the Indian warriors.[19]

Additional hostility to England was engendered by the outbreak in 1811 of Indian troubles in Indiana, where the white settlers were steadily penetrating. By a treaty of 1809 the Indians of central Indiana ceded a large tract of land on the Wabash River. The more patriotic Indians opposed this relinquishment of their ancestral lands, and declared the treaty of 1809 illegal. Under the leadership of Tecumseh and his brother the "Prophet", they began uniting the various tribes against the whites.[20]

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[19] Sect. Dallas, An Exposition of the Causes and Character of the Late War Between United States and Great Britain (Middlebury, Vermont: Published by William Slade Jr., 1815), p.5.

[20] John Spencer Bassett, A Short History of the United States (Revised Edition; New York: The MacMillan Company, 1934), p.318.

In the mean time, in the spring and summer of 1811, renewed trouble broke out with the Indians of the northwest, particularly in Indiana, which had its bearing upon the foreign relations of the United States as well as upon the domestic policy. In its causes and in its progress the campaign of this year did not differ materially from those of earlier years, when the western and southern Indians made spasmodic attempts to stem the on-coming tide of white settlers. The same old causes operated to produce friction, trouble, bloodshed. The land cessions which the white men, commonly agents of the United States, had secured from the Indians during the preceding twenty years were usually on terms disadvantageous to the Indians. The Indian's idea of the cession of land differed radically from that of the white parties of the transaction; he could never quite understand that the occupation by the white settlers forbade his continued utilization of the land as a temporary abiding place and hunting-ground.[21]

The discontent of the Indians with the government and people of the United States had been fostered for a generation by British commercial interests, as one of the means by which the fur-trade could be kept in the hands of the British traders. The packs of fur went north across

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[21] Kendric C. Babcock, The Rise of American Nationality (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1906), p.85.

the portages from the upper Mississippi to Canada. British arms and British goods were found in the hands of the Indians, and the belief was wide-spread in the United States in 1811 and 1812 that the British government was more or less directly inciting the Indians to revolt and that its agents were supplying them with guns and ammunition. Governor William Henry Harrison, of Indiana territory, in a letter published in December, 1811, explicitly states that "within the last three months the whole of the Indians on this frontier have been completely armed and equipped out of the king's stores at Malden.... The Indians had, moreover, an ample supply of the best British glazed powder some of their guns had been sent to them so short a time before the action, that they are imported".[22]

While the popular conviction was that the British in Canada were responsible in large degree for Indian disturbances in the northwest, and though it found voice in the press, in speeches in Congress, and even in presidential utterances, the British minister and the governor of Upper Canada made the most emphatic denials of the charge. They even went further, and declared that they had used their influence to restrain the Indians who strove to stir up trouble. Governor Brock, of Upper Canada, who must have

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[22] Babcock, op. cit., pp.32-33.

known, expressly stated in 1812 that tecumseh and the Prophet had for two years carried an active was against the United States "contrary to our remonstrances".[23] That the unscrupulous British traders sold guns and ammunition to the Indians in Indiana and Michigan, just as the local American trades did, in competition for the same business, is probably true; that this was by direction or connivance of the British or Canadian government, is entirely unproved.

The center of the agitation in the northwest was on the headwaters of the Wabash at the mouth of a small creek called Tippecanoe. It was in this region that the opposition to the treaty of Fort Wayne made in 1809, between the United States and the four tribes possessing land on the Upper Wabash, made itself manifest. The treaty ceded about three million acres to the United States and meant complete extinguishment of the Indian title to some of the best land in the territory of Indiana. Tecumseh and his twin brother, the Prophet, who belonged to the Shawnee tribe, which was not one of those interested in the cession, undertook to overthrow the treaty, vowing death to the chiefs who participated in it, because the Indian lands, as they declared, belonged to Indian tribes taken together and not

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[23] Babcock, op. cit., p.34.

to any one tribe. These two men carried on their active and eloquent agitation from 1809 down to the great defeat on 1811, visiting different tribes in the northwest and the southwest, reaching the Creeks and Choctaws as well as the tribes of Indiana territory; they endeavored by every art and craft known to the Indian Chieftain to unite all the Indians into an actively hostile league against the United States. In ambition, wide-spread influence, and persistent agitation, Tecumseh was no mean successor to the great Pontiac of the preceding century. General Brock wrote of him, "a more sagacious or a more gallant warrior does not, I believe, exist".[24]

Governor Harrison's efforts at calming the tribes in several conferences with the chiefs all came to caught; and when the marauding began again in the spring of 1811, he gave final warning to Tecumseh that violence must cease or he would march into the Indian country to chastise the offenders. In pursuance of this policy, Harrison finally gathered a considerable force of militia and a regiment of regulars at Vincennes in September, 1811, and proceeded quickly to the Indian village known as the Prophet's town on the Tippecanoe. Here several parleys took place, after which the Indians, being convinced that Harrison, with his

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[24] Babcock, op. cit., pp.34-35.

thousand men, meant to give battle in any case, attacked him on the morning of November 7, and the battle of Tippecanoe was fought. Harrison lost sixty-one killed or fatally wounded, and one hundred and twenty seven wounded less severely; thirty-eight dead Indians were counted.[25] The next morning the troops found the Prophet's town deserted; they took certain supplies from it and burned the village, after which they rapidly marched back to Vincennes.

The effect of this victory was far-reaching; it greatly diminished the influence of the two Indian leaders though it did not prevent a renewal of trouble in the following spring. While the Indians were probably waiting to see if war between the United States and Great Britain would break out, there was evidence that they meant to make war in any case. Captain Rhea wrote in March, 1812, from Fort Wayne: "I have every reason to believe we shall have an Indian war this spring, whether we have a British war or not". In the end, hundreds of them crossed into Canada where they were found fighting under the leadership of Tecumseh in the British armies. The people of the west looked upon the defeat of the Indians as decisive, and gave great praise to Harrison, whose prestige as a leader in frontier warfare, as a result of the campaign, was of

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[25] Babcock, op. cit., pp.35-36.

just advantageous sort which a rising and ambitious politician in the west would desire.[26]

The new Congress which met in 1811, chose Henry Clay of Kentucky as speaker of the house. He organized it with a view to war and appointed John Calhoun of South Carolina chairman of the Military Committee. The West had no patience with the ship-owners, for to the frontiersmen nothing seemed easier than to conquer Canada. Henry Clay, in fact, had even planned to "negotiate the terms of peace at Quebec or Halifax".[27] Early in 1810, he declared that the conquest of Canada was within the power of the militia of Kentucky alone, and added; "I am not for stopping at Quebec or anywhere else; but I would take a whole continent..."[28]

Congress at this time consisted of many young patriots who possessed heated tempers and political misunderstandings. These young "War Hawks", as they were called, pressed demands for redress of insults to Americans and intended to settle by war. They were led by Henry Clay and John Calhoun. American honor they claimed must be vindicated, andwar seemed to be the only way out. The country was then prosperous; manufacturers were springing

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[26] Babcock, op. cit., p.36.

[27] Ibid., p.85.

[28] Carl Wittke, A History of Canada (New York: F.S. Crofts and Company, 1942), p.83.

up and nearly $200,000,000 worth of goods were made in the country in a single year; but the "War Hawks" did not consider that the national revenues were falling off; that the Army had only seven thousand men; that the treasury was about empty; that the United States Bank had been abandoned; that her generals were old and her Navy consisted of only twenty vessels. "The Washington government was indeed ignorant of the meaning of war and world affairs on a large scale".[29]

Congress had voted to raise men by the score of thousands for the Army but she failed to provide for the same.

The final stages of the diplomatic struggle were much influenced by the fact that the United States had no Minister at London. Jonathan Russell, the Charge'd'affaires, was quite incapable of appreciating all the issues involved, or of keeping his own Government accurately informed of the course of events. That war had been delayed so long, was due, not to the diplomacy of either side, which was almost always as stiff and uncompromising as possible, but to two other causes. In the first place, the United States had almost as great a grievance against France as against Great Britain, and to declare war against Great Britain was, in effect, to support Napoleon. There were indeed in the United States a considerable number of people

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29 W.E. Woodward, A New American History (New York: The Literary Guild, Incorporated, 1937), p.324.

who remembered the indebtedness of their country to France. But, if the French Republic had only succeeded in alienating almost completely American sympathy, it was not likely that an Emperor, who expressed in himself the antithesis of the ideals of the United States, would secure their support. War with England had therefore to be carefully distinguished from even the semblance of an alliance with Napoleon, and, as a matter of fact, throughout the struggle this attitude was maintained with scrupulous care.[30]

After long delay and confusion, England announced on June 16, 1812, that she would cease attacks on American commerce. Lack of communication facilities prevented contact with America. President Madison, had listened to the demands for war and could not stand the pressure of the "War Hawks" for war, but he strenuously opposed hasty measures. Before England's announcement reached America, the United States had declared war, June 18, 1812, on England to safe-guard her existence and maintain her honor.

England did not crave a war with America for she was already engaged in a death struggle with Napoleon and therefore needed all the men and ships available. Her resources were dwindling rapidly, her foreign trade had sunk

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[30] W.A. Ward and P.A. Gooch, editors, The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy 1783-1919 (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1922), Vol. I, p.527.

low and her American markets were practically lost. By engaging in a new struggle, she was giving a fine example of diplomatic bungling. She was harrassed, worn out and financially embarrassed and was in no mood to gather her forces for a titanic struggle against America.

The commercial interests were, indeed, dismayed, but the governing classes were united in regarding the American Declaration of War as a treacherous attack on a country that was contending for the liberties of the world. The Whigs, naturally, endeavoured to throw as much blame on the Government as possible; but they dared not deny the necessity of the exercise of the British rights which were the cause of the War. Among the mass of the people there was an intense bitterness, and they demanded, not merely the maintenance of British rights, but the punishment of the Americans for their attack on Great Britain at the crisis of her struggle with Napoleon. The confiscation of all American ships in British ports, immediately after the news of the American Declaration of War was received, was an index of the manner in which the struggle would be carried on.[31]

The British had looked upon the American claims of the right of seamen to change allegiance as a new and

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[31] Ward and Gooch, op. cit., pp.527-528.

dangerous idea. The feeble attempts of the British to avert war had come too late, for the feeling in the United State's was aroused too much and the attempt to settle international difficulties failed.

One must not conclude that the Senate had approved this drastic war measure unanimously. Really, the Senate was quite divided in opinion as to the utility of such a step. Fourteen of the Senators and sixty-two of the Representatives who voted for war lived south of the Delaware. Only eleven who voted against it lived in that region. Thirty-three Federalist Representatives declared the war unjustifiable.[32]

The New England States were directly opposed to war because they claimed that search and impressment did not amount to much and these states were willing to suffer it. They also declared that the national government took their taxes but did not defend the New England States.

New England States could be independent in their attitude regarding war, for they were probably the wealthiest of all states, as "they possessed over one-third of all United States money in their banks"[33] and they had an

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[32] Woodward, op. cit., p.332.

[33] Ibid.

extensive shipping trade. Massachusetts, for example, one of the wealthiest New England States, considered the war unnecessary and ruinous.

To further show its opposition to war, New England in 1813 "subscribed to only $437,000 in the $16,000,000 bond issue".[34] Timothy Pickering, a New England Federalist, said, "Let the Federalists universally withhold their money and the war must soon come to an end".[35]

Rhode Island instructed its Senators and Representatives to use every effort to avert war. Connecticut along with Massachusetts refused to raise troops for national defense. Five Western States voted in the Senate solidly for war. South Carolina wished to revenge the wrongs done and thus preserve our honor and dignity.

According to the Senate vote on the advisability of declaring war, the Senators representing their constituents in Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, voted in its favor. Their colleagues from Connecticut, Delaware, Rhode Island, Massachusettes, voted against the proposal. Whereas, the Senators from New York, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Maryland, Ohio and Michigan were split in their opinion.

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[34] Woodward, op. cit., p.332.

[35] Ibid.

The House supported the Senate in the declaration of war by casting ballots 79 to 49 in favor of war, while the Senate after a secret session of two weeks voted 19 to 13 in favor of war.[36]

New York State, in general, wished the continuance of Embargo and Non-importation laws as a substitute for war. New York had opposed the administration policies of Madison. The 29 electoral votes of New York were cast for D. W. Clinton but strange as it seems, the two New York Senators seemed divided in opinion as to the necessity of war. John Smith contrary to the expectation of New York, voted for war while Abediah German voted against it.[37] As to the opinions of all the Representatives of New York State in Congress, we find 3 voting for war and 11 against it.[38] Peter B. Porter, (Western New York) as early as November 1811, expressed his view when he reminded the House:

> That the period has arrived when it is the sacred duty of Congress to call for the patriotism and resourcefulness of the country. By the aid of these and the blessongs of God, we may secure redress of wrongs and defend our honor.[39]

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36 Bassett, op. cit., p.320.

37 Annals of Congress, June 16, 1812, p.370.

38 Buffalo Gazette, July 14, 1812.

39 Annals of Congress, November 11, 1812, p.375.

In the debate on the report of the House Committee on foreign relations, Peter Porter, chairman of this committee, called for "destruction of the British fisheries, of British Commerce with America and the West Indies, and the conquest of Canada". Felix Grundy of Tennessee declared his willingness to "receive the Canadians as adopted brethren". The United States Secretary of War announced "We can take Canada without soldiers", while the venerable and pacifist Jefferson believed that "the acquisition of Canada (was) a mere matter of marching". Richard M. Johnson, a representative from Kentucky, pointed out that "The water of St. Lawrence and the Mississippi interlock in a number of places, and the Great Disposer of Human Events intended those two rivers should belong to the same people". Many American newspaper discussions reflected the sentiments of a correspondent who wrote in the Nashville Clarion in 1812, that "The Canadas, freed from the chains of a European master, shall take the rank of an independent state; or too weak for sovereignty, shall hover under the protection of the American eagle..."[40]

One of the strongest arguments for war in Congress of the United States was that employed in 1811 by Mr.Porter,

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[40] Wittke, op. cit. p. 84.

the chairman of the committee on foreign affairs, in reference to the conquest of Canada. "These provinces", said the speaker, "are not only immensely valuable, but almost indespensable to the existence of Great Britain, cut off, as she now in in a great measure, from the North of Europe".[41]

Later on Peter B. Porter followed up his belief by voting for war when Congress was deciding the advisability of war in 1812.

The election of 1812 was fought out strictly on the war issue, and the result showed the important position, as arbiter between the section, which the frontier had come to occupy. The old thirteen coast states gave 90 electoral votes to Madison and 89 votes to Clinton; the five new western states gave their 38 votes solidly for war. Of the coast states, New England gave its 43 votes for peace; the 59 votes south of the Potomac were for war; the Middle States divided 31 for war and 46 for peace. Madison's majority was unexpectedly narrow; the change of the single state of Pennsylvania situated in the closely divided region would have elected Clinton.[42]

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[41] William F. Coffin, Esquire, The War and its Moral: A Canadian Chronicle (Montreal: John Lovell, 1864), p.22.

[42] Carl Russell Fish, The Development of American Nationality (Revised Edition; New York: American Book Company, 1929), Vol. II, p.117.

In the same election, twenty-one Federalists from New York gained seats in Congress. This again shows how New York State regarded war.

The war sentiments of the Niagara Frontier inhabitants are partially expressed by their scattered votes in the election returns of December, 1812.

In Buffalo Village district, 61 votes were cast for Madison, 34 for De Witt Clinton. Other sections were as follows: Hamburg 36 for Madison, 81 for De Witt Clinton, Clarence 41 for Madison, 92 for De Witt Cliton, Eden 37 for Madison and 14 for De Witt Clinton.[43]

We are to conclude from the voting that De Witt Clinton was a favorite in this area with a total of 221 votes, whereas, Madison's vote was 175. Thus the war party found little support.

This meagre tabulation gives a general survey of the Niagara Frontier area for voting was not considered very important and little interest was taken in politics, for the inhabitants were more interested in defending their homes.[44] This is quite understandable in time of war. Some

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[43] Truman White, Our Country and Its People, A Descriptive Work on Erie County (Boston: The Boston Historical Company, 1898), Vol. I, p.209.

[44] Statement made by Robert W. Bingham at a interview February 9, 1948. Author of Cradle of the Queen City and A History of Buffalo to the INcorporation of the City and an authority on Niagaria Frontier History.

areas on the Niagara Frontier had no votes polled in the presidential election of 1812. Therefore, the above count serves in rendering the general impression held by the inhabitants regarding war. Those who may have been in favor of it in the beginning, certainly must have seen the folly of it later.

The majority of people had voted in this area for De Witt Clinton and opposed Madison for the very reason that they had been on friendly terms with Canada and could see no reason for bringing about a quarrel with that country. Many of the Americans had friends and relatives living in Canada and had lived there themselves, and thus by a war, this relationship would be severed.

On June 18, 1812, war had become a reality to a country totally unprepared. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, an eastern Federalist, does not hesitate to remind us that: "England had been provoked by the Republican administration and there was no justification for a resort to arms".[45]

The English Premier, Lord Liverpool, as early as February, 1813, showed real penetration into American conditions when he asserted: "that the war on the part of America had been a war of passion, of party spirit, and

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[45] Joseph Gurn, Charles Carroll of Carrollton (New York: P.J. Kennedy, 1932), p.206.

not a war of policy, of interest or of necessity".[46]

It is quite evident that even though the war program had been organized, there was a divided opinion throughout the country as to its necessity.

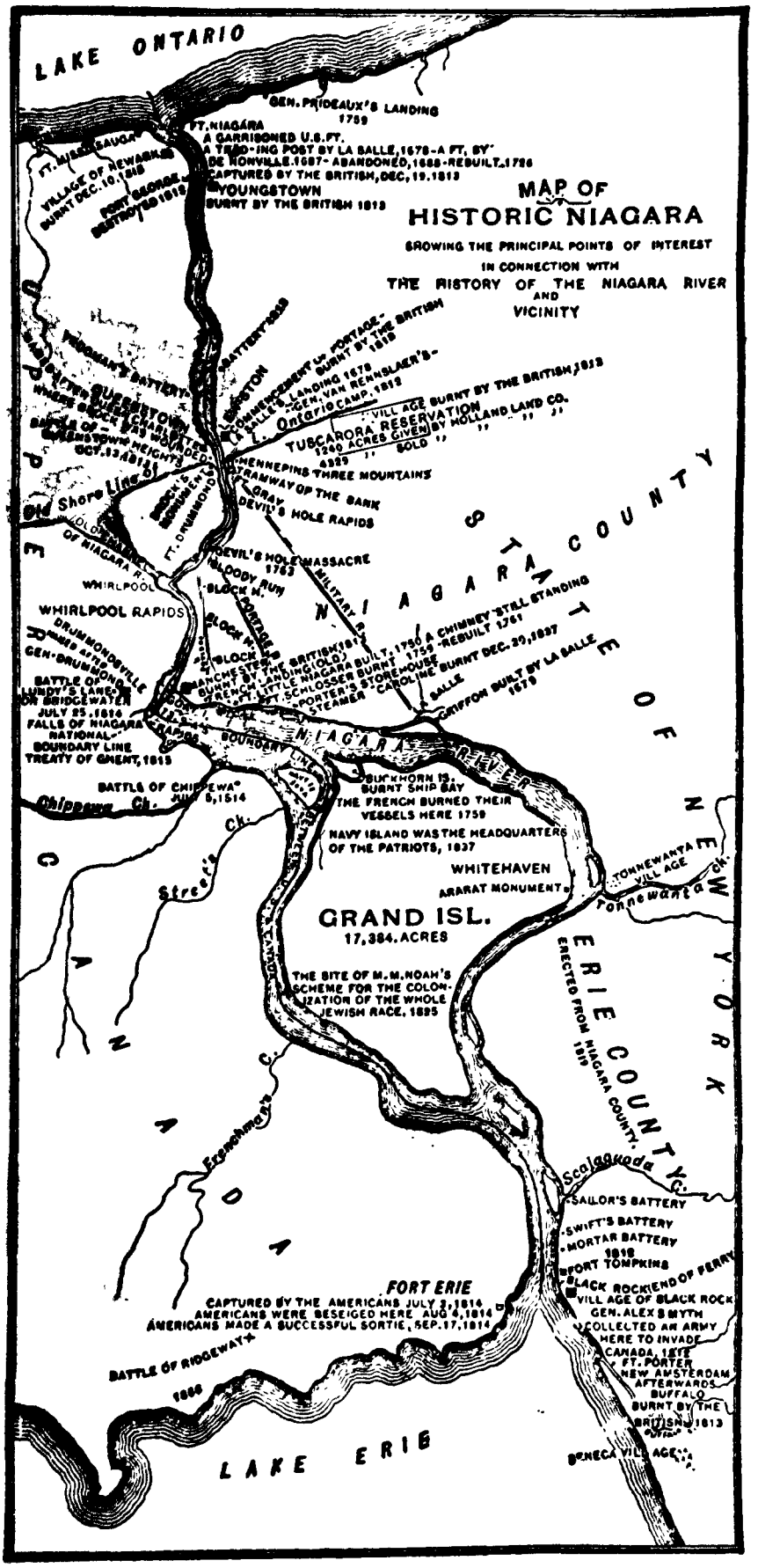
The Buffalo Gazette carried very little comment about the presidential election of 1812, merely stating the candidates for election and the outcome. As previously stated, this was due to the little interest held by the population regarding political matters. The inhabitants were more concerned with preservation of life and home than with politics.

The outbreak of the War was due, almost entirely, to the causes which have been discussed. There were, however, other causes operating to produce friction between the countries, though not of such a nature as to rank with the others. The purchase by the United States of Louisiana, which Napoleon had forced Spain to transfer to him, had caused much resentment in England, and in the dispute which subsequently broke out between the United States and Spain as to the Floridas British sympathies were entirely on the side of the latter country. It was becoming clear that the United States was aiming at extending her power to the Pacific, and in such a case British possessions in

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[46] Babcock, op. cit., p.83.

Canada and the West Indies might be endangered. To some minds, a war appeared necessary to check the growth of the new nation whose future could not be foreseen. These were, however, a very small minority, and, though the boundaries between Canada and the United States were ill-defined and the fishing rights granted to the Americans by the Treaty of 1783 exceedingly unpopular among their Newfoundland competitors, yet these were not in any way acute grievances. On the American side, there was aparty which both hated and feared the power of Great Britain and was only too ready to take advantage of her ambarrassments. But this antipathy was kept in check by the still more powerful interests which had commercial ties with Britain.



Historical Map of the *Niagara Frontier*

CHAPTER III

WAR ON THE FRONTIER

Governor William Hull in a letter to Honorable William Eustis, Secretary of War dated Detroit, June 15, 1811, stated that:

> In the event of a war with England, this particular territory (meaning Michigan territory) would be peculiarly situated... as the post at this place, is the key of the northern country... by holding it the Indians are kept in check... deprived of it, the northern Indians would have nowhere to look, but to the British Government in Upper Canada.[1]

The war opened in midsummer of 1812, with the campaign of General Hull on the Michigan frontier. About the same time Fort Mackinaw was surrendered by its garrison of 60 Americans to a British and Indian force of 600.. Hull's campaign was unfortunate from the beginning. Near Brownstown the American Colonel Van Horne, with some 200 men, was ambushed and routed by Tecumseh and his Indians. In revenge Colonel Miller, with 600 Americans, at Maquaqua attacked 150 British and Canadians under Captain Muir, and defeated them - Tecumseh's Indians standing their ground longest. The Americans lost 75, their foes 180 men.[2]

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[1] E.A. Cruiksank, editor, Documents Relating to the Invasion of Canada and The Surrender of Detroit, 1812 (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1912), pp.1-2.

[2] Theodore Roosevelt, The Naval War of 1812 (New York: G.P. Putman's Sons, 1927), p.8.

Meanwhile General Isaac Brock, the British Commander, advanced against Hull with a rapidity that seemed to paralyze his senile and irresolute opponent. Overcome by his difficulties and his fears, the latter retreated to Detroit. Hull sent off some 600 men in order to try to open communications with the Ohio, and when they returned unsuccessful, he wrote plaintively to Secretary Eustis: "It is a painful consideration that the blood of seventy five men could only open communication as far as the points of their bayonets extended". The truth was that Hull's officers and men had lost all confidence, and despondency prevailed.[3] He surrendered 1400 men to General Isaac Brock's nearly equal force, which consisted nearly half of Indians under Tecumseh.

On October 1812, Major-General Stephen Van Renseelaer, a "weak and incompetent man of high pretentions", as Monroe characterized him, endeavored to cross the Niagara River and attack the British at Queenston. One thousand and one hundred American men got across and were almost all killed or captured by an equal number of British, Canadians and Indians, while on the opposite side of the river, a large number of countrymen refused through cowardice to come to

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[3] Kendric Charles Babcock, The Rise of the American Nationality (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1906), p.91.



ETCHING OF THE ATTACK ON FORT YORK

their aid. The command of the army was then handed to a ridiculous personage named Smythe, who issued proclamations so bombastic that they really must have come from an unsound mind. He then made an attempt at an invasion of Canada which failed almost of its own accord.[4]

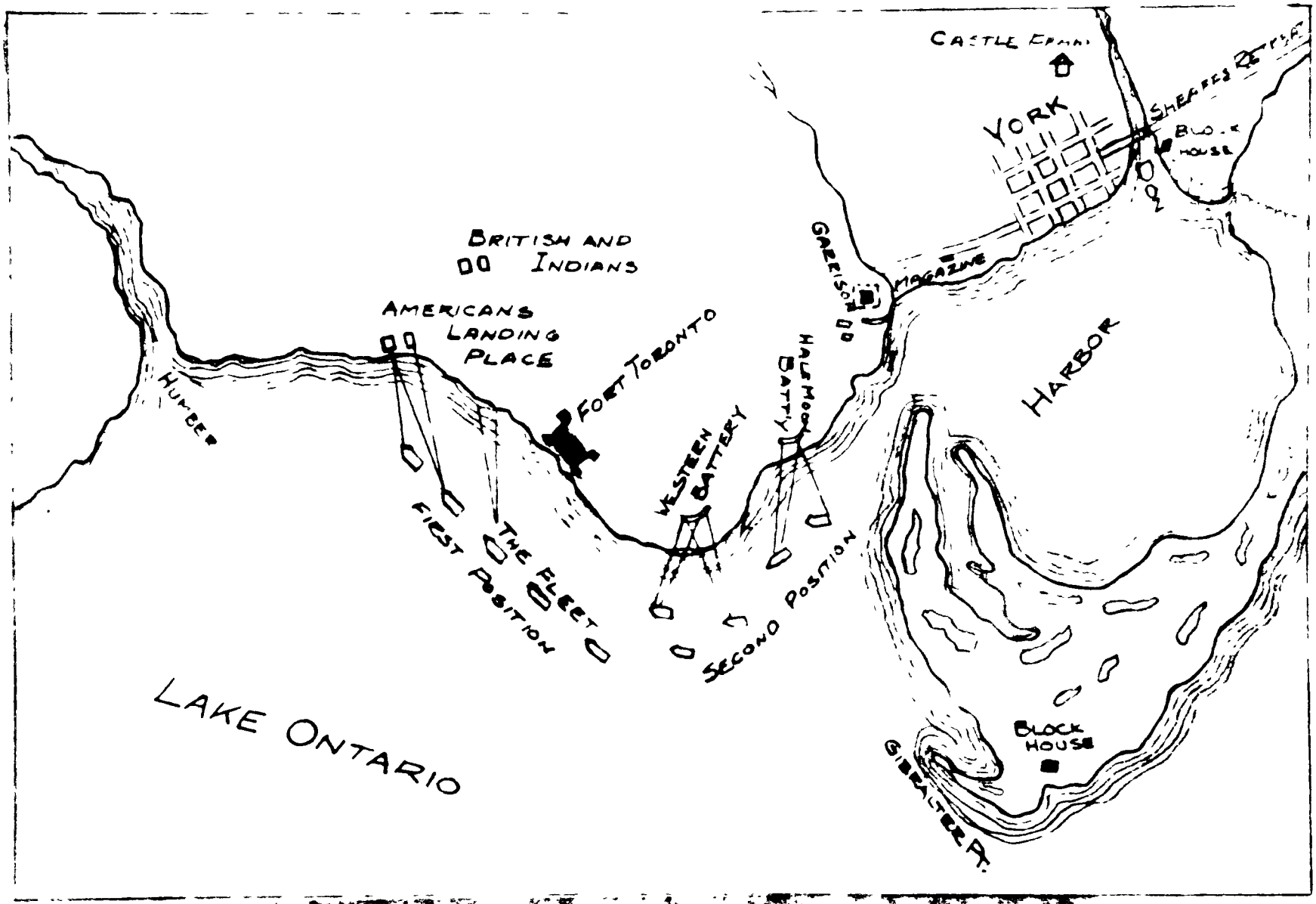
The Americans made successful descents on York (now Toronto) and Fort George, scattering or capturing their small garrisons. After the Americans captured Fort George, they invaded Canada; but their advance guard, fourteen hundred strong under Generals Chandler and Winder were surprised in the night by eight hundred British; both generals and half the artillery were captured. Both British and American troops became demoralized and the latter retreated to Fort George. Soon afterwards, Colonel Boerstler with about six hundred men surrendered, shamefully offering brief resistance to a somewhat smaller force of British. Then about three hundred British troops crossed the Niagara to attack Black Rock which they captured, but were afterwards driven off by a body of militia with a small loss of forty men.[5]

On Friday evening, December 10th, 1813, the American General McClure burned Newark causing untold suffering and then retreated in a panic across the Niagara River. In

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[4] Roosevelt, op. cit., p.16.

[5] Ibid.



SKETCH TO ILLUSTRATE THE ATTACK ON TORONTO

retaliation, the British in turn, crossed the river. Six hundred regulars surprised and captured Fort Niagara which was under the command of Captain Leonard, who was away and had left the garrison totally unprotected. Only four hundred soldiers, who were mostly ill, feebly tried to defend the fort but without avail. Two thousand British troopers attacked Black Rock, and after losing over a hundred men in a smart engagement with over fifteen hundred of our militia whom they easily dispersed, captured and burned it and then pressed on to Buffalo and burned that village December 30, 1813.

> All through the spring and early summer of 1814, the Army on the Niagara Frontier was carefully drilled near the Buffalo Terrace under General Scott. The campaign against Canada began in July. Fort Erie was captured with little resistance, and on the Fourth of July, at the river of Chippewa, General Brown with two Brigades of regulars, each about 1200 strong under Scott and Ripley, and a brigade of 800 militia and Indians under Colonel Porter, won a stand-up fight against General Riall, the British commander. Scott's efficient men finally defeated General Riall's regiment. The American loss was 297 while that of the British was 515. [6]

On July 25th, occurred the Battle of Niagara or Lundy's Lane, fought between General Brown with 3100 Americans and General Drummond with 3500 British. The Americans formed the attacking party. General Scott's men bore the brunt of the fight and over half of his men were

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[6] Roosevelt, op. cit., p.17.

killed or wounded. Scott was also disabled and carried from the field. The loss was nearly equal for both sides- American loss was 855 men and that of the British 878 men. Each claimed a victory. In speaking of the battle General Drummond wrote:

> In so determined a manner were their attacks directed against our guns that our artillerymen were bayoneted while in the act of loading, and the muzzles of the enemy's guns were advanced within a few yards of ours.[7]

It was really a defeat and not a victory for the Americans as they had left the field and retired to Fort Erie.

General Drummond pursued the Americans to Fort Erie where the American Army under General Gaines was camped. Colonel Tucker with 500 British regulars crossed from Niagara, Ontario, to destroy the batteries at Black Rock but he was defeated by 300 American regulars. On the night of August 15th, the British advanced to storm the American works but were beaten off. After this nothing was done until September 17th, when General Brown determined upon a sortie. The fighting was severe, the Americans losing 500 men but the opponents lost 600.[8] This was an American victory since the British withdrew from the field and retired to Chippewa. Nothing more was done, and the American Army

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[7] Roosevelt, op. cit., p.19.

[8] Ibid.

recrossed the Niagara. These four months of fighting to invade Canada came to nothing though there had been some brilliant fighting.

The Army had lost the spotlight in the realm of importance and thus the Navy had to play the major role on the Niagara Frontier as elsewhere on the coasts. We are especially concerned with the Niagara Frontier region, and therefore shall confine our discussion to the Great Lakes, particularly Lake Erie.

The Naval War upon the Lakes was scarcely second in importance to the Naval contests upon the Atlantic. The success of the American attack upon Canada was dependent upon control of Lakes Erie, Ontario and Champlain. Efforts were immediately made to establish fleets for the control of these inland waters at the beginning of the Naval war. The two lake fleets were about equal in strength.

The work of constructing a fleet upon Lake Erie was a slow and difficult task. It was fortunate that a man of energy and resourcefulness as Captain Oliver Perry, a young officer in the gun-boat service at Newport was sent to take charge on Lake Erie. When he reached Presqu Isle, now Erie, the ship carpenters had on stock two twenty-gun brigs, a schooner, and three gunboats, besides several other craft in preparation at Black Rock near Buffalo. Most of the material for ships had to be brought from Philadelphia.

Some of the iron for construction was gathered as scrap from stores, warehouses, farms, wagon tires, hinges and pots. Buffalo contributed a total of a thousand pounds of iron.[9]

When the British fleet, moved by lack of provisions attacked Perry in September, his improvised fleet created by capture, purshase and construction, consisted of six vessels which in tonnage outranked the British. The victory which he won over the British on September 10, 1813 was of immense political and military consequences. The result was summed up in his laconic despatch to General Harrison: "We have met the enemy and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop".[10]

The destruction of the British fleet gave the United States supremacy on Lake Erie and compelled the abandonment of Malden and Detroit by the British. It recovered Michigan; it made a real invasion of Canada once more a possibility. Harrison was enabled to enter at once upon an agressive campaign on the Canadian side of Lake Erie. His men could easily be transported without the threat of the British fleet.

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[9] Otis H. Williams, Compiler, Buffalo Old and New (Buffalo, New York: Buffalo Courier Supplement, May, 1900), p.6.

[10] Kendric Charles Babcock, The Rise of the American Nationality (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1906), p.123.


THE ENTRANCE TO RESTORED
ERIE

Other events on the Lakes during 1813 were of small consequence. Commodore Chauncey and Sir James Yeo divided control of Lake Ontario, first one and then the other turning the balance in his favor by building a new vessel. In similar fashion, the following year saw the capture of Oswego and the blockade of Sackett's Harbor by the British. The spirited capture of Toronto by the British in 1813 was matched in 1814 by the American blockade of Kingston. The only great and significant event upon the Lakes during 1814 was the splendid victory of the Americans on Lake Champlain. The Americans realized the vital importance of the control of the lake, for they were unable to place in the field a force sufficient to impede the progress of the British Army. Supporting the Army, the Americans had on the lake a fleet consisting of one heavy corvette, two smaller vessels and ten gunboats. In command was a young officer, Captain Thomas MacDonough, who had had Mediterranean War experience. He carefully provided against possible disaster, placing his vessels in such a way as to utilize to the full, the advantages of geographical location. In fact, it might be considered a naval battle with a natural land backing. The most dramatic event of the battle was during a two hour skirmish when the British squadran recognized MacDonough's vessel, Saratoga, disabled and was on the point of capturing all of the American fleet. He

promptly devised means for turning the vessel half way round by the operation known as "winding ship", so as to present to the enemy what was substantially a new and fresh vessel. This move saved the day, and within half an hour, the British vessel, Confiance, struck her colors, and was followed by other vessels of the squadron.[11] This battle resulted in a distinguished American victory, and can be considered one of the most stubbornly contested battles of the war.

The deciding battle of the Lakes was yet to come. In August, 1814, the British having been reinforced, advanced under General Drummond to storm the fort at Erie which the Americans were holding. The assailants were driven off with a loss of 900 men, whereas the Americans lost about 80 men. On September 17th, General Brown commanding the American forces executed a sortie with a battalion of 3000 men, the British having 4000. The fighting was severe. The Americans lost 500 men and the British 600 men. Our forces drove the British from the field and thus the Americans claimed a victory. After this the British broke camp and moved to Chippewa. On November 5th, the Americans returned to American soil, as no more fighting took place in Canada.

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[11] Babcock, op. cit., p.126.

Thus, the invasion of Canada was of short duration for the Americans, lasting the short space of four months. The British were not to fight any longer on the Niagara Frontier, but they did retaliate in 1814 by landing forces on American soil and proceeded to Washington where the Capitol was destroyed. In September, however, the British forces received a severe check on its attack on Baltimore, where Fort McHenry successfully resisted the fleet, making a defence which inspired Francis Scott Key to write The Star Spangled Banner, which immediately became the most popular of the national anthems.[12] As a result of the victory in the Battle of New Orleans, in which the Americans manifested great valor under the able leadership of Andrew Jackson, this closing contest covered a multitude of sins of omission and commission on the part of the government and the commanders. It reinforced the pride of the American people, which had been so often and so sorely wounded.[13] All war was finished on the Niagara Frontier by November 5th, 1814 and the people settled down to a period of much needed rest and security.

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[12] Carl Russel Fish, The Development of American Nationality (Revised Edition; New York: American Book Company, 1929), p.123.

[13] Babcock, op. cit., p.149.

With minor additions the Peace of Ghent signed December, 24, 1814, was a simple cessation of hostilities on the basis of the status quo ante bellum. It provided for the mutual restoration of all territory, places, and possessions whatsoever which had been taken during the war or after the signing of the treaty; the restoration of prisoners of war; cessation of hostilities of either party with the Indians; the restoration, or compensation therefor of Negro slaves carried away from their masters by British armed forces; and a pious article, added at the sincere behest of the British Government, by which the contracting parties agreed to use their best endeavors to abolish the traffic in slaves, so irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice. In addition to these articles four mixed commissions were established to settle portions of the old boundary of 1783: to survey and mark the eastern and northern boundary of the United States from the source of the St. Croix to the junction of 45° north latitude and the St. Lawrence; to survey and determine the water boundary from the St. Lawrence to Lake Huron; to settle the disputed possession of the island in Passamaquoddy Bay and Island of Grand Menan; to fix and determine the boundary between Lakes Huron and Superior and thence to the most

northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods.[14] Hostilities did not cease until the Treaty of Ghent was ratified, February 17, 1815.

Had the United States appealed to arms in vain? Peace on the basis of the status quo ante bellum, which was the cause of the war, meant that the United States secured nothing for which it went to war, neither a redress of the grievances which were the ostensible, if entirely righteous, justification for making war, nor the hoped-for annexations of Canada and Florida which impelled the War Hawks of the West to vote for the declaration in 1812. Nothing was said on the practice most bitterly resented of all, British aggressment, though it is true that Great Britain, which never had another great maritime war until the United States became a world power, never impressed another American seaman.

One definite advantage was secured by the United States at Ghent. By resisting the British demand for a neutral Indian barrier state, the American delegation was able to break up forever the sinister alliance of Great Britain with the Indians dwelling within the United States. Henceforth there was no serious Indian question in the

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[14] Samuel Flagg Bemis, A Diplomatic History of the United States, (Revised edition; New York: Henry Hold and Company, 1942), p.169.

Old Northwest, and the region was open to rapid and peaceful settlement. Little else tangible had come from the appeal to arms.

Spiritually the outcome of the war was different. Albert Gallatin, himself the elder statesman of Jeffersonian Democracy, the administrative power of the whole political regime from 1801 to 1815, confessed that the war had done much to strengthen the spirit of American nationality. He wrote:

> The war has been productive of evil and of good, but I think the good preponderates. Independent of the loss of lives, and of the property of individuals, the war has laid the foundations of permanent taxes and military establishments, which the Republicans (i.e., Jeffersonian Democrats) had deemed unfavorable to the happiness and free instirutions of the country. But under our former system we were becoming too selfish too much attached exclusively to the acquisition of wealth above all, too much confined in our political feelings to local and state objects. The war has renewed and reinstated the national feelings and character which the Revolution had given, and which were daily lessening. The people have now more general objects of attachment, with which their pride and political opinions are connected. They are more Americans; they feel and act more as a nation; and I hope that the permanency of the Union is thereby better secured.[15]

This echoes the advice of Washington's Farewell Address to be Americans first, to support the national government over the "subdivisions" thereof. The Jeffersonians had become nationalists.

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[15] Bemis, op. cit., p.170.

Perhaps Gallatin was thinking of the sorry end of New England separatism. The Hartford Convention had assembled in the winter of 1814-1815 to draw up resolutions of protest against overweening federal authority, and had sent in several proposed amendments to the Constitution calculated to strengthen the sovereignty of the states against military command by the nation. It had repeated the nullification resolves of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799. The end of the war brought the utter collapse in national ridicule of the Hartford would-be nullifiers. The war had the effect on national self-respect that an indicidual experiences when he finally punches out at an inveterate bully. It galvanized American nationality. It swelled a new pride in the Union which was to triumph over the great threat of state rights in the middle of the century. In this sense, we may say that if it had not been for the War of 1812 the Union might not have triumphed in 1865.[16]

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[16] Bemis, op. cit., p.171.



A SANGSTER ETCHING AND A PORTERFIELD PHOTO OF FORT NIAGARA, SEEN FROM CANADA

PART II

NIAGARA FRONTIERSMEN AND THE COMING OF THE WAR OF 1812

The forbodings of war had been fearfully listened to for several months by the Niagara Frontier inhabitants but they remained illy provided for the calamitous event of June 18, 1812.[1] They had hoped that the news of war was not to disturb their peace and quite. They had read in the only local newspaper, the Buffalo Gazette, of June 16, 1812 which carried an editorial, two days before the Proclamation, which read as follows:

> War has been so long the order of the day that it is very difficult to ascertain by signs of the times whether we shall have it in reality or have it in words. Mere paper shot.[2]

The doubt in the minds of the inhabitants as to the nearness of war and a war which they feared most, was soon to become a reality.

Express riders spread the news of the Proclamation of War which President Madison had issued on June 18th, 1812, viz:

> Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that war be and the same is hereby declared to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the dependencies thereof, and the

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[1] Chipman P. Turner, The Pioneer Period of Western New York (Buffalo, New York: Bigelow Brothers, 1888), p.10.

[2] Buffalo Gazette, June 18, 1812.

> United States of America and their territories; and that the President of the United States be, and is hereby authorized to use the whole land and naval force of the United States to carry the same into effect, and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States commissions or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper and under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, good and effect of the government of the same United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof.[3]

Three days after its issue, the Canadians had heard of it and consequently had the advantage of making immediate preparations for the inevitable conflict. The news did not reach Fort Niagara until June 26, 1812. The Express Riders, passed through that area and then the main roads of Batavia, Buffalo, Black Rock, Willink and Lewiston and then in every direction from settlement to settlement. The usual avocations were suddenly suspended. Here and there in all the detached neighborhoods were small collections of citizens deliberating and consulting upon the proper measures of safety, defence or flight.[4] The principal gossip of the villages turned instinctively to the prospect of war and many weird tales of Indian uprisings and massacres reached their ears.[5]

The taverns, village stores and street corners buzzed with the topic of war, and hence business for a

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[3] Robert W. Bingham, The Cradle of the Queen City (Buffalo, New York: Baker, Jones, Haussauer, Inc., 1931), p.249.

[4] Ibid., p.252.

[5] Ibid.

time at least was forgotten for the more important topic of defence. The more timid resolved upon the alternative of flight while the more resolute determined to remain and abide by the consequences.

There was a general feeling of insecurity induced by a knowledge of the fact that the enemy upon the Canadian Frontier were prepared for an invasion, while upon the American side, the preparations were quite inadequate. Only Fort Niagara could be relied upon for any protection to the inhabitants, but even this seemed insufficient, for so many persons needed military assistance, and thus, many persons made hasty preparations and were soon on their way seeking asylums beyond the Genesee River. The singular spectacle of families fleeing supposed danger and meeting fellow emigrants who were dismayed by the terrors of the Frontier residence was presented upon most of the main thoroughfares leading east.[6]

The location of Niagara and Erie Counties having a frontier of twenty-six miles on the west bordering on the Niagara River and twenty-four miles on the north , bounded by Lake Ontario, placed the territory in a more exposed condition than any in Western New York. Thus, there existed a constant fear both daily and nightly on the part

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[6] Bingham, op. cit., p.25.

of the inhabitants lest they be molested by the enemy. The concentration of militia from the back country and encampment of regular troops at various points did not insure quietness or save from pilfering or licentiousness.

In the settlements on the Niagara Frontier that were part of the Holland Land Company purchase, which owned five million acres in Central and Western New York, there were to be seen the occasional small harvest fields, ripening for the scythe, maturing and going to waste. The owners whose toil had cleared, planted and sowed, had disappeared to other parts or had gone into military service in defence of their homes and country. Late and often neglected harvests were thus added to the distress and misfortune which so early had reached the inhabitants. Heartbreaking as all this was, they could expect little protection from those who were sent for that purpose. The soldiers often became devouring wolves. They came to Buffalo and vicinity and foraged upon growing crops, diminished the supplies of provisions, occupied the only beds and tenanted the dwellings as a barracks.[7] A deadlock came upon all enterprise, putting the settlers in a condition worse than when they had first settled and commenced building their homes. Now

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[7] Chipman P. Turner, The Pioneer Period of Western New York (Buffalo, New York: Bigelow Brothers, 1888), p.11.

the field of labor must be abandoned for that of courage; the frugal provided homes for camps and protection.

At Fort Niagara, a logical area for the beginning of a war, gathered the portentous clouds that were soon to burst in devastating fury to spoil the new homes, enterprises and fortunes of the inhabitants and sever the sacred family ties.[8]

Like all modern periods of war, a patriotic fever caused some thoughtless youth to disturb the peace of the border. He had fired a shot across the narrow span of water from Black Rock to Fort Erie and it had lodged in a fence, thus causing fear in the hearts of the people. This was the first act which aroused the Canadian ire. This ill feeling was expressed in a message to the Editor of the Gazette by leading citizens across the border. They wrote as follows:

> Whilst strict attention has been observed by the inhabitants on the Canadian shore, opposite Black Rock, not to molest or offend any person residing at the Rock or its vicinity, we had reason to expect a reciprocal attention would have been shown to us; but all are extremely sorry that our expectation has been disappointed and that our inhabitants annoyed by some thoughtless or evil disposed person having fired several musketballs from the American shore: the whistling of these balls have been distinctly heard and ascertained by the examination of several respectable persons. One ball came near the blacksmith shop, one near to

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[8] Document Relating to the Invasion of the Niagara Peninsula (Niagara Historial Society Publications, 1913), p.275.

Henry Trout's Tavern, and one little lower down the river.

Whilst we regret the cause that has occasioned this statement, we feel confident that it requires only to be made known to the authority, who assuredly will prevent such licentious behavior in future, and therefore request that you will give it a place in your impartial paper, and oblige.

Sir,
Your humble servants,
John Warren, Sen. J.P.
John Warren, Jun. J.P.
B. Hardison
Hugh Alexander. [9]

The letter was tinged as can be seen with a desire to remain friendly with us. This feeling was later manifested on the part of the soldiers under General Brock, who acted in a manner of respect toward Americans.[10]

All villages on the Niagara Frontier now had assumed a warlike appearance. The result was the frequent sight of drilling soldiers here and there, and the streets were being crowded with army personnel. All these scenes coupled with the many wild and absurd rumors about roving Indians caused more or less uneasiness to the inhabitants . The American residents along the Niagara Frontier from the most western settlement to Fort Niagara had very good reason to suspect the loyalty of the Indians who, in the Revolution, had taken the part of the British. Following

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[9] Buffalo Gazette, June 23, 1812.

[10] Ibid., December 22, 1812.

the Revolution a considerable number of the Iroquois had migrated from their ancient homes in New York to the Grand River in Canada, where they had been granted land by the British. These Indians served with the British from the outset of the war. That portion of the Six Nations which had remained in New York, occupied reservations in different portions of central and Western New York, but the largest was the one at Buffalo Creek, comprising about one hundred and thirty square miles. Prior to the War, rumors were current that the British were engaging in arming the western Indians, and, in fact, Madison in his war message assigned this as one of the reasons which impelled him to ask Congress to declare war. After the capture of the Chesapeake in 1807, the Indians in the West became restive and there was much apprehension on the part of the settlers in the Niagara Frontier, as the following communication from Erastus Granger, the Indian agent at Buffalo Creek, to the Secretary of War, will disclose:

Buffalo Creek,
"Hon. Henry Dearborn, Esqr. August 25th, 1807.

Sir: I took the liberty in a former letter to mention the departure of Capt. Claus for the westward. Claus in the principal object of his journey is to inflame the minds of the western Indians against the United States and prepare them for war. I am told he expects to meet the Chippewas and others at or near fort St. Josephs. He will undoubtedly make some plausible excuse for undertaking this tour, and probably visit Mihilimachinaly and Detroit on his return.

The old Seneca Prophet, whom you once saw at Washington, strange as it may appear, has acquired an unbounded influence over the Six Nations-his fame has long since reached some of the western Indians, and for two years past they have been sending Messengers to him, requesting his personal attendance in their Country, that they might hear the words of the Great Spirit from his mouth.

The delegation which I mentioned in my last, consisting of Shawonees and others, came on purpose to see him and to request him to return with them, but he has declined going at present.

The old Man if managed right might be made subservient to the interest of the U. States. Farmers Brother & Cornplanter are friendly to us. They are known to many of the Western Indians and might be useful. My plan is to take those three Chiefs with a few attendants on to the Westward. Let the old Prophet kindle a Council fire at Detroit, or such other place as you think proper, and request those Indians generally to attend. When convened, let the Prophet have his part assigned him, the other Chiefs theirs, the Prophet to declare the mind and will of the great spirit respecting going to war with us. The others to state how the Six Nations were deceived by the British in the last war, and how faithful and friendly they had since found us, in all our treaties with them. At this Council, let there be an agent on the part of the U. States; and perhaps it would not be improper that a message on our part should accompany the Prophet in calling them together.

To detail this business in all its parts would render this letter lengthy and tedious; my plan being understood, the propriety or impropriety of it, and the difficulties attending its prosecution will suggest themselves to you. One difficulty I will mention and that is the advanced season of the year before the Indians can be got together. I am sensible that what I have stated may appear futile, nor am I so sanguine as to take all the responsibility upon myself; it is merely submitted for your consideration.

In case of a war with Great Britain the immediate reduction of upper Canada would enable us to manage those Indians to much better advantage... we should

be able to drive British emissaries from amongst them &c. ... The Six Nations will continue friendly, and will even assist, if requested in reducing the Indians at the westward to Obedience ... They could raise from six to seven hundred Warriors ... they might be useful in fighting Indians ... I am preparing and am in hopes to report by next mail on the Subject mentioned in yours of the 30th ult.

I feel devoted to the Interest of my Country and its Government, and my faithful services shall ever be rendered whenever honoured with your Commands.

I am Sir, respect your Obt humble Servt.

E. Granger.

P.S. It is possible that one object of the Western Indians in lately visiting this place was to learn what part the Six Nations would take in case of a war, but nothing of that nature has come to my knowledge.

E. Granger.[11]

According to Brigadier General Babcock, the War Department acted on Granger's suggestion for among his documents is the original passport which Granger gave to the delegation of chiefs which he organized. It is travel stained and shows on its face evidence of having been carried in the pouch of an Indian. The passport read as follows:

To whom it may concern:
The bearers hereof, Hon-a-di-a, Cornplanter, Red Jacket, Young King, Little Billey, Pollard, Major Berry, Two Guns, Blue Sky, Twenty-Kanoes, and Straw-Town,-Distinguish Chiefs of the Six Nations, are with a number of their friends, about making a tour to the Westward.

The object of their journey is that of a friendly nature, as it respects the people of the United States.

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[11] Louis L. Babcock, The War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier (Meadville, Pennsylvania: Tribune Publishing Company, 1927), p.35.

> They expect to meet the Western Indians in Council, and will endeavour to fix, strengthen, and confirm in them a Resolution to remain at peace with the United States, and to hold fast to the treaties they have formed with us.
>
> As these people are our friends, they are recommended to the civility, friendship, and charity of all good people wherever they pass.
>
> Given under my hand at Buffalo Creek in the State of New York this 20th day of August, 1808.
>
> Erastus Granger
> Indian Agent.[12]

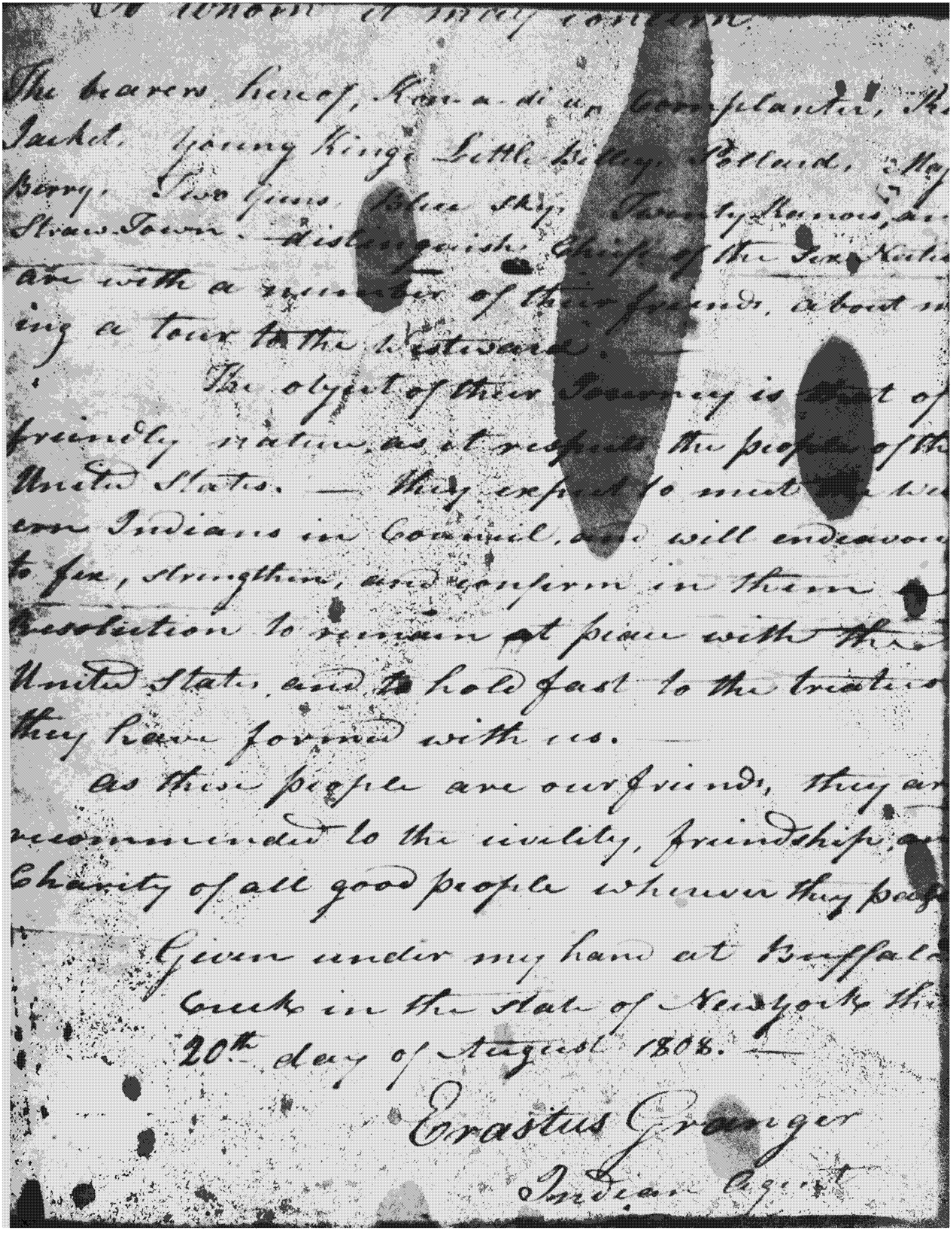
On May 25, 1812, Erastus Granger, as United States Indian Agent, met in council with the Indians of the Six Nations (in the United States) for the purpose of insuring their neutrality. At this meeting Horatio Jones and Jasper Parrish acted as interpreters. When the council convened Erastus Granger opened the session stating the wishes of the Government. The leader of the Senecas, Red Jacket, so called because of the red vest that he wore, induced the Indians of the Six Nations to remain neutral. In replying to Granger, Red Jacket spoke thus:

> If war should take place, we hope you will inform us of it through our agents, and we will use our influence with all the Indians with whom we are acquainted, that they shall conduct according to your wishes.[13]

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[12] See following page for photostat of original document which is in the private collection of Brigadier General Louis Babcock author of The Siege of Fort Erie and The War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier.

[13] Robert W. Bingham, The Cradle of the Queen City (Buffalo, New York: Baker, Jones Hausauer, Inc. 1931), pp.245-248.



Again Brigadier General Babcock states:

> The annuity granted to Red Jacket by our government in 1797 paid great dividends. According to the author, Red Jacket was won over to the American cause by the granting of the one hundred dollar annuity. Prior to 1797 Red Jacket opposed alliances between the Senecas and the Americans. Skillful handling of the delicate situation won for the Americans a great friend and ally whose oratory swayed the Six Nations over to the American cause during the War of 1812.[14]

As proof he has in his private collection Red Jacket's receipt for the annuity payment for the year 1808.[15] The Senecas also made an unsuccessful attempt to induce the Mohawks but they had already allied with the British.

To manifest collaboration, the Senecas, numbering about one hundred and fifty, performed a war dance in the streets of Buffalo and then offered their services. Troops immediately collected at Buffalo, Black Rock and Fort Niagara and then the inhabitants settled down to their usual occupations. During the first year, Buffalo felt little of the excitement of actual war.

The apprehensions of the inhabitants were justified in regard to the Indians, for, when the British began fighting they used the aid of the Indians. The Indians often got out of control and used the scalping knife. The Indians on the Seneca reservation near Buffalo and the

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[14] Statement made by Brigadier General Babcock at a personal interview March 6, 1948.

[15] See following page for photostat of Red Jackets receipt for annuity payment for the year 1808.

I acknowledge to have received of Messrs. Le Roy
Bayard and M.Evers and Tho.s Morris Esq.r by the
hand of Granger Genesee One hundred Dollars in
full for my annuity for 1807 due me by an
agreement entered into with Robert Morris Esq.r
at big tree in September 1797. — for which
I have signed duplicate receipts —
Buffalo Creek 1st June 1808. —

In presence of
John D Johnston
Lewis Walden

Red Jacket his mark X

Tuscarora Indians at Lewiston remained neutral until 1813, when several hundred became part of the United States Army.[16] The Chiefs and Council Leaders of the Six Nations of Indians living in New York State declared war against the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. The declaration was made at a great council meeting held at Buffalo Creek on July 25th. Many of the Indians were regularly enlisted in the Indian Volunteers. Some were commissioned by the United States Government. Farmer Brother held the rank of Captain and so did Cornplanter. Other chiefs were given lesser ranks. Red Jacket was a second lieutenant. Erastus Granger was commissioned pay master for those volunteers, with the rank of Major. The volunteers were paid a certain sum monthly depending upon their rank. A photostatic copy of a subscribed original payroll bears witness to the payment made to these brave volunteers.[17] However, the American residents along the frontier from the most Western settlement to Fort Niagara had very good reason for suspecting the loyalty of the Indians, who had sided with the British.

Notwithstanding all the excitement prevailing, an editorial by Mr. James Mullet appeared in the Buffalo

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[16] Buffalo Gazette, September 15, 1812.

[17] See following page for photostat of the payroll.

Muster Roll of a Detachment of Militia commanded by Capt. Daniel Ellis of Pickaway County in the Service of the United States, during the late War with Great Britain, and called into the service of the United States by virtue of an order from His Excellency Governor Meigs, bearing date the 27th day of September 1813, for the purpose of protecting the Frontier Settlements of said State.

Number	Names of Privates	Rank	Time of Enlistment	Time of Discharge	Miles Travelled	Amount Pay	Remarks
1	Daniel Ellis	Capt.	27th September 1813	27th October 1813	130	$ 26.00	
2	Little Billy	Lieut.	do	do	130	20.00	
3	Pollard	Lieut.	do	do	130	20.00	
4	Strong	Ensign	do	do	130	16.00	
5	Samuel Harris	Sergt.	do	do	130	12.00	
6	Henry Johnson	do	do	do	130	12.00	
7	Big Thomas	do	do	do	130	12.00	
8	Wade	do	do	do	130	12.00	
9	98 Warriors dissent Tribe	Privates	do	do	130	84.00	
				Total Amounts		$ 214.00	

I do certify that the above Sum of Two hundred and fourteen dollars and no cents is due to Ninety Eight Warriors out of the Shawnee Tribe of Indians for their services as Militia in the pursuit of the Hostile Indians who had committed depredations on the Frontiers of this State, and that the same Named Officers being Men of Note & Character among said Indians & the Warriors Respectively Given under My hand this 31st day of October 1813

Jesse Parrish
Inspector Gen.

Gazette, which read as follows:

> Our country is now engaged in actual war with a foreign and powerful enemy from whose mercy we have nothing to hope and from whose power, if we are united, we have nothing to fear. We are placed in a situation the most exposed of any part of these frontiers, unprotected, unassisted and without means of public defence, must rely wholly on our own courage and patriotism; on us are turned the eyes of the aged patriot and the fond mother while bewailing the imaginary loss of her tender infant. A gleam of hope gladdens their countenance while they behold us embodied for the defence of the dearest right of men - The Liberties of our Country.[18]

Such a stirring appeal could not fail to arouse the patriotic soul to a sense of duty. This editorial seemed to meet a need, for, across the border seme anxiety was expressed on the part of General Brook, as he wrote on July 12, 1812:

> The men evince a degree of impatience under their present restraint, that is far from inspiring confidence. There can be no doubt that a large portion of the population in the neighborhood are sincere in their profession to defend their country but it appears likewise evident to me that the great part are either indifferent to what is passing or so completely American as to rejoice in the prospect of a change of government.[19]

This statement was borne out by the fact that a battalion of Canadians led by Wilcox, a former Parliament member came to the American cause during the war. He was later killed in the battle of Fort Erie.

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[18] Louis L. Babcock, The Siege of Fort Erie (Buffalo, New York: Peter Paul Book Company, 1899), p.25.

[19] Ibid.

Thus, we see from this chapter that the populace was gradually fortified and made ready for the sad events which were to follow. We have shown too the spirit in which the populace received the news of war and the excitement and apprehension it caused.



THE EARLIEST BUFFALO PICTURE KNOWN: VIEW OF FORT ERIE FROM BUFFALO CREEK, 1811.

DRAWN BY E. WALSH 49TH (BTSH.) REGT. SIZE OF ORIGINAL 21 BY 14 INCHES.

PART III

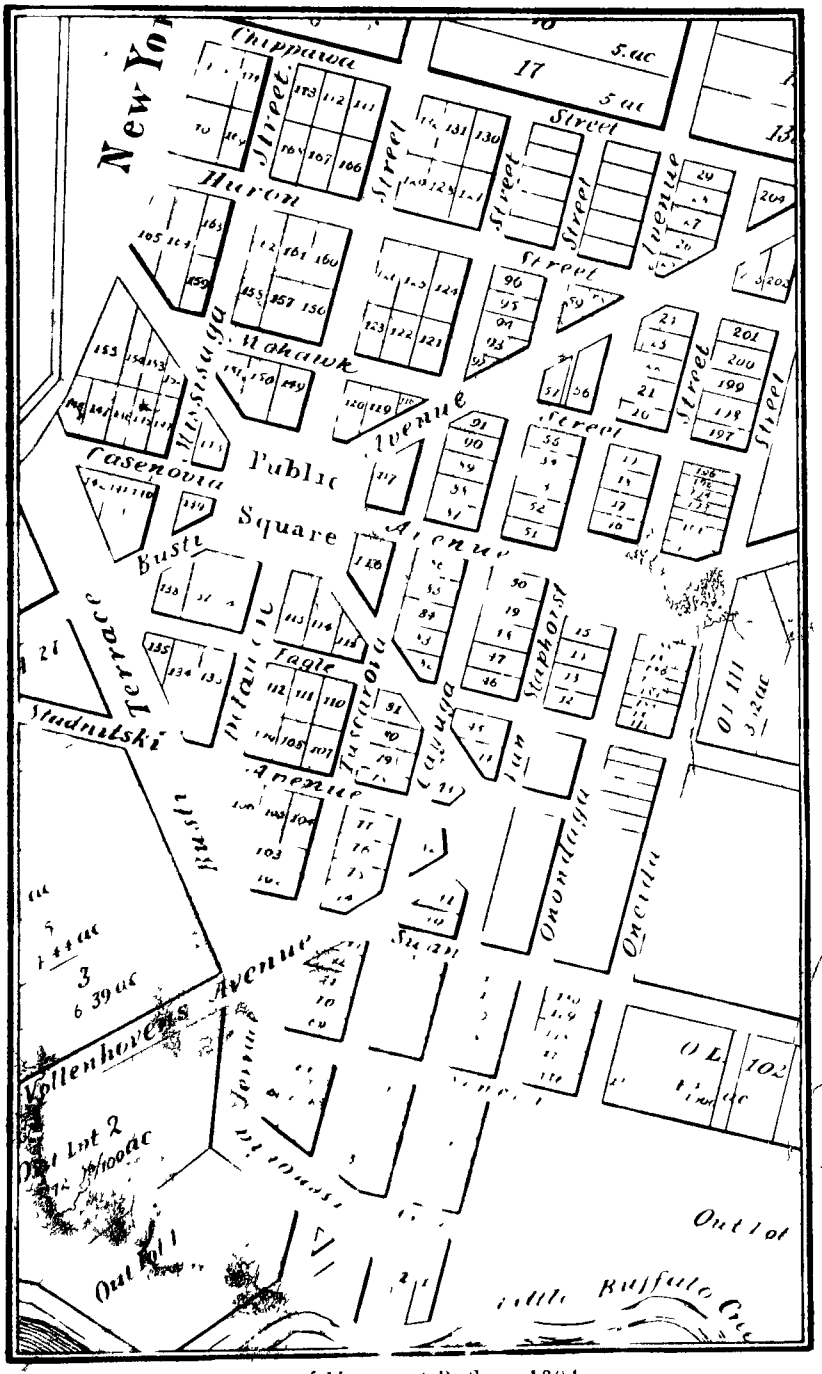
AN INSIGHT INTO THE VILLAGE OF BUFFALO BEFORE THE WAR OF 1812

Joseph Ellicott, in writing a report to Paul Busti, general agent of the Holland Land Company for the year 1810 mentioned that Van Staphorst Avenue (Main Street north of what is now Church Street), was beginning to have the earmarks of a busy thorough fare. Also that a number of well built two-story houses of stone, brick, and frame, of dimensions varying from twenty-eight to forty-four feet front and from thirty to forty feet in depth, now adorned the avenue. On the other streets several buildings had been erected, and during that year fifty dwelling houses, stores and barns had been built.

> ... every description of useful mechanics, blacksmiths, carpenters, house joiners, brickmakers stone masons, cabinet and chair makers, tanners and curriers bakers, butchers, shoe and boot makers, saddlers and harnessmakers, wheelwrights, etc., together with eleven large stores of merchandise and among them two wholesale stores who furnish other merchants and trades with other articles of merchantise for the West, There are also three apothecary shops who sell drugs wholesale and retail, three taverns, a post office and a mail stage.[1]

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[1] Joseph Ellicott, Holland Land Company Papers, Buffalo Historical Society Publications, 1814.


Chippawa
Street
Huron
Mohawk
Public
Square
Eagle
Avenue
Terrace
Studnitski
Vollenhoven's
Out Lot 2
Out Lot 1
Out lot
Buffalo Cre
Onondaga
Oneida
Seneca
Main
Ellicott
Carsenovia
Busti
Stephon St
Tuscarora
Iroquois
Jersey
Pearl
Division
Niagara
Swan
Scott
Church
Franklin
Washington
Ohio
Michigan
Erie
Commercial
Ganson
Virginia
Tupper
Lafayette
Court
Genesee
Seneca
Exchange
Mohawk
Main
Pearl

Mr. Ellicott, it seems, omitted certain things from his report pertaining to the village of Buffalo. Robert Bingham, in his book, The Cradle of the Queen City, elaborates upon Ellicott's description of Buffalo. He states that

> In the spring of 1812, Chippewa Street was the northern boundry of the village lots; on the east side of Main Street practically where Chippewa Market now stands, were swampy land and the natural course of drainage was down Chippewa Street. At the intersection of Main Street was a slough hole which in wet weather was almost impossible for wagons. A bog hole about six feet deep marked the village lot on the southeast corner of Main and Chippewa Streets. This lot was offered by Joseph Ellicott at an earlier period to Benjamin Hodge for $10.00, as he did not consider it worth anything.[2]

Among some of the families that lived in Buffalo in 1806 or there abouts were such as John Crow, innkeeper, on the south side of Crow Street, now Exchange Street, between Main and Washington Streets near Washington. Mr. Granger's office was located in Crow's Tavern on the side of Crow Street near the corner of Washington Street, or where Washington Street commenced; Merchant Joshua Gillett, east of Barker's Tavern on the corner of Main and Terrace Streets. Vincent Grant, also a merchant, was located on the west side of Main Street near Seneca Street. Louis Leccoteulx kept a drug store opposite John Crow's tavern on the north side

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[2] Robert W. Bingham, The Cradle of the Queen City (Buffalo, New York: Baker, Jones, Hausauer, Inc., 1931), p.249.

In 1804 my father settled in Buffalo when I was [illegible] years of age. At
that time there were [illegible] families on the [illegible]. John Crow kept a tavern
where the Eastern portion of the Mansion House now stands. His Establish-
ment consisted of a number of log houses mostly a story and a half high
having been erected at his leisure & convenience for accommodation
of emigrants. At that time they were scarce in front with
Clapboards and some of the rooms had some pretentions to
neatness of finish. Crow kept a good & tavern as long as
any time I have been here and was patron-
ized Chiefly by Officers of the American & British armies and
fur traders. He failed [illegible] and took to the woods of
Alamingo where with a family of [illegible] he understood to clear
up a New Farm. Some of his descendants still remain
in that neighborhood. Capt Samuel Pratt the Grand
father of the present Samuel Pratt Esqr occupied a wing of
Crows establishment with Indian goods. There was also
an other Tavern of a much more pretending appearance
on the Corner of Main Street and the Terrace. Kept by
Lord Harvey who shortly after removed to the North
of St. Vs Mich Creek and was succeeded in the Tavern
House by Oliver Barker. Com. Jackson was Joseph Lemon
The principal Indian article of Trade at that time was Furs of which the Indians brought
in large quantities particularly Deer Skins which was
the great Object of competition between the fur trading
Establishments then in the place, they were Capt. Pratt
Sylvanus Mather, Joshua Gillett. and the Contractors Store
as it was called kept by Vincent Grant as Agent for

of Exchange Street, where he also served as the town clerk.[3]

According to William Hodge,Jr., he remembered a very polite Frenchman, a true gentleman in every sense of the word, a member of the old school, highly educated, a refugee from France, who claimed to be a relative of King Louis XIV, who was forced to leave France or lose his head. This Frenchman still continued to wear large expensive silver shoe and knee buckles, with long stockings and short breeches, with his queue wound tastefully and neatly with a ribbon and displaying itself from under his hat. Johnson's Indian goods store was located next to Le Couteulx's drug store. Mr. Johnson had an Indian woman for a wife, and, according to the early Buffalo residents, was of Tory memory.

William Hull, a silversmith by vocation, had his store on the East side of Main Street between Crow and Seneca Streets. David Ruse was a blacksmith, doing a great deal of work for the Indians. His house was located on the southeast corner of Washington and Seneca Streets; his blacksmith shop was on the northeast corner of the same street. Our present Post Office building is located there.

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[3] William Hodge Papers, Manuscripts Buffalo Historical Societies Archives.

Also see photostat on preceeding page as to authencity of remarks.

[illegible] and Seneca Street.

Blacksmith Shop of the Indians.

[illegible] east corner of [illegible] Seneca Streets, was Blacksmith shop [illegible] the north east corner of the same [illegible] same occupied by our Post Office building, ~~claiming to be United States office.~~

Mr Hobbins — Blacksmith near Vincent Grants Store on the west side of Main Street.

His dwelling was made of hewed logs, and situated back or west of his Shop.

Post Master Cyrenus Chapin — His dwelling situated on Main Street near the Square — in the bushes as it was then called to designate the place.

Mr Meadow and Mr Lane his son in law lived near Little Buffalo Creek on the south end of the Platt L.T. (That is on the east side of Main Street between the Mansion house and Hamburg canal.)

Black Jo. lived in a small log shanty situated on the flat near Little Buffalo Creek on the ~~east~~ west side of Main St. L.T. near Mr Lawrence. ~~Here~~ the

Mr. Babkins, also a blacksmith, was located near Vincent Grant's store on the west side of Main Street. His dwelling was made of hewed logs, and situated back or west of his shop.

The dwelling of Doctor Cyrenus Chapin was situated on Main Street near the square in the bushes, as it was then called to designate the place. Mr Meadow and Mr. Lane, his son-in-law, lived near little Buffalo Creek on the south and of the Pratt lot that is on the east side of Main Street between the Mansion House and Hamburg Canal. Black Jo lived in a small log shanty situated on the flat near little Buffalo Creek on the east side of Main Street and near Meadows. This shanty was covered with bark. Jo kept a low class grocery store. He had a white woman for his wife. He left the place in 1807 for Malden, Canada.[4]

John Despar, a Frenchman and a baker by trade, lived on the East side of Washington between Exchange and Seneca Streets. He supplied most of the inhabitants with their bread and cakes. After several years, he became very dissipated in his habits, quit his business, and subsequently bought and moved on to a farm lot on the south side of the Cayuga road now called Best Street. During the war period,

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[4] William Hodge Papers, op. cit.

Also see photostat on preceeding page as to verification of facts.

Norton. Richard & Co.. Contracts for supplying the Meters, Posts. &c. across Mackinac. Chicago and Fort Wayne. The residents of the place were Johnson. Dawes. Lord Harvey. Tarrant. Capt Samuel Puthuff Jr and family & three sons. Vincent-Grant. Widow with one son, Adam Mabbe Merchant. Bachelor. a Mr Ewing with family removed to Portsmouth, Capt. Samuel Johnston. was one of the Commissioners of Exchange in Washington St. Capt Joseph Palmer. Lots captain had a small store. near to Front corner of Washington & Capt Stuart. on walk in Washington street. Capt. Mc Kenzie. Who married Miss. Hollister N.S Chief Store near it and a single Man. a German, named Shultz who. kept a bakery. on the opposite Corner where the Boyds afterwards Stanley. The family of the former. Capt David Mitchell came in the residence of Lieut. Mitchell. this removed a year or two after. a family by the name of White a son removed to Cleveland Except. one son. White who continued to reside here until after the War. Joseph Wells. was nothing an opening just above S.E

Mr Ely & Company store on the block S.E. corner. Merchants. Contractors by trade. Daniel Lane S.E. N. Michael Oldest inhabitant of all. lives near the Tannery Exchange street. Montgomery Mason. who afterwards married a daughter of Lane. also three Clancy and Mr. Wells.

1812-15, he lived without doing much work except drinking hard. John Despar sold this farm to Mr. William Smith. This Mr. Smith was the first regular dairyman to supply the citizens of the Buffalo Village with milk. It is said that an unusual sale was made at this time, for Mr. Smith agreed to pay Despar two hundred dollars each year for as long as he (Despar) and his wife lived. Mr. John Despar and his wife both died in less than two years after the bargain was struck.[5]

Lot number 54 was occupied by a family named Raymond, a chair maker by trade. It was reliably reported that the sons of this man piloted the British army to the village of Buffalo when it was burned on December 30, 1813. This family left the village for Canada immediately upon the commencement of hostilities. Sachet Dodge came to Buffalo from Black River County and located about three hundred feet north of the guide board road in Main Street. The next lot, number 35, was first owned by Benjamin Hodge, who planted two or three acres with peach trees by planting the pits or stones in the soil. In 1811 Ward Cotton came from the East, bought and settled on this lot, building a new log house. Lot 56 was owned by Alfred Churchill, a cousin of William Hodge,Senior. This article was sold to

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[5] William Hodge Papers, op. cit.

Also see photostat on following page of Mr.Hodges personal letter recollecting same.

Commencing at the old guideboard and [illegible] it is now called North Street. The first lot is No 53

The first occupa. to I remember was a family by the name of Raymond. They left just b fore the war of 1812. and went to Canada.

The next [illegible] was Sacket Dodge he came I think in 1810 or 1811 from Lewis Co. Black River Country

There was only a small log house situated about two or three hundred feet from north of the guide board road [illegible] on Main Street. The frame house on the corner was built after the war and I believe it was built by Zebulon Ketchum the next owner. After the war and about the time Mr Ketchum came on to the lot Mr Welcome Wood became owner of four acres of mostly the front part of the lot. The Wood family remained there many years

Lot No 54 was also occupied by a family by the name of Raymond a chair maker by trade was a brother to the other Raymond. He left at the same time with his brother for Canada. It was stated and I have no reason to doubt the report that it was the sons of those Raymonds that piloted the British army when they burnt Buffalo Dec. ber 30 1813.

Mr Alvan Dodge brother of Sacket bought and occupied this farm after Raymond left. He moved on to it in 1811 occupied the small log house then on the place. Mr Dodge remained on the farm many years

The next lot No 35 was first owned by Benjamin Hodge Sen. This was between 1806 and 1811. Mr Hodge cleared off some two or three acres near the north east corner on the road and planted an orchard of peach trees by planting the pits or stones. Benjamin Hodge then a small boy helped his father plant them.

In 1811 Mr Ward Caton or Major Caton as he was called came from the east bought and settled on this lot built a log house. Mr Caton died the next year that is in 1812 and his family lived on the farm until 1835 of when they sold to William J. Miller they had sold to him in 1830

Erastus Granger, who held onto the lot and worked the few acres that were cleared in the front. There was no house on the lot.

Lot number 57 was first owned by Michael Hunt, who built a small log house about two hundred feet south from Utica Street. In turn, this article was bought by Joseph Husten, who refused to sell it to Mr. Hodge, as he had sowed apple seeds and had a nursery of apple trees growing upon the lot, but subsequently did sell it to Mr. Hodge in the year 1810. This nursery was the first on the western frontier. William Hodge commenced to build his brick house on the hill on lot number 57 in the year 1811. The bricks for this house were manufactured on Mr. Hodge's land, lot number 35, by Nathan Toles. Those were the first bricks made in the village of Buffalo. Very few people aspired to build brick houses in those days in what was yet a wilderness. This house was known and remebered, both far and near, as the brick tavern on the hill.[6]

One of Buffalo's early businessmen was Elizah D. Effner, a merchant tailor. It was understood that Mr. Effner always kept the best stock of goods, and his work in making up garments was of the best character. According to Mr. hodge:

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[6] William Hodge Papers, op. cit.

See photostats on following page of Mr. Hodge personal papers verifying same.

The [illegible] as my recollection was owned first by Alfred Churchill a cousin of William Hodge sen. Mr Churchill sold the article to Mr Seth Granger at what time I cant say but think it must have been after the war of 1812-14.

Mr Granger held the article several years and worked the five acres that was cleared on front. There was no house on the lot. Mr Granger sold to a Mr Wilkes and he kept it a year or two and sold to a Mr Bennett, and about 1822 Mr Abner Bryant sen bought and built a small house on, and occupied it, and subsequently built a larger house which stands on the corner of Main & Bryant Street, this was built about 1826 or 1827

Lot No 57 was first owned and occupied by Michael Hunt who built a small log house about two hundred feet south of Utica Street. It is all log now and situated on the highest ground of the front of the lot I write on just here that the road or street has been cut down at this place about six feet, and the street was level first where Utica Street crosses four or more feet. So also this was a mystery, and for this place quite a high hill. The log barn I remember stood about eighty or one hundred feet back of the log house.

Mr Joseph Huston bought the article of Mr Hunt about 1804, or 1805. Mr Huston was calculating to make this farm lot his future home but after he had been here a year or so his health began to fail and meeting Mr William Hodge in the road one day offered to sell him the article of the lot, Mr Hodge said he would think of it the lot of him but he had always stood to sell. of a trade a bargain at once. Mr Hodge was to pay him two hundred dollars, to cultivate the apple nursery Mr Huston had on the lot. sell the trees and divide the proceeds of the same and also to obligate himself to give a good and sufficient deed of the west ten acres of the lot to Michael Hunt, as he agreed to do when he bought of Mr Hunt

> He was a reliable business man honored and respected through the long life he spent with us, keeping within his legitimate business. I never knew him to dabble in politics or seek for any public office.[7]

The selection of a burial-place is generally the last thing attended to in a new settlement, inasmuch as all exertions are needed to support the living and carry on the necessary improvements; and unless there should be some death from accidental cause, there are no particular reasons to induce the pioneers to think that any of them will be cut off from their labors, and become the silent tenants of the tomb. As with other settlements in Western New York, so Buffalo was lax in attending to the necessities of providing a resting place for the dead, and Churches were organized and school houses erected ere it became a certainty that death was likely to invade here as else where.

Captain William Johnston, a British officer retired on half pay, once owned a tract of some forty acres of land in what is now the business center of Buffalo, it being bounded by Seneca Street on the north, on the west by Washington Street, on the south by Little Buffalo Creek, and on the east by a line which would include the forty acres, the said line running parallel with Washington Street.

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[7] William Hodge Papers, op. cit.

As this place was the center of attraction, residents meeting for conversation, very naturally the settlement increased about Johnston's place, and finally he laid out a small burial ground a few rods square on his homestead at the corner of Crow (Exchange) and Washington Streets, Crow then running only from Main to Washington. The place was afterwards the "Sheldon place", and, when the Washington Block was built in 1873-4, several skeletons were dug up by the laborers excavating for cellars. As the street is now a number of feet below the original surface of the soil, the removal of the earth for cellars rendered it necessary to excavate far below the bottom of the deepest graves.[8]

As these skeletons were found on the east side of the Sheldon lot, there is every reason to believe, and tradition deepens the impression, that more are interred on the next lot east, which was occupied by the Paint Shop of J. Josephs. This house was built by Mr. Hoyt, and afterwards passed into the hands of Mr. Waters, family of the firm of Kimberly and Waters Ship Chandlers.

But there has been an ever changing tide of people living in the house; people of every kind, color, and nationality, and some of such bad repute, that it would

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[8] William Hodge Papers, op. cit.

not be surprising in the least if the original tenants had had their numbers increased by the sudden taking off of unsuspecting persons, decoyed there for purposes of plunder and murder. When the building is removed, and the lot excavated for larger cellars, it will not be unexpected if a dozen or more skeletons of different sizes are found on the north end of that, and the adjacent lot now occupied by the old Cabinet Shop of Oliver Pomeroy, which was erected in 1832. It is understood that Captain Johnston was buried in his own cemetery in 1807, the first tenant being an infant son of the Captain. Burials did not cease till several years after there was a village burial place established on lots 108,109,111,112, where now stand the massive city and County Buildings. The reason for this change was that the title to the Johnston place was yet in the dower, and, if not deeded to the Village, might cause trouble in after years from a change of owners.[9]

This proved to be the case, for John (or Jack) Johnston, son of the old Captain, who inherited the property, incumbered it by a mortgage to Jasper Parrish, as agent and trustee of the Cayuga Nation; and Johnston failing to pay, the mortgage was duly foreclosed and sold in 1811.

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[9] William Hodge Papers, op. cit.

This lot was the commencement of the then beautiful Terrace, on whose grassy surface the Indians used to recline and view the Lake in all its pristine beauty. It was described by Judge Peacock, when he first came on the spot as, "one of the most beautiful views I ever put my eyes upon".[10]

The first person interred in the new cemetery was one John Cochrane, a traveller from Connecticut who died in Barker's Tavern on The Terrace near the corner on the west side Main Street, a log house, facing south on Terrace. As a verbal consent had been given by Mr. Ellicott to use the lots, the man from the land of steady habits was buried there, and from that time, most, if not all burials, ceased in the Washington Street place, except those of Johnston's family or relatives thereof.

Tradition says that a very tall Indian, from his altitude termed the "Infant", was the second silent inhabitant of the Village Cemetery, which became the recognized burial place, though, with the usual carelessness of early settlers, the title to it was not obtained from the Holland Land Company until 1821. This can easily be accounted for, as there was no Village Corporation to hold the gift. After it had been in use some years as a

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[10] William Hodge Papers, op. cit.

cemetery, it was deemed that the Village had a right by possession. There was no individual ownership of the lots, but persons, on application, had family or single lots assigned them by the Trustees, until 1832 when burials, as a general thing, were discontinued thereon.[11]

The main artery of travel between Buffalo and Batavia and points east was known as the "Great Eastern Road". Apparently it was in a bad condition even before it reached the village, for in the edition of December 25, 1811 we find the following notice:

Great Eastern Road

> On the 3rd inst. a meeting of the inhabitants of the towns of Buffalo and Clarence convened at Henshaw's Inn, in this town for the purpose of taking into consideration the bad state of the Great Road from Buffalo to Batavia, and appointed a committee to cooperate with a committee from Genesee County; which was accordingly appointed by a meeting at Keye's Inn, Batavia, on the 12th instant, on which day the several committees met at the same place and proseeded as follows:
>
> Resolved, that we concur in the resolution of the inhabitants of the towns of Buffalo and Clarence, to apply to the legislature, to pay an act, "granting a Lottery for the purpose of raising a sum of money, sufficient to improve and repair the road from Genesee River to Buffalo; and to loan the like sum of money to be immediately used and (sic) applied to that purpose, by commissioners to be therefor appointed".
>
> Resolved, that application be made to the next legislature, to raise the manner afore said the sum of 15,000 dollars to be applied toward improving said road...[12]

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[11] William Hodge Papers, op. cit.

[12] Buffalo Gazette, December 25, 1811.

The "Great Eastern Road" was essential not only as a means of travel and transportation, but also served as the only channel of news from the east. It is natural therefore for the editor of the Gazette to become very much concerned over the poor condition of this important throughfare, and we find him writing as follows in the Tuesday January 7, 1812, issue:

> The Mails-Much complaint has been made to the eastward, respecting the want of attention somewhere in the Mail Establishment, between this place and Albany. The roads have been, it is true uncommonly broken up and damaged in many places, more especially between this village and Batavia; indeed, it has been almost impossible to perform the trip to Batavia with the stage coach wagon, during the last two months of mud and mire. We then did not conceive it either liberal or just, to charge the managers of the mail establishment at the eastward, with inattention or neglect. Some papers asserted, that the postmaster at Utica was at the bottom of all the delaus and irregularities of the mail... as though the genrleman controlled the whole line!
>
> But while the sleighing remains as good as at the present time, we do not hesitate to say that the mail ought to arrive here twice in each week from the eastward. The times in which we live are momentous indeed. The people are highly interested in the early knowledge of the operations of government. The benefits resulting from regular and prompt conveyance of letters and newspapers is very great. The arrival of the mail from the eastward being only once in each week, and that too on Wednesday, the news becomes not as well relished here, after seasoning some five or six days. Could we ascertain that the present arrangement is to be permanent, we could alter the day of our publication in order to accomodate our reader with the latest news.[13]

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[13] Buffalo Gazette, January 7, 1812.

Action was finally taken by the state legislature, and appropriation was made for the improvement of the road west of the Genesee River, for we find the advertisement for about thirty laboring men in the July 14 issue of the Gazette. In this day of high wages, it is amusing to note that the laborers were to be paid twelve dollars a month, plus a daily allowance of whiskey.[14]

The December 31, 1811, issue of the Gazette refers to Joseph Alward, the "delinquent villain", who acted as the post rider for the publishers of the Gazette during the first quarter of the publication and absconded to Upper Canada with the sundry property of his fellow citizens.[15]

Cultural activities were rising in the village of Buffalo, for the January 14th, 1812, issue of the paper carried this advertisement: "a Woman's School will be opened at the house of Mr. Folsom, on Monday next. The conditions will be two dollars a quarter, to be paid in advance, in cash, Goods or Produce".[16]

In the Gazette of April 29, 1812, we learn of two more cultural undertakings. First, under the head of

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[14] Buffalo Gazette, July 14, 1812.

[15] Ibid., December 31, 1811.

[16] Ibid., January 14, 1812.

"Dancing School", we learn that

> Lambert B. Bartle, having opened a Dancing School, at the house of Mr. Joseph Landon, in the village of Buffalo, takes this method to solicit the patronage of the public; and trusts that his acquirements in that elegant and polite art, and his exertions to give satisfaction, will meet the entire approbation of those who may favor him with their support... [17]

Secondly, we find that

> Minor, respectfully informs the inhabitants of Buffalo village, and its vicinity, that he will open a school, on Monday next, at 9 o'clock, A.M., in the front chamber of the Brick Building opposite the Court House, formerly occupied by Townsend and Coit, for the purpose of instructing Youth in reading, writing, arithmetic, English, Grammar and the Principles of Elocution if wished. Instructions were also offered in fine arts.

Alanson Wheadon opened a school of music for the purpose of instructing "young ladies and gentlemen in Sacred Music."[18]

The following notice which appears in the Buffalo Gazette of December 10, 1811, gives evidence of still another cultural undertaking in the town of Buffalo during its early days:

Adelphic Society

> The members of the Adelphic Library Society of the town of Buffalo, are requested to meet at the Court House, in the village of New Amsterdam, on Saturday

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[17] Buffalo Gazette, April 29, 1812.

[18] Ibid., January 3, 1812.

the 14th inst. at one o'clock in the afternoon... 19

Apparently some of the inhabitants of the village of Buffalo were lax in religious matters, especially in their observance of the Sabbath according to Calvinistic dictates. The following article which appears in the January 14, 1812, issue of the Gazette, indicates that all was not well in this respect:

> ... I cannot forbear expressing to you my disappointment on arriving at Buffalo. From what I had heard I supposed that the people in general were so given to dissipation and vice, that the preachers of christianity would find few or no ears to hear; but most agreeably disappointed was I to find my audiences, not only respectable in point of numbers, but solemn, decent devout, and which seemed gladly to hear and receive the word. My mind felt an attachment to them, and I could not but lament their destitute situation, their former disappointments in Ministers, and my own inability at that time to serve them... One thing that excites the fear of respectable preachers is the little attention that ispaid by the magistrates and the influential characters, in regulating the Sabbath... thus neglected no clergyman of decent character, could tarry long in Buffalo...[20]

Some of Buffalo's leading early citizens organized to correct what they believed to be scandalous conditions in the village. It was in 1811 that a certain "Moral Society" was founded in Buffalo to which mere allusion has been made.

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[19] Buffalo Gazette, December 9, 1811.

[20] Ibid., January 14, 1812.

Resolution of the Moral Society of Buffalo

> Resolved, That after the 23d of November inst., the laws of the State prohibiting violations of the Sabbath, shall be strictly enforced against all persons who, on that day, shall drive into the village loaded teams or who shall unload goods, wares, and merchandice, or who shall vend goods or keep open stores or shops for the purpose of trading or laboring, or who shall engage in hunting, fishing, etc., etc; also against all parties of pleasure, riding or walking to Black Rock or elsewhere.
>
> Resolved, That the above resolution be published two weeks in the Gazette, published in this village, that strangers as well as villagers may be informed of the same, and govern themselves accordingly. By order of the Society.
>
> A. Callender, Secretary.[21]

General Elijah Holt was president of this society and was, probably, quite as radical as the good Deacon Callender. By their joint efforts, they purposed a more stringent reform movement than Buffalo has ever since experienced.

The Washington Benevolent Society was also organized in 1811 in Buffalo, in which Herman B. Potter was a conspicuous officer. Other leading citizens were early connected with it in some capacity. If it is claimed that these organizations signify that there was need of them in the general character and customs of the inhabitants

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[21] Truman C. White, editor, Our Country and Its People (Boston: The Boston History Company, 1898), p.174.

of the village, it may also be claimed in justification that the fact of their having been called into existence indicates a desire to place the morals of the community above reproach.[22]

Something of the nature of the Washington Benevolent Society may be ascertained by examining the report of the Washington's Birthday celebration which was conducted on February 22, 1812, by the society. Judging by the seventeen who were drunk on the occasion, the society seems to have been a social organization which fostered patriotism and virtue inculcated by precept and enforced by example.[23] Chaplin's "Orations on True Glory" apparently was so well received that it was printed and issued in pamphlet form by the Gazette.[24]

In looking over the Buffalo Gazette published before the War of 1812, there is brought to light the interesting, and to us, the somewhat amusing fact that the few physicians that practiced in what was then Niagara County, were organized into two rival medical societies, and that there was a great deal of friction to be found between the two groups. Many verbal blows were struck at each other through the pages of the Buffalo Gazette. The December 31, 1811,

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[22] White, op. cit., p.174.

[23] Buffalo Gazette, April 1, 1812.

[24] Ibid.

issue of the paper carried the following notice:

Medical Meeting

> The annual meeting of the Medical Society of the County of Niagara, is on the second, Tuesday of January next, and is adjourned to the house of Mr.Joseph Landon in the village of Buffalo at 1 o'clock, P.M.
>
> Daniel Chapin [25]
>
> Buffalo, 31, 1811

This brought forth an advertisement addressed "To The Physicians and Surgeons of Niagara County" and signed by Cyrenius Chapin, which appeared in the January 14, 1812, issue of the paper. The article informs the "Medical Gentlemen" of the County of Niagara that "The Notice", in the Buffalo Gazette, of December 31st, signed "Daniel Chapin", is altogether unwarranted and irregular, and that the Regular Medical Society of this County met on the 17th of November last, and adjourned to the 1st Monday of February next.[26]

Doctor Daniel Chapin, president of the one society, delivered a speech at a special meeting of the Medical Society, held at Landon's Hotel, on the 14th of February, 1812. He said:

> While we take into consideration the general attendance of the medical men of the country at our meetings the zeal and spirit in the promotion, of medical knowledge and improvement displayed by every member is

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[25] Buffalo Gazette, December 31, 1811.

[26] Ibid.

> gratifying our industry... that this tide of successful experiement will ripen our infant institution into matury... and enable us always to make that faightful and impartial estimation of medical merit which is the essence of our official discriminations.
>
> It is subject of regret that our institution founded in justice and benevolence... should ever be the object of premeditated opposition from any quarter. Yet it has been our lot to experience from one restless man, an incessant presecution... our ears have been stunned with scurrilous abuse and menance... and our popularity assailed with calumny and misrepresentation...
>
> To encounter every opposition, and surmount every obstacle, we have but one weapon to wield... to perform our duties faightfully, and obligations to discharge to each other and to the society in general... it is also our primary concern, to correct our own errors and since we make no pretentions to infallibility, we can cheerfully subject every part of our conduct to the most rigid and impartial scrutiny, and feel no difference in maintaining whatever we believe to be right, no repugnance to renounce all we find to be amiss. [27]

Dr. Cyrenius Chapin on May 25, 1812, replied to the earlier address given by Doctor Daniel Chapin. It is interesting to note that Dr. Cyrenius Chapin's address was inserted as an ordinary news item, apparently without charge as an advertisement, and without an editorial apology for its appearance. From this we may conclude that the editors favored the medical group headed by Dr. Cyrenius Chapin. Dr. Chapin said:

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[27] Buffalo Gazette, February 22, 1812.

> Two medical groups cannot exist at the same time, in the same county ... provisions has been made by our legislatures for the establishment of one medical society... This other society held secret meetings, contrary to parliamentary law... controlled by six men, hardly known by name... however there are sixteen medical men in the county ... Tamely to have suffered imposition to be practiced by these men under the name of medical society would have rendered us unworthy to the stations we occupy in society. It immediately then became the duty of the majority of the physicians and surgeons, to come forward and give authority to the right institution, which could be called the Medical Society of the County of Niagara. That our claims to this name are indisputable, and that we can maintain them against every pretender, we shall at all times be able, and, I have no doubt, willing to establish and prove.[28]

It appears that the Medical Society headed by Dr. Daniel Chapin was dissolved by Court Order, for after June 1, 1812, no more meeting notices appeared in the Gazette.

Judging by the various advertisements that found their way into the Gazette, the period preceeding the War of 1812 was a boom period. There was a constant increase in the number of business establishments in the village at that time. However, business as a whole was not flourishing in the late spring of 1812. The Gazette editorial dated April 28, 1812, gives us a gloomy picture of the Buffalo economy:

> The Times. This country has never witnessed since its first settlement, such intolerable dull times as at present. There is no business that flourishes - no

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[28] Buffalo Gazette, May 25, 1812.

> trade that prospers - the merchant lays a non-intercourse on his ledger - the mechanic stands with his hands in his pocket - and the sturdy old farmer swears he can get no money.
>
> Non Intercourse and Embargo were not sufficient to blast our prosperity Parson Wigton steps in to complete the trio of evils - the falsehoods he circuluted while returning from this county to the eastward respecting our danger of being attacked by the Indians, have, without doubt, injured the settlement of the county very materially. It is not unprequently that we observe each day from 12 to 20 families removing thro' this village to the westward - but for the last ten days we do not believe that there have been 5 families removing through the village. These facts speak for themselves. The people at the eastward are made to believe, "Indians and Vagabonds", having actually laid waste our country, for the sole purpose of subserving the interests of a party.[29]

Although Indians and Vagabonds had not actually laid waste our country, the Seneca Indian Village on Buffalo Creek, less than four miles away, was a constant sourse of uncertainty and apprehension on the part of villagers of "New Amsterdam or Buffaloe". Although the Indians at Buffalo Creek did accept Mr. Jabez B. Hyde, the first school teacher among the Senecas who was sent out by the New York Missionary Society, they rejected the Rev. M. Alexander, who was sent as a missionary.

Red Jacket was, of course, the leader of the opposition, and, it is recorded by Ketchan, delivered the following decision in the matter:

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[29] Buffalo Gazette, April 28, 1812.

> He said they had listed attentively to what had been argued in favor of the religion of the whites, and if it would accomplish what those who advocated its introduction among them promised, it was very good- if it would make them sober, honest, truthful and kind that was very good; but as they were not fully satisfied on the subject, they tought the experiment had better be tried on the people in Buffalo, for they were great rascals; they cheated the Indians, they drank a great deal of whiskey and caused the Indians to get drunk, and they never spoke the truth, and were always quarrelsome. If the missionaries would go down and preached to them a year they (the Indians) would see what effect it would have upon them, and would then be able to decide what was best for them.[30]

Mr. Hyde remained as a teacher and labored zealously in the cause of religion and morality in Buffalo, frequently conducting meetings in the absence of an ordained preacher.

John Mellish visited Buffalo in October, 1811, and left on record his impressions of the place, a perusal of which has a certain kind of interest of its own. He wrote as follows:

> Buffalo is handsomely situated at the east end of Lake Erie, where it commands a beautiful view of the lake, of Upper Canada, and Fort Erie, and a great distance to the southward, which is terminated by an elevated lofty country. The site of the town extends quite to the lake shore, but is princippaly built on an eminence of about thirty feet, at a little distance; and to the south along the creek are handsome rich bottom lots, which are at present a little marshy, but will, when drained, be most valuable appendages to this beautiful place. Buffalo was laid out for a town about five years ago, and is regularly disposed in streets and lots. The lots are from sixty to one hundred feet deep, and sell from twenty-five to fifty dollars; and there are out lots of five and ten acres, worth at

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[30] Truman C. White, editor, Our County and Its People (Boston: The Boston History Company 1898), p.174.

present from ten to twenty-five dollars per acre. The population was by last census three hundred and sixty-five; it is now computed at five hundred, and is rapidly increasing. The buildings are mostly of wood, painted white; but there is a number of good brick houses, and some few of stone. There are four taverns, eight stores, two schools, and a weekly newspaper has been recently established. The town is as yet too new for the introduction of any manufactures, except those of a domestic kind. The greater part of the people are farmers and mechanics. The settlers are mostly from New England, but the town being on the great thoroughfare to the western country, there is a great mixture. A considerable trade in constantly kept up by the influx of strangers, and such articles as are necessary for their accommodation are dear. House rent is from two to twenty dollars per week; wood is one dollar per cord; flour is seven dollars per barrel; pork six dollars per cwt.; beef four dollars; porter six dollars per dozen. Fish are very plenty and cheap. Boarding is three dollars per week. The situation is quite healthy, and the seasons are much more mild and open than might be expected in this northern latitude. Buffalo Creek flows into the lake by a slow current. It is navigable about four miles, and it is proposed to run a pier into the lake at its outlet and form a harbor, which would be a most important advantage to this part of the country. Already there is a turnpike road to New York, having the accommodation of a stage three times a week. Upon the whole I think this likely to become a great settlement.[31]

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[31] White, op. cit., p.175.

PART IV

THE HOME FRONT AND THE SPREAD OF THE WAR ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER

The Frontier by July 6, 1812, was guarded by only 15,000 men, divided between Buffalo, Black Rock, Lewiston and Fort Niagara without having been properly trained. Brigadier General Babcock remarked:

> They lacked discipline and military bearing. They also lacked proper equipment in clothing and ammunition, for in most instances, the latter had to be provided by themselves. Their leaders were unqualified and very often without leadership. The soldiers, though willing to do their part, often became disgusted with their leaders, and threw their guns and went home.[1]

General Wadsworth reported early in July, 1812 that there were no tents or any kind of camp equipment available; and the following excerpt from his report shows the state of discipline among the organizations there assembled. He said:

> The dissatisfaction of the two regiments of militia is not to be surmounted in any other way than to dismiss them, to save the disagreeable necessity of their dispersing without permission. They were called out at a moment's notice and could make no preparation for themselves and they found very little made for them. They were able to draw but little bread and to draw flour seemed useless for they had no utensils to cook

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[1] Statement made by Brigadier General Babcock at a personal interview March 6, 1948.

it in. Such pails and kettkes as were to be had were purchased, but in the distribution there was not one to a company.[2]

The militia were armed with the weapons the men happened to bring with them, and owing to poor quarters, improper food and lack of control the men soon contracted camp diseases and became sickly. For several weeks after the declaration ofwar there was only powder enough to enable the troops to fight one hour. General Peter B. Porter reported that the militia had repaired to the Frontier in large numbers and with promptitude had returned to their homes and that their places had been filled with raw levies.[3]

During the summer of 1812, "nothing much was done by the United States Government in the way of prosecuting the war on the Niagara Frontier, for evidently it knew too little about the needs and conditions".[4]

Early in August, 1812, a small force of militia gathered at Buffalo and Black Rock and several guns were planted along the Lake. The Canadians were also active in readying their fortifications across from the Rock. Our

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[2] Louis L. Babcock, The War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier, (Meadville, Pennsylvania: Tribune Publishing Company, 1927), p.35.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Frank Severance, editor, Documents Relating to the War of 1812, Buffalo Historical Publications, (Buffalo, New York: Union and Times Press, 1906), Vol. 9, p.321.

Armies on the Frontier made every effort to put themselves in a position of defence. Their success was materially handicapped because of considerable illness among the troops at Black Rock.[5]

About the 1st of September, 1812, a public meeting was held in the court house, Buffalo, the proceedings of which were thus described in the Gazette of the 8th of the month:

> County Meeting. - A meeting of many citizens of Niagara county was held pursuant of public notice, at the Court House, in Buffalo, on Thursday last; Gen. T. S. Hopkins, Chairman, Richard Smith, Esq., Clerk. ... A committee of five was appointed to address the governor on the present critical situation on the frontiers, to acquaint him with the great deficiency of arms and ammunition, and pray relief, and a general committee of safety was appointed to give all necessary information of approaching danger, and also to prevent all unnecessary alarm from the thousand rumors and falsehoods that are constantly afloat.[6]

On the 29th of the same month appeared the following:

> About one hundred and forty warriors of the Seneca Nation of Indians from Alleghany River arrived in town last week and are encamped near the village. More are expected from different parts. .. They voluntarily offered to take up arms for defensive operations. Yesterday they performed a war dance in the streets of the village.[7]

All this arrangement of troops was merely defensive in 1812 and no serious encounters were experienced in this

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[5] Buffalo Gazette, August 25, 1812.

[6] Ibid., September 8, 1812.

[7] Ibid., September 29, 1812.

area. However, one of the most brilliant and daring exploits of the war was enacted near Buffalo. Lieutenant J. B. Elliott, of the United States Navy, had been ordered to report to General Van Rensselaer to consult with him concerning the building ofa fleet to operate on Lake Erie. Elliott was young, only twenty-seven, but a patriot full of zeal and bravery. He had, with the concurrence of General Van Rensselaer, selected Black Rock as the point at which to establish his embryo navy yard, and while occupied there the young lieutenant learned that two vessels of the enemy, armed for war, had arrived and anchored off Fort Erie on the opposite side of the river. They were the Detroit and the Caledonia, the former the brig Adams, taken at Hull's surrender; the latter the property of the Northwestern Fur Company, and reported as having on board a valuable cargo of furs. Elliott immediately laid plans for the capture of these vessels, and fortunately for his purpose a detachment of seamen arrived on the day his plans were laid, the 8th of October (1812). Lieutenant Winfield Scott was in command at Black Rock and detailed an engineer with fifty men to aid in the undertaking, to which force were added a number of citizens, all armed by Scott's orders. The total force numbered 124 men. The expedition left the eastern shore at midnight, and at three o'clock both vessels were taken and their crews made prisoners.

In his report to the secretary of the navy Elliott said: "In less than ten minutes I had the prisoners all seized, the topsails were sheeted home, and the vessels under way"[8]

The wind being too light to enable the vessels to stem the rapid current and get out of reach of the guns of Fort Erie, the Detroit came to anchor and for a time kept up a lively artillery duel with the fort; but after the failure of various efforts to remove her from the fire of the enemy, Elliott, seeing that her destruction was probable, cut his cable and set her adrift; she grounded on the west side of Squaw Island, where, after the removal of the prisoners, she was boarded by a party of British from Fort Erie, who, in turn, were driven off by a few citizen soldiers of Buffalo, with the aid of a six-pounder and a few charges of canister shot. All day the contending parties fought over the prize, and finally on the approach of Sir Issac Brock with the Lady Prevost and a strong crew, she was set on fire by a party of United States infantry and burned. The Caledonia was saved and afterwards did service under Perry on Lake Erie; she proved a rich prize, as her cargo was valued at $200,000. Elliott in his report specially commended for gallantry in this affair not only the

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[8] Truman C. White, Our Country and its People. A descriptive work on Erie County, New York (Boston, Mass: The Boston History Publishers, 1898), Vol. 1, p.199.

officers under him, but Captain Chapin and Messrs. John Town, Thomas Dain, Peter Overstocks and James Sloan, citizens of Buffalo.[9]

The first shot fired from the British batteries killed Major William Howe Cuyler of Palmyra, who was on General Hall's staff, as he was riding along the river road in the early morning. This was the first death caused by the war within the limits of the present Erie county.[10] Some of the British cannon balls passed through buildings in Black Rock and Mrs. Benjamin Bidwell relates that she and her husband were driven from their own house that morning and started for her sister's residence to seek shelter in her celler. On their way a cannon ball passed so near them that the rush of the air prostrated a little girl they were leading. They then fled to the woods where they found other families in hiding. While Mrs. Bidwell was cooking a late breakfast in the forest, another cannon ball struck the fire and scattered the food in all directions, They now determined to get out of range of the

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[9] White, op. cit., p.200.

[10] Ibid.

British force and made their way to Cold Spring.[11]

Elliott's daring move had an exhilarating effect throughout the States, and a correspondingly depressing one upon the British, Sir Isaac Brock expressing himself concerning it as follows:

> The event is particularly unfortunate, and may reduce us to incalculable distress. The enemy is making every exertion to gain a naval superiority on both lakes, which, if they accomplish it, I do not see how we can possibly retain the country.[12]

In connection with the history of this event the Gazette of October 20th had the following:

> On Monday of last week the British came over to Squaw Island and captured two American boats, one of which was loaded with cannon balls. On the same day while a boat was passing down the river from Black Rock to Schlosser, loaded with flour and whisky, the British opened their batteries upon the boat and fired upwards of thirty rounds of grape shot at her while passing from Squaw Island to the head of Grand Island, most of which struck the sails or some part of the boat. There were about thirty men on board the boat, and only one was wounded. This was Thomas Morgan.... On Tuesday last the British batteries below Fort Erie opened a very heavy fire upon the fortifications and village of Black Rock.... But few shots were returned from our batteries, having there no larger calibre than field-sixes at the breastworks. Two shots, in the morning, pierced the house of Orange Dean, which did little damage besides bilging a barrel of old Pittsburgh whisky in Dean's cellar, belonging to Peter H. Colt. Several cannon shot struck the battery, and two or three passed through the upper loft of the west barracks. A bomb thrown from a twenty-four pounder

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[11] White, op. cit. p.200.

[12] Ibid.

> the east barracks and destroyed them; it entered and burst near a cask of powder which blew up. Several stands of arms, two boxes of fixed ammunition, and some property of the soldiers was destroyed; a quantity of skins, a part of the cargo of the Caledonia, were much injured. The event caused much shouting among the British. Several shots passed through Sills's store. A twenty four pounder struck the upper loft of the stone house of Gen. Porter, while the General and his friends were at dinner... Another ball passed through the roof. Several other houses were injured.[13]

The winter of 1812 was long and severe and because of military precautions, the inhabitants endured considerable privations in regard to private living, for, General Smythe's Army was lacking sufficient provisions at Black Rock.

The American inhabitants were, during the winter of 1812, often reminded of the intentions of their leaders to carry out their objective to go across the border into enemy territory and General Smyth who frequently gave out ridiculous proclamations, issued the following on November 12, 1812:

> In a few days the troops under my command will plant the American standard in Canada. They are men accustomed to obedience, silence and steadiness. They will conquer or they will die. Will you stand with your arms folded and look on this interesting struggle? Must I turn from you and ask men of the Six Nations to support the Government of the United States? Shall I imitate the officers of the British King, and suffer our ungathered laurels to be tarnished by ruthless deeds? No, where I command, the vanquished and the peaceful man, the child, the maid and the matron shall be secure from wrong.[14]

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[13] Buffalo Gazette, October 20, 1812.

[14] Ibid., November 12, 1812.

This proclamation was a warning of the many sad events which were to afflict the Niagara Frontier in 1813.

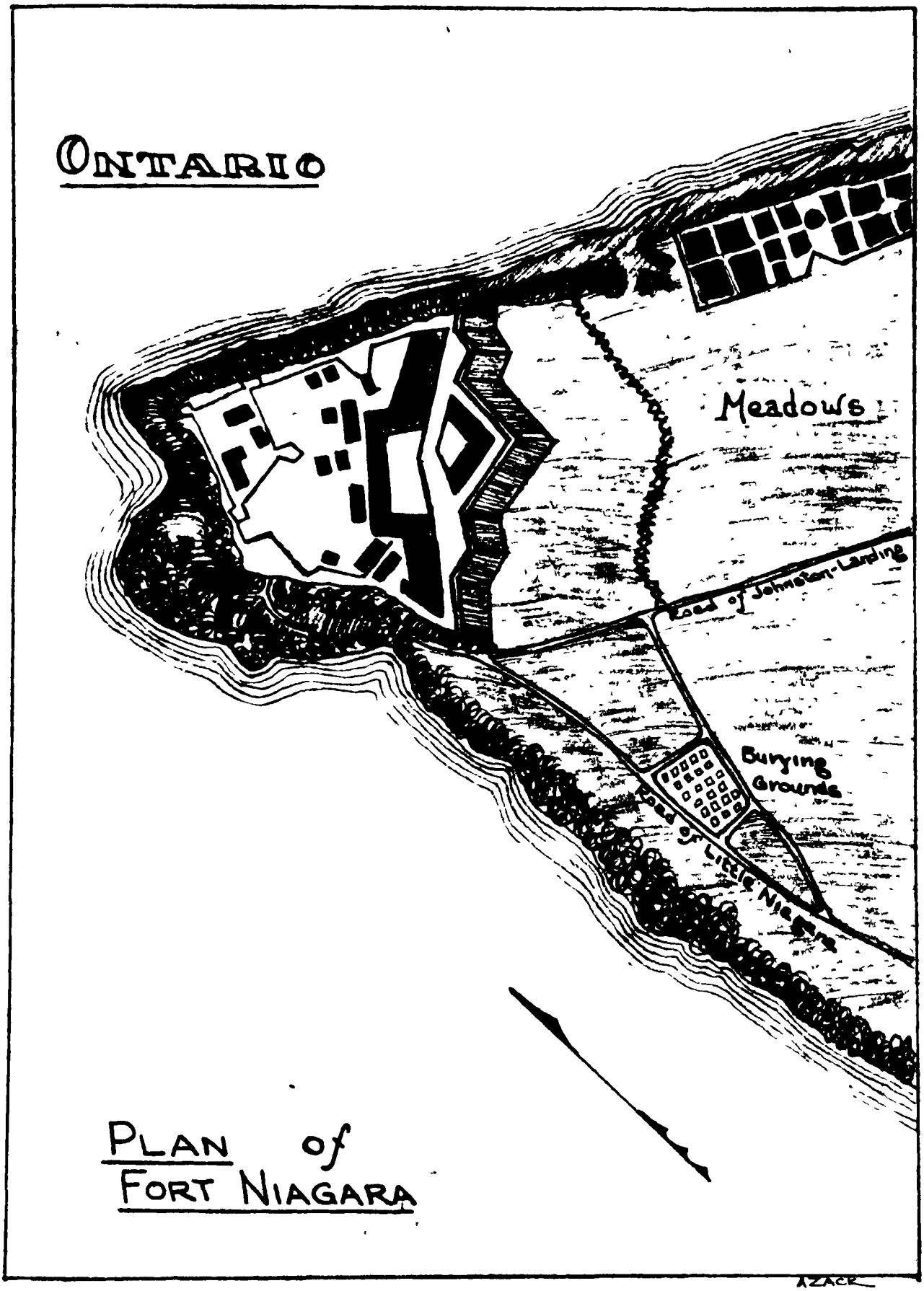
The major catastrophe which was to cause needless bloodshed, happened after the British had retired in January, 1813, from Fort George, and General McClure, American Commander at Fort Niagara, marched under a mistaken apprehension of his orders, with a regiment to Newark, now Niagara Falls, Ontario, and marauded and plundered the village. He quartered his soldiers on the inhabitants, and farm houses in the vicinity were systematically robbed. His soldiers scoured the country, pillaging and destroying the houses and led off the leading men to this side of the border. The same treatment was accorded Queenstown.[15] This action was condemned by all of our leaders and people. As Mrs. Jonathan Sidway said:

> The burning of Queenstown and Newark was denounced by my mother as an exhibition of wantonness only fit for savages; and in all her conversations accused the perpetrators of that act of exhibiting a bravado that only belonged to cowardice and motives as mercenary as the cowboys of the Revolution. She was one to quote the biblical maxim, "Whatsoever a man sowith that shall he also reap".[16]

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[15] David B. Douglas, Reminiscenses of the Campaign of 1814 on the Niagara Frontier. Historical Magazine (Buffalo, New York: Buffalo Historical Society Publications, 1873), p.7.

[16] Mrs. Jonathan Sidway, Papers Relating to the Burning of Buffalo (Buffalo, New York: Buffalo Historical Society Publications, 1868), Col. 9, p.334.



PLAN of FORT NIAGARA

General McClure, though he defends his action later, nevertheless, set himself up as a target of the enemy and brought to our shores unbelieveable horrors.

The enemy was revengeful and crossed over to Fort Niagara, by way of the Five Mile Meadows, in considerable force, consisting of regulars and Indians who made their way to the Niagara garrison undiscovered, and found our men asleep. The Commander of Fort Niagara, Captain Leonard, who was accused of being intoxicated and away from the Fort, treacherously neglected the defence of Fort Niagara and later gave himself up to the enemy.

The besiegers, a group of one thousand savages, led by British officers, ran wildly without discipline to Lewiston and attacked Major Bennett there. The inoffensive inhabitants of the Village of Lewiston and Youngstown who could not escape regardless of age or sex were inhumanly butchered, except the wife and children of a German inhabitant who were killed on the road. All buildings had been destroyed during the night and the inhabitants were left mutilated and dying. The total number of the dead amounted to forty-six.[17]

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[17] Chipman P. Turner, The Pioneer Period of Western New York (Buffalo, New York: Bigelow Brothers, 1888), p.30.

It appears from Riall's report that his troops did not come in contact with the Americans who seemed to have been driven off by the Indians. General Drummond was apprehensive over the employment of Indians for such duty and before the expeditions were sent over he extracted promises from the chiefs that they would refrain from their usual savage practices. In the attack on Lewiston, they broke away from all restraint and used the tomahawk and scalping knife upon the dead, the wounded, and the unhurt, irrespective of sex or age. Drummond said in his report to Prevost:

> I reported to your Excellency that the Indians who advanced with Major General Riall's force on the morning of the 19th had committed great excesses in consequence of intoxication and had burnt the greatest part of the houses at or near Lewiston. I have now the honor to state that on withdrawing the troops from Lewiston yesterday (Dec.22) I thought it advisable, the inhabitants having in general quitted their houses, to direct the remainder of them to be set on fire in order to deprive the enemy of cover for troops that might be sent for the purpose of destroying the opposite town of Queenston.[18]

An unknown American officer writing to the Albany Argus on December 26, 1813, paints the scene at Lewiston in more graphic language:

> The Indians then began their hellish work by burning the buildings and plundering, killing and scalping the inhabitants. On the river and from six to eight miles on the Ridge Road they have not left a house from the fort to Schlosser except one owned by Mr.

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[18] Louis L. Babcock, The War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier, (meadville, Pennsylvania: Tribune Publishing Company, 1927), p.127.

> Fairbanks a Federalist of the Boston stamp. On Friday I proceeded with thirty mounted volunteers to Lewiston. The sight we here witnessed was shocking beyond description. Our neighbors were seen lying dead in the field and roads, some horribly cut and mangled with tomahawks, others eaten by the hogs which were probably left for that purpose, as they were almost the only animals found alive. It is not yet ascertained how many were killed as most of the bodies were thrown into the burning houses and consumed.[19]

We have another graphic description of the destruction of the settlement from the pen of Jonas Harrison, the collector of customs for the District of Niagara, who wrote his official chief from Batavia on December 24, 1813:

> Sir: On Sunday morning the 19th inst. the British landed unobserved about 900 Indians and 600 or 700 Regulars at the Five Mile Meadow about half way between Lewiston and Fort Niagara... They showed themselves at Lewiston about sunrise and strange to tell we had not more than three to five minutes notice of their being on our side before their Indians were at my house. They, as far as we can learn (for it is said they are still in possession of the country) commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children together with burning every house, barn outhouse and hovel that could take fire. The citizens about Lewiston and its vicinity below the slope or highland that forms the Falls of Niagara, escaped by the Ridge Road toward Genesee Falls, all going the one road on foot, old and young, men women, and children flying from their beds, some not more than half dressed, without shoes or stockings, together with men on horseback, wagons carts, sleighs and sleds overturning and crushing each other, stimulated by the horrid yells of the 900 savages on the pursuit, which lasted eight miles, formed a scene awful and terrific in the extreme.[20]

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[19] Babcock, op. cit., p.128.

[20] Ibid.

The merciless invaders had not spared horrors at Manchester (Niagara), but by some invisible force were temporarily checked at Lewiston Heights. Nothing human could check them. Youngstown which had eight houses was wiped out of existence.[21] Then a body of troops was sent eastward along the shore of Lake Ontario as far as Eighteen Mile Creek (Newfane, Niagara County) burning the few isolated houses in their path. The leading objective was the burning of Judge Van Horn's Flour Mills where some flour for our Army was stored. The order was carefully executed for twenty-four hours. The scattered settlers along the Eighteen Mile Creek were as homeless as were those of the Frontier from Fort Niagara to Tonawanda except a few buildings that were saved by a commanding officer. He seemed quite humane for he ordered his men to assist in removing some of the most necessary articles of household furniture before firing the houses. Before the Mill was fired, he ordered several barrels of flour rolled out for the use of families whom he had made destitute. The name of this officer has not been recorded. The invaders returned to Fort Niagara, taking back fifteen prisoners but leaving the homeless women and children to care for themselves.[22]

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[21] Turner, op. cit., p.30.

[22] O.Turner, Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase of Western New York and A History of Pioneer Settlement (Buffalo, New York: Jewett, Thomas and Company, 1850), p.593.

The dwelling of Joseph Pease, who had located on the east side of the creek in 1808, was first ordered burned. The venerable Enoch Pease gives the circumstances as they occurred:

> My mother was left with the smaller children, to contend for a spared home. As was the case with all male heads of families and able-bodied men, prudence dictated that they should keep from being taken prisoner, and left to provide for the suffering. An opportunity was given my mother to remove any articles she might wish to preserve, before applying the torch. The mill was to be set on fire, when they were told that there was a quantity of flour in it, which she begged might be rolled out, saying that it would help keep the neighbors from starving. The officer consented that it might be done by my brother, ten years old, who got out about twenty barrels, that were consumed by the burning frame falling upon them. The tragedy at this point about drawing to a close, by the burning of our house and barn, the enquiry was made, whether there was anything more to be got out. My mother told them there was a barrel of brandy in a hole under the floor, that had been brought from Youngstown and left for safe-keeping. An animation was quickly visible in the lighted-up countenances of officer and men, who at once made the most intrepid charge of the day. Striking for the acceptable, rescued pillage, strife regard on the honor and first advantage in the capture. Brandy for once, without the leave to take, give away or sell, inspired a good impulse. Freely indulging, filling their canteens and such dishes as they could find to carry it away, kinder feeling prevailed; while a kindled fire on the brain turned their thoughts from the house and barn, which were left standing. The same influence opened their ears to the entreaties of my mother for my release. I had been taken prisoner with John Lloyd, and confined in Kemp's cellar, at the mouth of the creek. My father, who was with us at the time, fortunately escaped by seizing a horse that fleetly carried him beyond the reach of the fire of the sentinels, who had secured me and Mr. Lloyd, who was kept in confinement with me. My mother caused our release.

> The work of destruction was, at the same time, in progress at the mouth of the Eighteen-mile Creek, and as far as the residence of Zebulon Coats, now occupied by Farden T. Dicks and Norris Holsted. The building burned with Coats' was Burgoyne Kemp's house, who was the first settler locating in 1808. His log barn was saved, containing two hundred bushels of wheat, by an order from the Fort. The buildings of Benjamin Holsted, who settled about the same time, William Chambers, Widow Hopkins, - Edwards, Dexter P. Sprague and William Royce were also burned.
>
> The day before an express had been sent to the Fort, to inform them of the poor condition of the inhabitants, and that their buildings were of little consequence to burn. Peremptory orders were returned to burn all, except Kemp's barn. Kemp, the day before, had killed his hogs, the pork of which furnished a sumptuous supper and breakfast for the soldiers, who cooked for themselves. The officers demanded meals to be cooked for them, saying that they would pay for so doing. Mrs. Kemp accordingly cooked, and was remunerated by the officers saying, 'We will pay you by burning the house'; fulfilling the later promise, the submissive provider and her family were left without a home in which to pillow their heads.[23]

All the mischief in this vicinity had been done. A backward march for the Fort was commenced the same afternoon, and a halt made for the night at the house of Reuben Wilson. His esteemed son survivor, Luther Wilson, relates as follows:

> The house of my father, Reuben Wilson, was taken possession of by the officers and a guard. John Eastman's house, a near neighbor, was the soldiers' barrack. As soon as a messenger, by the name of Ash, arrived as far as here, to give the alarm, I saved what I could of the cattle, and getting together all that time

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[23] Chipman P. Turner, The Pioneer Period Of Western New York (Buffalo, New York: Bigelow Brothers, 1888), p.28.

> would allow, I drove them as far as Somerset. Returning in the night, I did not find my father's house, or the domestic fire-side, presenting the former inviting appearance. Our unpretending unfortified, but only pioneer castle, in the woods, was desecrated. The noisy, obtruding inmates were strangers and devastating enemies; boasting of the chivalrous deeds they had been performing during the day - the heroism of frightening a few settlers in the woods - rendering homeless many defenceless women and children. Drunk, and vaunting over a conquest of armed desperadoes, they were wickedly and cowardly molesting a few justly-located emigrants; intoxicated by the unlawfully-appropriated brandy, that was not entirely exhausted. The house of Eastman was a debauched pioneer settlement, filthily occupied by a squad debauchees.
>
> They had with them ten prisoners; among them is remembered Ambrose Doty, John Lloyd, —Martin, William Cory, Andrwe McEwin, Thomas McEwin and my father. Mr. Jonathan Lutts adds the following, which is probably correct: 'Smith Sheldon, — McEntire, with Doty, were taken to Halifax; and Thomas Brown, Sheldon, Doty and McEntire died there, and the others returned'.[24]

The scattered houses on the Ridge Road were destroyed. Along this road fled inhabitants who were lucky enough to escape. Men hastily hitched horses to sleighs and then placed upon them women and children who had been hurriedly gathered together with such clothing and blankets as it was possible to carry away. After them came the enemy. The Tuscarora Indians came to their rescue and by blowing on cows horns and having squaws in great numbers appearing on the edge of the plateau, gave the impression to the enemy of superior numbers and thus the enemy disappeard.

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[24] Turner, op. cit., p.28.

General Drummond of Queenstown said: "The British Indians, gave retaliation for the conflagration of Newark. Not a house in my sight but is in flames. This is melancholy, but just retaliation".[25]

Day and night the entire population was busy preparing for flight. Men, women and children passed to and fro in wild frenzy. If any echoing sound was heard, it was imagined to be the noise of approaching savages. The scarcity of teams obliged all to travel on foot. The most delicate offspring was carried in mother's arms. Exhausted mothers with their infants often crept behind logs and into woody thickets in order to find places of rest.[26]

The invaders accused the inhabitants on the shore of Lake Ontario, of treachery. Their homes were burned and their cattle driven off. Colonel Jacobs, a Tuscarora, found some Indians who had violated homes, took them out and burned them, considering the action justifiable.[27]

The destruction of Lewiston and murder of its inhabitants had cast gloom around all firesides. Further plans marked Buffalo, Black Rock and other settlements for destruction.

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[25] Niagara County, New York, A Concise Record of Her Progress and People, 1821-1921 (no author given) (Illinois: J.H. Beers and Company, 1921), Vol. I, p.113.

[26] Turner, op. cit., p.32.

[27] Ibid., p.25.

Throughout the countryside, small farm houses suffered the fate of Lewiston. Many inmates, though the exact number is not recorded, left breakfast tables still provided with unconsumed steaming food and irregularly arranged chairs, testifying to the hasty departure of the occupants. In the winter storms of 1813, the only shelter was in the woods or in a dilapidated barn. Even on the march, food was needed and as a certain Jonathan Lutts said:

> Food was stored in a secret hiding in order to feed daily. Anything found by the enemy was taken with lawless independence. To object or plead for spared plunder would only result in a return of provoking impudence...[28]

The citizens who had remained steadfast throughout these bitter trials, joined in a patriotic tide to curb the advance of the enemy. Ammunition was placed in the occupants' hands as they fled from their homes, and courage and energy became the voluntary countersign. Said Chipman Turner:

> They were renewed in spirit, heart and soul to inflict retributive justice upon the worst of wrong doers who had butchered their friends and neighbors, reduced their only homes to ashes, and sent them as destitutes to seek protection among strangers.[29]

Citizens were on the march indeed to meet the enemy face to face. A single shot by an inhabitant scattered the

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[28] Turner, op. cit., p.30.

[29] Ibid., p.17.

enemy in disorderly retreat over the bodies of their victims. Along the Ridge Road, consternation prevailed. Men, women and children followed half clothed, barefooted in the snow. Turner said:

> At one time, five infant children from their mothers' breasts were found upon an ox sled, placed there by anxious mothers to save their tender offspring. The mothers followed in cold dripping garments to claim their infants when the sled was overtaken.[30]

The invaders were spurred on by their murderous deeds, and they finally reached Black Rock. This village was feebly defended and four vessels stationed at the Rock were burned and only one log cabin remained in which some women and children had taken refuge.[31] Tidings that all was hopeless had reached Buffalo and were confirmed by the hasty retreat of squads of militia who were making palpable demonstrations of their innate love of life in their eagerness to outstrip each other in the race that was taking them beyond the reach of danger. Those of the citizens who had teams of oxen or horses put them in requisition, hastily snatching but a small portion of personal effects for themselves and families, and seeking in terror and dismay the most convenient avenues of escape. In many instances, women and children, inadequately provided with the means of protection against inclement weather, started out on foot

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[30] Turner, op. cit., p.20.

[31] Louis L. Babcock, The War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier, (Meadville, Pennsylvania: Tribune Publishing Company, 1927), p.135.

to wade many miles through snow before they could hope for shelter and rest.

Buffalo was the next village to face the invader. General Riall who led the band of savages promised not to destroy the buildings but only to loot them. After some consulting and delay however, he gave a secret order to set them on fire. A few remaining citizens who had before been willing to face danger now fled back into the country. During the whole day of burning, December 30th, 1813, the Buffalo Road was filled with squads of retreating soldiers. In many instances, half clad children, the wounded, the aged and infirm struggled along through snow. Many able bodied armed men often passed there, pitiless and unobserving. Here and there along the road feeble attempts were made to rally and stand.[32] The invaders remained three days in Buffalo, and it was rather disappointing to them, for they had expected to meet an American force, but none came.

The roads leading out of Buffalo were truly scenes of indescribable confusion. The villagers heard shouts "The Indians are coming"! and they fled out Seneca Street.

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[32] Papers Relating to the War of 1812. Burning of Buffalo and the Niagara Frontier. Buffalo Historical Society Publications, 1906. p.595.



BURNING OF BUFFALO DECEMBER 30,1813

Some took the Batavia Road, some the ferry, anyway to escape the savages. Main Street (Williamsville Road) was a picture of fleeting citizens. The population at this period was nearly five hundred. Again the shouts "The Indians are coming!" were heard; and the villagers ran back toward Seneca Street. The savages broke through the woods into North Street (Guide Board Road) and came down Main Street, howling, shooting, scalping and burning. Two young men, Johnson and Efner, had mounted a gun on cart wheels and turned it down Niagara Street. They fired several rounds. Seeing the hopelessness of defense and allowing the villagers time to escape, Colonel Chapin came forward and held up a flag of truce and began to parley with the enemy.[33]

The march of weary people presented a stirring spectacle. As they departed along the routes, they removed bread, meats and drinks from the log cabins and taverns. Then they divided these supplies with the famished that came along.

The British and Indian warriors who had swarmed into the Village of Buffalo began their work of carnage. A few persons were captured and one woman was slain.[34] She

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[33] Frank Severance, editor, Dobbins Papers, Buffalo Historical Society Publications, 1905, p.257.

[34] Ibid., p.258.

had resisted the savages who were pillaging her home and a tomahawk was buried in her brain. A neighbor Mrs. Gamalied St.John, a woman of strong character, was one of the persons whose home was saved. Sending her children away in the care of fugitives, she remained behind in the village and had acquired an Indian guard at her home. This small dwelling, a stone jail, a blacksmith shop, and a frame barn were the only structures remaining to represent Buffalo after three days of destruction. Previously Buffalo had boasted of a hundred wooden homes, eight stores, four taverns, and two schools.[35] A few inhabitants returned after the enemy had departed and began to restore partly ruined buildings.

A Mr. Bemis who had intended to escape from Buffalo with his family toward Batavia, hearing the shots of the Indians, turned and drove rapidly into Buffalo. As he passed Niagara Street, he noticed British soldiers at Mohawk Street. It was he who had given the warning to Mrs. St.John, as he passed to the ferry. He passed terror stricken men, women and children on foot trying desperately to escape disaster.[36]

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[35] J.N. Larned, A History of Buffalo, (New York: The Progress of the Empire State Company, 1911), p.29.

[36] Sidway, op. cit., p.346.

Mr. John Haddock, one of the refugees relating his experiences, says:

> We left our houses about twenty minutes before the savages entered it and after pillaging everything, set the house afire, and he continues, fifteen miles this cold day with my family did I march carrying in my arms my youngest child and being wearied so to death. I had one knee so lame I could not stand upright.[37]

The following letter sent to the Secretary of War, January 12, 1813, by General Case on the Niagara Frontier describes the picture clearly: "I have this day passed through the ruins of Buffalo. It exhibits a scene of distress and destruction such as I have never before witnessed".[38]

On January 3, 1814, citizens assembled and gathered the dead and laid them in Reese's shop; they were over forty in number. It was a ghastly sight, most of the bodies having been stripped, tomahawked and scalped. Those not soon taken away by friends were placed in a large grave in the old Franklin Square burial grounds and covered temporarily with boards, so that they might be examined by relatives and taken away. Quiet again settled down over the village.[39]

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[37] Robert W. Bingham, The Cradle of the Queen City (Buffalo, New York: Baker, Jones, Hausauer, Inc. 1931), p.330.

[38] O. Turner, op. cit., p.604.

[39] Truman C. White, Our Country and its People. A Descriptive work on Erie County, New York (Boston, Mass: The Boston History Publishers, 1898), Vol. I, p.237.

The year 1813 saw the most effective retaliation for the burning of Newark and York. The whole American side of Niagara was a line of blackened desolation.

From the British point of view, all this destruction seemed appropriate, for, as Mr. James Hannay says:

> The retaliation by which the whole American Frontier on the Niagara was laid waste was no doubt severe, but it was only by the exercise of such measures that the American people could be brought to their senses and taught respect for The Methods of Civilized Warfare.[40]

It would be rather difficult to give the reader an entire account of the actual conditions on the Niagara Frontier during the ill-fated winter of 1813. That would enable him to realize the intense alarm, the panic, the full calamities that were endured by the pioneers of the border. Mr. Douglas substantiates this statement by saying: "That Buffalo, just deserted by the busy groups which had a few days before occupied it, was deserted and comfortless beyond any power of mine to describe".[41]

Probably no truer story of the Niagara Frontier destruction has been written than that delivered years later by Rev. P.J. Van Pelt to the survivors of this war,

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[40] James Hannay, D.C.L., History of the War of 1812, Between Great Britain and United States, (Morang and Company, Ltd., Totonto, 1905), p.233.

[41] David B. Douglas, Reminiscenses of the Campaign of 1814 on the Niagara Frontier. Historical Magazine. (Buffalo, New York: Buffalo Historical Society Publications, 1873), p.11.

when he said:

> Defenseless towns and villages were set fire and reduced to ashes, cultured fields were desolated, widows' houses plundered, the virtuous daughters ignominiously robbed of their chastity, the fathers bewailed his child; many a fair and beautifyl form was left on the cold ground, the miserable horror of a mangled corpse.[42]

The remainder of that winter witnessed much distress in Erie County and nearby territory, especially along the frontier. In the interior the fugitive farmers and tradesmen soon returned to their homes and generally escaped severe suffering; their homes were left to them and in most cases were provided with life's necessaries. At Buffalo it was not so. A detachment of regulars was stationed there, which gave the returning inhabitants a measure of confidence, and the task of rebuilding on the ruins began. William Hodge and his family returned on the 6th of January, and Mr. Pomeroy, the landlord, soon followed him. The latter erected the first building amid the ruins on the site of his former hotel, and Mr. Hodge the second. Holden Allen, father of Captain Levi Allen, occupied Mrs. St.John's cottage and entertained the many who came to see the ruins. Frequent rumors reached the place of another attack by the

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[42] Rev. P.J. Van Pelt, Discourse to the Survivors of the Veterans Corps of the War of 1812 (Casper and Childs, New York, 1851), p.5.

British, and several times the inhabitants packed their goods for flight. Twice a squad of British crossed the river, but were driven back by soldiers and citizens. Those who were suffering for food were supplied from the army commissary.

We have witnessed throughout this chapter, the gallant spirit displayed by the inhabitants. Every effort has been made to show how they met the enemy and provided according to their means, proper measures for protection and suffered bravely with their fellow countrymen. We have touched upon the causes which brought about this suffering; burning of villages, the resistance of the people, scenes of misery and proofs of the horrible disaster.

PART V

THE SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AS IT WAS MANIFESTED ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER 1812-15

During 1812-1814, war conditions on the Niagara Frontier required that every effort be made by the humble inhabitants to seek refuge in safer locales, in order to maintain courage at all times and in order to lend encouragement to their suffering brethren in one of the greatest trials of their lives, viz., preservation of life and American ideals. Therefore, it will be seen that even in a period where life on the Niagara Frontier was devoid of all luxury, the mind of man found ways of bringing consolation to a people held in the throes of war, and in an hour when the battle of life seemed hopeless. Thus, their spirit was stimulated to continue to the day when peace would again bless the Niagara Frontier.

The Buffalo Gazette dated September 13, 1814 carried the following article:

> The prospect before us calls for united and great exertions to save the country. The storms of Party have raged long enough. Let harmony be diffused throughout the American Republic. Let the country imitate the patriotic City of New York and the Nation will be safe. Will this nation-will seven million of people ingloriously bow the neck to any foreign prince? No! Let this nation rise in its strength, and that government, although intoxicated with her successes in Europe will

> be humbled, and ultimately compelled to yield us that justice, wrung from her in the war of the Revolution. Now is the time for patriotism to show itself. Those who are incompetent, or whose affairs will not permit them to seek "the perilous edge of battle", will have no excuse in these times, if they do not use their best exertions to comfort and support those who thread the field of honor, fighting the battles of the country.[1]

There seems to have been good reason for this editorial because all along the Frontier many prominent Federalists lived who were strongly opposed to war. Their opponents claimed that this was disloyalty to the United States. Even among the troops there were Federalists who were the object of abuse from those whom they were to defend.[2]

READING

Each issue of the Gazette carried a brief list of books which were intended to encourage the spirit of the people. Many of the books were religious in nature, for many of the inhabitants were deeply religious. Here are a few titles of those books that manifest the type of reading preferred:

> Ramsay's Life of Washington, Life of Moreau, Wild Irish Girl, History of the Devil, Slave of Passion, Economy of Human Life, Milton's Paradise Lost, Life of Bonaparte, Christians Great Interest.[3]

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[1] Buffalo Gazette, September 13, 1814.

[2] Buffalo, Old and New, Supplement of Buffalo Courier November 11, 1900, p.207.

[3] Buffalo Gazette, September 21, 1814.

The Life of George Washington, for example, was read because he had died only a few years before. The Life of Bonaparte, was read because he was still living and his exploits proved interesting reading. Christians Great Interest, Economy of Human Life, were read, because the people were no doubt impressed by the words of one of their great heroes and idols, George Washington, who admonished them in his Farewell Address that Religion and Morality are the indispensible supports of a nation.

WARNING

The population was frequently reminded concerning the treatment of strangers and the necessity of being cautious. The following announcement shortly after the war was declared, appeared in the Gazette:

> War being the order of the day, the citizens of this part of the country cannot be too cautious of entertaining strangers in their homes, especially those who are enquiring for newspapers and intelligence news from the army. As from what has already transpired, there can be no doubt but that the government of Canada have men in their pay engaged to cross the lines and charged to ascertain all our preparations.
>
> As aiding, abetting, countenancing, assisting, advising or corresponding with persons of this character amounts to treason, it would be impressed on all to use the greatest circumspection on their intercourse with strangers, particularly those who have heretofore had residence on the other side of the river.[4]

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[4] Buffalo Gazette, March 16, 1813.

To encourage and protect the people further, all aliens were ordered out of the country or their activities checked. The following announcement was given by the Marshal:

> All Alien (British) enemies within the district of New York are hereby notified that they are to remain in this place and not to proceed from any town or city or place within this district which is commensurate with this state to any other city, town or place of the United States by land without acquainting me with the nature of their pursuits that they may have a reputation of probity and that their good intentions toward the United States can be confided in. Marshals shall stop all alien enemies that may be found traveling without a passport and citizens of this district are requested to be aiding and assisting in putting into execution the prohibition.[5]

There is no record of any alien violating this order; hence it is believed that this command was fully observed.

RECRUITING

Whenever the country needed the services of her citizens, a ready and willing response was always manifested. The Declaration of War was followed by the immediate volunteering of patriotic citizens. Though Congress had planned for an army of one hundred thousand men and had set New York State's quota at thirteen thousand five hundred, nevertheless no provision was made for them and no draft law passed.[6] The term "draft" is however, used. Service

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[5] Buffalo Gazette, March 2, 1813.

[6] Buffalo Old and New, Buffalo, Courier Supplement (Buffalo, New York: Buffalo Courier, 1900), p.6.

was merely on a voluntary basis but every able bodied man was expected to sign up for service.[7] As to the number who volunteered from Buffalo and Niagara Frontier, we have the following account:

> Grand committee composed of leading citizens were appointed by Congress to have charge of politics and of war. In the early part of June, 1812, an army officer obtained many recruits here among the prominent citizens who responded readily.[8]

Again a Colonel Swift of Ontario County came early in June, 1812, and soon had six hundred recruits to train at Black Rock.[9] This would indicate a generous offering of manpower from this area. However, the idea of recruiting notices was continually made use of in order to obtain a supply of recruits. A typical advertisement is here given:

> TO RECRUITS
>
> Citizens desiring to enlist in the United States Army are informed that a rendezvous is opened in this town, (Buffalo) for enlistment and that to those who enter for five years, is paid a bounty of sixteen dollars with a gratuity of one hundred and sixty acres of land and three months pay after having served his time or been honorably discharged. To those who enlist for eighteen months will be paid a bounty of sixteen dollars, and after serving that time, or been honorably discharged, they will be paid a gratuity of Three Months Pay.
>
> John M. O'Connors
> First Lt. U.S. Artillery[10]

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[7] Robert Bingham, The Cradle of the Queen City (Buffalo, New York: Baker, Jones, Hausauer, Inc., 1931), p;242.

[8] Buffalo Old and New, op. cit., p.6

[9] Bingham, op. cit., p.243.

[10] Buffalo Gazette, May 5, 1812.

To further attract men to the armed service, a bill was passed which gave to every soldier who should enlist, a bounty of one hundred and twenty-five dollars in cash and three hundred and twenty acres of land, as of February 1, 1813, and at the same time another bill was passed by the House of Representatives for better organization of militia and regulars. Three classes were organized, viz., Minor, 18-21 years; Juniors, 21-31; Seniors, 31-45 years.[11] This new arrangement drastically affected the Niagara Frontier populace because it necessitated breaking up families, reducing farm labor, and the closing of business establishments. It also struck into the homes of more elderly fathers who were not excused from military service, since it was expected of them, as previously stated, but these often obtained a substitute for various reasons. Mr. William Hodge tells us "that when he was expected to go into service, he obtained a substitute, to whom he paid thirty dollars and a guarantee of ten dollars monthly bonus. The latter was not paid because the man later deserted and was not heard from again".[12] This substitution was allowed

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[11] Buffalo Gazette, March 2, 1813.

[12] Frank Severance, editor, William Hodge Papers, (Buffalo Historical Society Publications, 1922), Vol. XXVI, p.182.

in the militia, provided the captains who had been in active service accepted the services of the enlistees.[13]

Another method used to arouse the patriotism of men was the publishing of written and verbal statements of barbarities used by the enemy on women. The men were induced to rescue their women from this grave danger by serving their country.[14]

The following thought was kept before the minds of the Frontier men: "It is not, am I subject to perform military duty? but how and when can I be of the most service to my country?"[15] Thus, we find the patriotic spirits aroused to duty. Men were needed badly and they did not fail to respond to the call of their country.

PATRIOTIC GROUPS

While the patriotism of the younger men was being tested in the realm of military service, the older groups would not be outdone in generosity and devotion toward their country, for we read that seventy invalids of a village called Pompey, New York, formed a company, chose their leaders and volunteered their services in defense of their country. They selected the appropriate title of

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[13] Buffalo Gazette, July 14, 1812.

[14] Barbarities of the Enemy - Exposed in a Report of the House of Representative of United States, (Troy, New York: Francis Adancourt Pub., 1813), p.118.

[15] Buffalo Gazette, September 12, 1814.

the "Silver Greys". [16]

Like Philadelphia, the citizens on the Niagara Frontier above the age of forty-five years, who were exempt from military service held a meeting for the purpose of organizing themselves into a body to defend the peace of the village during the absence of the younger men who had entered the armed services.[17]

The women did not stand by idle but rather gave every support possible to the war cause in a responsive and patriotic spirit. They performed numerous functions in aiding the Home Front. They solicited aid from the public and also made one hundred and eighty pairs of stockings and mittens and sent them by boat to the Governor at Albany, as early as August 18, 1812.[18]

While forced on many occasions to seek hiding places in buildings and forests, women. as on our Home Front in World War II, were often the only spotters to be had in detecting the approaching enemy. One at a time, they would stand guard to give warning to those who slept within the enclosures. These periods of watch lasted about four hours. While not engaged in this activity, they cooked food in

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[16] Buffalo Gazette, August 11, 1812.

[17] Buffalo Gazette, August 18, 1812.

[18] Ibid.

the buildings or in the open for their fellow refugee settlers.[19] Often the ladies were accomplished needle workers and did noble work providing clothes for the refugees and less fortunate. The ladies occasionally received money for this charitable work, for the settlers usually carried their money with them and were willing to pay for work done.[20]

War always brings suffering and diseases. This was a field of endeavor where the noble women, the "Florence Nightingales" of their day, played an active role. Hospitals for civilians were not in existence at the time, and private homes were used in this emergency, though there was no compulsion to accept patients. There were no trained nurses; attendance upon the sick in the homes often devolved upon women. Any women who by careful observation had learned some of the requirements of nursing in illness was a valued member of the community. Women considered it a sacred duty at all times and in all places to minister to the less fortunate and wounded, undeterred by darkness, location, distance or the danger of contagion. "Whoever",

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[19] Severance, op. cit., p.221.

[20] Ibid., p.222.

says Emma Curie, "was handy in sickness was a frequent topic of conversation".[21]

Many unsung heroines have not had their names and deeds recorded but those who have come down to us we shall note briefly. One outstanding personality was Mrs. Pursely of the Buffalo area, who by her kind heart and motherly nature brought comfort to the soldiers. She nursed the sick, entertained the soldiers and even went into danger and brought in the wounded.[22] Another lady of strong character who equalled men in the field was Mrs. Doyle, whose husband had been taken prisoner. She alone manned a six pound gun at a mess hall in Buffalo and thus showed great courage and fortitude.[23]

APPEALS

It is an American tradition to exercise group aid in times of emergency, and the war period of 1812 did not find the people without a generous spirit. Appeals were made frequently. A typical appeal is here given:

> Subscriptions: are now opened in several of our towns for raising money to be appropriated to the purchase of swords, medals, etc., to be presented to Captain Hull and Lieutenant Morris of the Constitution.[24]

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[21] Emma Curie, The Story of Laura Second and Canadian Reminiscenses, (Totonto, Canada: William Briggs, 1900), p.86.

[22] Everett Tomlinson, The War of 1812, (New York: Silver Burdette and Company, 1906), p.190.

[23] Emma Curie, op. cit., p.99.

[24] Buffalo Gazette, September 22, 1812.

When Admiral Perry took charge of ships and ship-building on the Great Lakes, there was a demand for metal. As a result of an urgent appeal to citizens, the people of Buffalo contributed over four thousand pounds of iron which were obtained from wheel rims, kettles and stoves.[25]

It is related that the inhabitants of Geneva, New York, on their own initiative collected one hundred and thirty dollars for blankets, tents and camp kettles for a company of volunteers from the village who were serving in the armed forces in this area.[26]

PROPERTY DAMAGE

With war come many evils. This was particularly evident in 1812-1813 when many of our soldiers added unending troubles to those already endured by the Niagara Frontier people. Soldiers had been sent to protect the people and property, but, instead, they were often the chief cause of worry. One reads in the personal papers of William Hodge that soldiers stationed in Buffalo and its vicinity in 1812-1813, carried off hogs, cattle, sheep and poultry. These were butchered and taken to camp for necessary food. The citizens complained of this unjust act to the commanding officer. Not taking notice of the affair, he exasperated the people, who had demanded to know what

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25 Buffalo Old and New, op. cit., p.7.

26 Buffalo Gazette, July 28, 1812.

action they were to take if it happened again. The officer exclaimed "Shoot them down, the rascals!"[27] A number of citizens took the answer literally and watched, and, having encountered several robbers, had the courage to open fire. Five soldiers were shot and others marched back to camp under guard. The action of the citizens was approved by the commanding officer.[28]

Similar cruelty and robberies were unfortunately committed by our soldiers in Canada. They were punished severely by the proper military authorities. These soldiers would leave camp at night and go over by boat to Canada and steal food and other articles from homes and then return back to camp.

Stealing had a different meaning then, than it has today. When the soldiers took an article unlawfully, it was considered "hooked".

> The term originated in the practice of soldiers of this period, who carrying by custom, walking sticks with curved handles, would reach across a store counter in which they might be visiting. When the proprietor had his back turned, the soldier would "hook" the article from the shelves for their own use. The owner would often place his small son on the counter to watch soldiers while he waited on the customers.[29]

No records have revealed any propaganda from a religious viewpoint on this Frontier, for no churches existed

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[27] Severance, op. cit., p.227.

[28] Ibid., p.228.

[29] Ibid., p.214.

on the Niagara Frontier during the War of 1812. All religious propaganda was particularly strong in New England towns. Therefore, since records have not revealed any effect from it in this area, we shall make no further comment.

POLITICAL PROPAGANDA

There was no political propaganda to speak of in this area. People here were more interested in preserving life and property. Anything that had significance to the frontier inhabitants must be of a local nature. Politics was not taken too seriously. However, the citizens were aroused over the action of General George McClure in burning Newark. They realized only too well that their losses of possessions were due to his drastic action. They did not fail to show their anger, for his unwelcome reception in Buffalo was an expression of that general feeling. One learns the true sentiments of the people of Buffalo toward General McClure from one of his own letters: "The numerous mob cried out, Damn him! Shoot him!"[30] Again in writing to Erastus Granger, who was an Indian agent in Buffalo, General McClure says: "The gross insults which I have received from many in Buffalo will apologize for my absence".[31]

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30 Bingham, op. cit., p.319.

31 Ibid.

Other sentiments were expressed about the village regarding army failures, and to offset these reports, General Camp wrote to the Gazette, as follows:

> From the different statements which have appeared, it seems to be the prevailing opinion that the scarcity of arms and ammunition was the prime cause of the disaster which has befallen this part of the Frontier. As these statements are calculated to poison and mislead the public mind and to keep from the public the real causes of our present situation by attaching the whole blame to the government or some officer whose duty it was to make the necessary provision for the defense of the Frontier, when in fact the blame must and will rest alone on the disorganized and cowardly conduct of the troops who were on the Frontier.[32]

From the preceding statements, it is evident that the inhabitants along the Niagara Frontier were awake to activities around them and were not hesitant in voicing their opinions.

LETTERS AND NEWS

Perhaps there is no way in which hearts are lightened and strengthened more than by correspondence. In 1812-13, letters were often long in transit because of poor delivery. The local Gazette supplied needed information regarding loved ones by publishing weekly lists of those dead and wounded or taken prisoners. A Typical list is here recorded:

> List of officers taken prisoner at Queenston, October 13, 1812.
>
> New York Militia ---
> Brigadier General; William Wadsworth.
> Major: William H. Spencer, Aid.

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[32] Buffalo Gazette, January 29, 1814.

Lieutenant Colonels: Stranahan, Allen, Mead.
Captain: Clark, Brown.
Lieutenants: Philips, Robinson, Sweeney. [33]

Killed and Wounded:
13th Regular Grenadiers
8 rank and file killed -- 1 captain
1 subaltern, 1 sergeant,
13th Regular Light Infantry
1 rank and file killed -- 1 sergeant,
8 rank and file wounded -- 1 missing.

Issued and signed by
Ed. Hayes
Adj. Gen. [34]

The following list of dead was published in the Gazette in January, 1814.

The following persons have been identified among those that fell on the morning of December 30th, and 1st instant in the attack upon Black Rock and Buffalo;

Col. S. Broughton; Major McDudley; Calvin Cary; Peter Hoffman; Adjutant Joshua Tottman; Canadian Volunteer Aaron Nash; Dennis Brackett, Chatauqua; Job Hoisington; John Roop; Sam Helms; N.D. Keep; John Triskett; James Nebit; Robert Franklin (colored);-- Myers, Buffalo; Robert Hill, Adam Lawler, Black Rock.[35]

To those more fortunate ones who did receive mail, it was a happy moment. The only letters available from soldiers of this war period are those of Patrick McDonough to his parents. No records show any letters to him, however. They are probably typical of many others, of boys to loved ones at home. McDonough's letters are therefore given:

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[33] Buffalo Gazette, November 24, 1812.

[34] Ibid., May 18, 1814.

[35] Ibid., January 18, 1814.

Williamsville, December 14, 1812.

Dear Parents:

I received yours of the 10th this moment and one dated the 17th of last month on the 10th. I give you my word that I have not received a cent since I left you, nor do I want money more than to settle what little I owe, which I will be able to do by the time this reaches you, as we expect the paymaster the latter end of this month or the beginning of next. My clothes have held out and we can't starve in the army. I commenced my rations the 16th of this month. Keyler cooks for me and a good living as bread and beef can give I have.

Your affectionate son,

Pat. McD. [36]

Utica, New York,
December 13, 1812.

Dear Parents:

I am very happy to inform you that I am in hopes of eating my Christmas dinner with you. I have just this moment arrived from the harbor on my way to Philadelphia. I will leave tomorrow morning for Albany, where I may be detained two days, but will lose no time after that in getting to Philadelphia where I am in hopes of meeting you well and happy. Give my love to all the family.

Patrick McDonough [37]

The inhabitants of Buffalo and Niagara area had felt the need of mail delivery. Truly, the war period was a time when delivery was essential to all concerned.

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[36] Louis L. Babcock, Siege of Fort Erie, (Buffalo Historical Society Publication, 1899), Vol. 5, p.78.

[37] Ibid., p.75.

MAIL SERVICE

Mail service was a difficult problem during the early war period. The inhabitants on the frontier were relieved and encouraged in the middle of the winter of 1812, when Mr. Paul Drinkwater, approached Buffalo, wading in snow to his knees, a genuine post walker indeed.[38] He was opening up a route from Buffalo to the head of Lake Ontario, a distance of sixty miles, which he proposed to travel once a week. This the people considered a Godsend.

Later, in March, 1813, the local Gazette, announced to the citizens that mail service on a large scale had begun. The mail route was established between Washington and Buffalo. The carriers would leave Buffalo on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays.

Mail was forwarded in three ways, by express, post walker, and boat. Mail was sent to a local post office and not to the home. Thus, it had to be called for at regular intervals. Mail continued to be carried even after the Niagara Frontier had been invaded. Since many persons had been obliged to flee, the post office published a list of letters on hand, in the Gazette, giving the owners of the letters knowledge of their presence at the post office. Listed below is a portion of a typical notice which was

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[38] Buffalo Gazette, January 15, 1812.

found in the October 13, 1812 issue of the Buffalo Gazette:

LIST OF LETTERS

Remaining in the Post Office at Buffalo Creek, on the fifth of October 1812.

A. Col. Peter Allen, Samuel Adkins, Gay J. Atkins...
B. Benjamis Begole, Jacob Beark, Ephram Brown, Jothans Beemus...
C. John Charles, Zebina Crane, Isaac Cradit... [39]

The cost of mail delivered was based on the Act of March, 1799, which remained in effect until after 1814. Mail being sent over a long distance travelled at vessel rate. Single letters traveling between 300-500 miles cost twenty cents, those over 500 miles twenty five cents; thus, mail delivery between Buffalo and Washington which took place three times per week would cost twenty five cents for a letter.[40]

The local deliverers on the Frontier had a special rate for letters (drop letters). The following rates were charged: under 40 miles eight cents, between 40-90 miles ten cents, between 90-150 miles twelve and a half cents, between 150-300 miles seventeen cents. Therefore, most of the letters on the Niagara Frontier cost eight cents.[41]

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[39] Buffalo Gazette, October 13, 1812.

[40] Information obtained from Robert Bingham in a personal interview February 28, 1948, Mr. Bingham is the Director of the Buffalo Historical Society as well as the author of Cradle of the Queen City, and Niagara Highway of Heroes.

[41] Porter Mail Collection, Manuscripts, Buffalo Historical Societies Archives.

According to Dr. Robert Bingham, soldiers' mail did not go free of charge. However, the soldiers were permitted to send the mail without a stamp and the person receiving the letter paid the postage.[42]

Early in 1813, the Post Office in Buffalo issued the following regulation in the Gazette:

> The mail for Canandaigua will close on Sundays and Thursdays at half past 7 P.M. The mail to Niagara will close on Tuesday 9 o'clock P.M. The mail westward will continue to leave this office on Wednesdays and Saturdays as usual.
>
> Officers and persons on out of towns, are excluded from this regulation and may receive and send mail at any hour of the day.
>
> E. Granger, P.M.[43]

The Niagara Frontier was provided during the war period with the facilities necessary for the delivery of news to loved ones; through the medium of the Gazette and a system of mail service which did much to relieve anxiety among loved ones.

SONGS

The songs which were frequently sung by soldiers on the march and by sailors, while manning their ships, or where they might be gathered in free time, were these two:

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[42] Statement made by Robert Bingham in a personal interview February 28, 1948.

[43] Buffalo Gazette, January 5, 1813.

one patriotic song by M. Martin and another (anonymous) in honor of General Van Renssalaer.[44]

Several other Ballads appeared during the war of 1812. Very little poetry of this period is of any note. Mr. Richard Emmons published "Fredoniad"; and John Neal (Jehre O'Cataract) published "Battle of Niagara", which had great popularity. One of the favorite poems listed by Mr. Severance that was used in 1812 but that is not available now was "Sea and Land Victories".[45] Among other songs used in the War of 1812, and which originated during that period were the "American Star" and Hunters of Kentucky". These two were recited by many American prisoners in Canada. The "American Star" which was favored above others, and consisted of four stanzas, ran thus:

Come strike the bold anthem, the war dogs are howling
Already they eagerly snuff up their prey
The red clouds of war o'er our forests are scowling
Soft place spreads her wings and flies sweeping away
The infants affrighted cling close to their mothers
The youths grasp their swords for the combat prepare
While beauty sweeps fathers, lovers and brothers
Who rush to display the American Star.[46]

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[44] William Hodge Papers, Manuscripts Buffalo Historical Societies Archives.

[45] Frank Severance, Old Trails on Niagara Frontier, 2 Ed., Burrows Brothers, Cleveland, 1903, p.172.

[46] Ibid.

Fragments of old songs remembered
hearing sung many many years since

The School master rages for want of more pay
He declares he will have it or else go away
Half of his time he goes strutting about
Four weeks make a month and the saturdays left out
These hard times.

The Carpenter tells you he will build you a house
So tight and so snug it wont harbor a mouse
For two dollars a day or he will work by the job
He nor his apprentices wont half earn their grog
These hard times!

Ye gentlemen of England who live at home at ease
Who little knows the dangers upon the raging seas
When up she mounts aloft brave boys and down again so low
How she rocks upon her keel while the stormy wind does blow.

There seems to have been no definite provision made for recreation for the military men by civilians. This was a dangerous war zone and the people were busily engaged in caring for their own families. The taverns were the chief meeting places for army personnel, and here they spent their free time. Probably the most prominent taverns in the Buffalo area were: "Pomeroy's Tavern at Main and Seneca Streets, Cook's Directly across from Pomeroy's, and Hodge's at the northwest corner of Main and Utica.[47] The latter was important because it was farther out on the Williamsville Road. When the soldiers were gathered into these taverns, songs were soon in progress.

CIVILIAN RECREATION

Since the Niagara Frontier was a War Zone, the civilians gave little thought to pleasure. The people had every reason to be serious. However, there occasionally were family gatherings during peaceful periods, especially in early 1812. It is easy to understand that these family gatherings were held in order to rejoice over a birth or a wedding. When days were quiet and the enemy had momentarily departed, groups of citizens would assemble to help gather in grain or assist in rebuilding a temporary dwelling. Lending assistance of this type was called a "bee". This meant that a group of persons assisted a neighbor in

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[47] William Hodge Papers, op. cit.

completing a piece of work that would otherwise have taken the latter considerable time to accomplish. One type of "bee" was the "husking bee". Several persons gathered at a barn or house and assisted in taking the leaves off the ears of corn so that it could dry. Usually these "bees" lasted from one to three days. During this work, a certain amount of sport was had at a game called "red ear". A law of all regulated husking bees dating from time immemorial was that a young man to whose lot fell the "red ear" had the privilege of kissing every woman present. The youths obeyed the law rigorously. The same "red ear" was often found by the same person during an evening.[48]

Aside from types of recreation already mentioned, there were no others common during the war period unless it was to honor some public official. This fact was substantiated in an interview with Dr. Robert Bingham. Only a few could attend this form of entertainment and those were usually distinguished citizens.

During the winter of 1812, a Military Ball was held by the officers stationed in this vicinity in the Public House (on Main Street) of Mr. Joseph Landon, in honor of Governor Lewis on the occasion of his visit here.[49]

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[48] Crisfield Johnson, History of Erie County, (Buffalo, New York: Mathews and Warren, 1876), p.161.

[49] Buffalo Historical Publications, Vol. 9, p.323.



THE THIRD OLDEST VIEW OF BUFFALO

LANDING OF HARRISON'S TROOPS AT BUFFALO CREEK, OCTOBER, 1813. ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN THE FORT FOLIO, 1815

There is evidence of another reception that was tendered to Admiral Perry and General Harrison on October 24, 1813, when they stopped at Buffalo after the victorious victory on Lake Erie. The Buffalo Gazette had a special edition on the streets announcing the arrival of the two heroes. This was something unusual in the annals of the Gazette.[50] The banquet was held at Pomeroy's Tavern, Main and Seneca Streets. The arrangements were made by Dr. Chapin, Dr. Trowbridge, and Mr. Charles Townsend.[51]

It is recorded also that Commander Isaac Hull was honored by Buffalonians in January, 1813, for his gallantry in capturing the British Frigate Gurriere. This reception took place at the City Hall, where the leading officials delivered an address, and spectators crowded the room.[52]

Outside of these public celebrations, no form of entertainment is recorded in the annals of this area.

HOSPITALS AND HEALTH

From the very beginning until the end of the war on the Niagara Frontier there existed disease and sickness. There were five civilian doctors in all who served the Niagara Frontier, viz., Cyrenius Chapin, Daniel Chapin, Ebenezer Johnson, Josiah Trowbridge, and John Marshall. The

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[50] See following page for a photostat copy of the Buffalo Gazette Extra for October 24, 1813.

[51] Buffalo Old and New, op. cit., p.7.

[52] Buffalo Gazette, January 12, 1813.

Buffalo Gazette.

EXTRA.

Sunday, October [illegible] P. M.

Gen. Harrison and Com. Perry.

ARRIVED.

[illegible]
[illegible] to the commander-in-chief.
The [illegible] to the Britons. The Britons fleet!
Here's health and glee to HARRISON and PERRY.
Hail! Hail, PERRY, of ourselves regard,
Can we forget thy feats, or thy deeds reward?
Well can we tell no danger could control,
Thy early projecting just and fearless soul:
The [illegible] shall live [illegible]
Our [illegible] PERRY [illegible]
Then [illegible] bring HARRISON [illegible]
Thine [illegible] which every [illegible]
Which hung [illegible] the Lawrence [illegible]
And brighter glory upon the tyrant [illegible]

We have the satisfaction of announcing to our readers, that the U. S. brigs *Niagara*, *Caledonia* and *Hunter*, the schooners *Ariel* and *Lady Prevost*, and the sloops *Trippe* and *Little Belt*, arrived off Buffalo creek this day, [illegible] Commodore PERRY and Maj. Gen. HARRISON on board, to the [illegible] public joy exhibited [illegible] the appearance of this gallant and [illegible] fleet, which [illegible] inhabitants of a [illegible] of [illegible] miles over [illegible] and [illegible] a proof altogether unexpected; we will [illegible] that the Heroes were [illegible] by Commodore Chapin, [illegible] received before from Fort George [illegible] with three hearty [illegible] with three times three very [illegible] the fleet. Brig. Gen. [illegible] with a detachment of the N. W. Western Army consisting of infantry and riflemen have come down in the fleet. The British commander [illegible] in the fleet; he is expected to recover from his wounds.

We also learn, that Gen. Harrison pursued Gen. Proctor in his retreat up the river Thames, accompanied by [illegible] Perry [illegible] Gen. Proctor has made a stand. An action commenced which was shortly decided by a charge of col. Johnson's mounted infantry, which broke the whole line of the enemy, and put them to such confusion, that the main part of them surrendered: the Indians that made some little resistance, fled and dispersed. All the baggage of Proctor's army was taken; himself escaping with a few men. Our [illegible] killing 10 [illegible] Killed, and above 20 wounded; that of the enemy's regulars, about [illegible] killed, and twice that number wounded [illegible] Indians were killed. Col. Johnson was badly wounded, four balls having taken effect. As the hostile tribes come in to treat for peace, we understand [illegible] granted them, until the pleasure of [illegible] can be known.

[illegible] of Gen. Proctor's army [illegible] the action.

The above has been hastily thrown together. In our Paper of Tuesday, we intend to obtain more particulars.

We are informed by Gen. Perry, that [illegible] were no Indians commanded [illegible] massacred, as reported [illegible]

latter served for five months as Senior Medical officer on the Niagara Frontier in 1814, and moved to Buffalo officially in 1815.[53] These doctors were men of quick decision and prompt action, and they often traveled many miles in all directions in order to serve patients.[54] Thus it can be seen that they were most self secrificing in every sense of the word. Dr. Daniel Chapin, for example, was accustomed to visit his patients on foot; with dog and gun he travelled as far as Niagara Falls (Manchester), going one day and returning the next.[55]

When Cyrenius Chapin, no relation to Daniel, came to Buffalo in 1803, he found few people. Therefore, he decided to live across the border from Black Rock, for the income would be higher. It is claimed that he travelled hundreds of miles in all directions on horseback, seeking patients. He was guided through the forests by blazed trees.[56] When war was declared, he made haste to offer his services to the United States. He organized a group of volunteers and served in the capacity of Lieutenant-Colonel and Surgeon.[57]

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[53] Truman C. White, Our Country and its People. A descriptive work on Erie County, New York (Boston, Mass: The Boston History Publishers, 1898), Vol. 1, p.715.

[54] Ibid., p.716.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid., p.713.

Each regiment on the Frontier had its own Surgeon and assistant; that is, two doctors served each regiment. The doctors who had performed outstanding work in the army were: Wallace, Martin, Van Hoy, Trevet, Cyrenius Chapin, Russell, Ross, Mann, Daniel Chapin, and Noevenberg.[58]

The most common diseases in 1812 were pneumonia and typhoid. They became more general in 1813. Dysentery appeared in 1814. The reason given for the rise of dysentery was that Buffalo was swampy and damp. However, this disease declined when the swamps had been drained.[59] The main attention of the doctors was given to the care of the soldiers in camps and hospitals. At times the situation in caring for health was precarious because of lack of necessary supplies and equipment. The main camp was situated at Flint Hill, west of Main Street at Parkside Avenue and Deleware Park. The site was suitable, but poor food, lack of discipline, proper policing, and inefficient equipment added to the discomfort of the patients.[60] In 1812 another hospital was located on the terrace near a battery where the soldiers were first taken after being wounded. Later they were

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[58] James Mann, Medical Sketches of the Campaign of 1812-13-14, Dedham, H. Mann and Company, 1816, p.266.

[59] Ibid., p.267.

[60] Babcock, op. cit., p62.

transfeered by cart to the larger hospital at Eleven Mile Creek (Williamsville), where a camp was erected early in 1813, north of the main road and contiguous to the village.[61] Besided these larger hospitals, the army made use of private homes, and in these the cases were cared for by civilians who owned the dwelling or who would volunteer.[62] The civilians had nothing to do with attending soldiers in larger base hospitals, for the orderlies were men who had been wounded or who were suffering some minor malady themselves.[63]

The following article that appeared in the New York Evening Post describes the situation fully:

Camp at Buffalo
November 6, 1812

> We are at present in a deplorable condition; the regulars are daily sickening; four or five on an average are daily buried. No attendance at the hospitals, wounds are not dressed, in fine, everything that is sure to rid men of life is here practiced.[64]

The Buffalo Gazette also stated on November 11, 1812, that:

> The greatest distress prevails in camps by reason of sickness. Upwards of two or three die daily -- nothing but tents to lie in and no other meat than fresh beef. The Surgeon is without medicines, supplies

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61 William Hodge Papers, op. cit.

62 Ibid.

63 Statement made by Brigadier General Babcock at an interview March 6, 1948.

64 New York Evening Post, November 25, 1812.

or instruments.[65]

The dead were buried on the terrace near the hospital. Those who died at Williamsville were buried in the adjacent ground.[66]

That this distressing situation became worse was indicated by the report of Captain William King, assistant inspector of hospitals, when he said:

> November is here and ... this regiment (14th U.S. Infantry) has not received a single article of woolen clothing. All the men are without coats, many without shoes or stockings and have been obliged to mount guard during the cold and stormy weather we have had barefooted and in their linen jackets and overalls.[67]

The following letter of Dr. Ross to a friend describes the medical situation here quite vividly:

December 19, 1812
Batavia

Dear Sir:

Since I wrote to you last, a new calamity has appeared amongst us. For a short time, we have been scourged by the prevalence of a raging epidemic, malignant and complicated in its nature and destructive in its effect. Whether it be of a contagious nature or not is not well ascertained. But from its having been confined principally to the army or to such as have been subjected to similar circumstances, it seems probable that it

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[65] Buffalo Gazette, November 11, 1812.

[66] William Hodge Papers, op. cit.

[67] Babcock, op. cit., p.63.

rather depends on a predisposition in the system brought on by fatigue, cold, and wet applied to the feet.[68]

Signed: Dr. John Z. Ross.[68]

The medical report of Captain King brought a prompt response from those concerned, for James Mann could report in the Gazette, January 12, 1813, that the army had been provided with medicine in great abundance and with spirits, wine, molasses, sugar, rice, tea, chocolate, milk, and other supplies in profusion. He also claimed in this report that "officers of all grades have been most attentive to the sick and that the physicians of the army are not ignorant or negligent of their duty".[69]

The public in general became uneasy concerning all the prevailing illness, and it became quite necessary to set the people at ease and to forestall false rumors . Dr. Hoevenberg, a surgeon, gave an abstract of the number of soldiers who had been received, who had been discharged, who had died, and who were remaining in the hospital. It is well to relate that this brief report covers the period from October 28th to November 15th, 1812. The names of a few soldiers and some residences are given:

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[68] Buffalo Gazette, January 5, 1813.

[69] Ibid., January 12, 1813.

Names	Reg't	Residence	Received	Died	Remaining
Taylor	13	Unknown			
Peal	5	Baltimore			
Davis	13	Carlisle,Pa.			
Ferrie	13	Unknown [70]			

From January 1st, 1813, to March 1st, 1813, the following abstract was published:

Received	Discharged	Died	Remaining
159	69	11	79

Signed: Dr. Hoevernberg.[71]

The General Hospital, which had been established at Eleven Mile (Ellicott) Creek near Williamsville in the early part of 1813, cared in August, 1814, for about 1100 patients which included all but 80 patients who were too ill to be moved from Buffalo.[72] However, by November 11, 1814, all patients in Buffalo were transferred there.

Before all patients had been transferred from Buffalo to Williamsville, the patients from Lewiston had been moved there in 1813. This brought the total number of patients up to 250. Now this hospital became a base hospital for that region.[73]

Many men hated to go to hospitals, but after being there a while, they used every means to induce doctors to

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[70] Buffalo Gazette, November 17, 1812.

[71] Ibid., March 2, 1813.

[72] Babcock, op. cit., p.245.

[73] Ibid.

leave them there longer. This was a common procedure at Lewiston.[74]

Smaller hospitals were scattered along the Niagara Frontier, and they were called "flying hospitals", because they moved with the army. These consisted mostly of tents where minor casualties could be handled easily. No definite location of these "flying hospitals" could be accurately given because they were moved so frequently.[75]

The hospital at Williamsville sanded its floors in winter and placed straw in the mattresses. After the mattress had been used by a patient, it was burned. The walls and floors were scrubbed once a week. There was a regulation that ordered the men to shave every other day. In order to see that everything was properly done, there was a daily inspection by the doctor in charge. [76]

It was the duty of the hospitals that were serving this area to provide for the burial of those who died therein. Many soldiers were buried on the terrace near the army hospital that was located there. Those who died of tuphoid and dysentery on Flint Hill were buried in a common grave at Chapin Place. Between Flint Hill and the

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[74] Mann, op. cit., p.266.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid., p.268.

Terrace there were many other bodies buried. There were few vacant lots in the Black Rock and Buffalo area which did not contain some of the bodies of soldiers.[77] As late as 1879, bodies were uncovered on the Terrace when St. Joseph's College was removed from that area.[78]

There is no record available that gives the number buried in Buffalo. This is due to the uncertainty of the location of many of the graves and the fact of group burials. At any rate, the writer has not been able to discover any record for the area.

The casket industry of Mr. William Hodge, Sr., at Utica Street near Main, could not supply the great demand for caskets. During the war, especially after Buffalo was burned, the people were buried without the luxury of a pine casket.[79]

EDUCATION

The people of Buffalo and along the Niagara Frontier were congnizant of the value of education. They realized the value which an enlightened civilization could have. Their schools were rough and limited in scope, and the methods of discipline were crude. Probably they could not meet the standards of the modern age, but one must keep in

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77 William Hodge Papers, op. cit.

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid.

mind that these pioneers of the Niagara Frontier were a hardy race and their finances meager.

Before and during 1812, schools were built by persons who had children to educate. The question was not: "Has the teacher a good education?" but rather, "Is he stout? Has he good government?"[80] The teachers were persons who were travelling through the country and would stop to teach only long enough to fill their purses. This inclined them to be intemperate and severe with the rod.[81] Three or four changes of teachers would occur in a single year.

There were blackboards, and the seats and desks were merely slabs of timber. The text books were few and of a poor standard. Either the Bible or Almanac was used as a reader. The first reading lesson began with this lone stanza:

> My son, do no ill
> Go not in the way of bad men
> For the bad men go to the pit
> O my son, run not in the way of sin.[82]

All had to memorize this lesson, and it had a salutary effect on the lives of those young characters. This brief poem had a tendency to make the young students serious

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[80] History of Niagara County, (Niagara Falls, New York: 1821), p.97.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid., p.98.

in manner and equally serious in thoughts regarding their Creator.[83]

The main object of both instruction and correction was the switch, and it was used frequently. One other method of punishment used in school was the placing of a brick on the top of a stove over a brisk fire; the delinquents walked around the stove, one behind the other, and, as each made the circuit, he turned over rapidly the heating brick. This was continued until the blistered fingers impelled them into subjection.[84]

This crude method of education was not the ideal which these inhabitants had in mind, for early in 1812,they issued the following direction:

> Good school houses must be erected in every town and well chosen libraries must be formed and good moral regulations adopted, such as will tend to supress vice and immorality among classes of the human family. For it will be vain to tell children they must not eat poison if they see their parents eating it.[85]

Such a noble statement is fitting even in our modren age, and from it we obtain a glimpse of the high purpose that these good people had in regard to their offspring. Their dreams were shattered at least during the war period.

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[83] History of Niagara County, (Niagara Falls, New York: Niagara Historical Publication, 1821), p.97.

[84] Ibid., p.97.

[85] Buffalo Gazette, January 27, 1812.

Early in 1812, school was held in a double log building on Main Street where St. Paul Street begins. A family by the name of Slaver lived in one end of the building. In 1812 another school was located where police station Number 6 now stands on Main Street near Utica. A Mr. McEaton was the teacher.[86]

During the difficult and war torn winter of 1813-1814, schools were not functioning, nor were they in operation after Buffalo was burned. The families were too few and scattered; only twelve children in all remained.[87]

The statements concerning the methods of education, the types of schools used, and the plans which the people had for the future, have been inserted in the thesis because education was functioning and schools were open on the Niagara Frontier until the villages were burned. Therefore, all these considerations about education constituted part of the Home Front life during 1812 and until the destruction in 1813, which prevented further schooling.

RELIGION IN BUFFALO AND ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER

The inhabitants who lived on the Niagara Frontier during the war period of 1812-1814 were God fearing,[88] but

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[86] Frank Severance, Recalling Pioneer Days (Meadville, Pennsylvania: The Tribune Publishing Company, 1922), p.290.

[87] Ibid., p.291.

[88] Ralph Gabriel, The Pageant of American, Yale University Press, 1929, Vol. II, p.21.

opportunities to express their faith publicly were few, and facilities were not available. As a result, religion languished on the Frontier and somewhat deteriorated in the struggle of everyday life.

Buffalo (New Amsterdam) was in the Protestant Missionary Circuit, extending from Batavia to the Niagara River and from Tonawanda to twenty miles south of Buffalo Creek. Many itinerant ministers supplied the religious needs of the frontier people. Their advent was announced in the local paper, or they would arrive unexpectedly and deliver their messages in open air wherever people were found. These ministers held services in various neighborhoods on an average of once in two, three, five, and six weeks.[89]

When the ministers arrived, there was a revival of spiritual life in the area visited. The good character of these pioneer people is supported by a statement of an itinerant minister who came here several months previous to the outbreak of war. He wrote to the Gazette as follows:

> I cannot forebear expressing to you my disappointment on arriving at Buffalo. From what I had heard, I had supposed the people in general were so given to vice and dissipation that the preachers of Christianity would find few or no ears to hear, but most agreeably disappointed was I to find my audiences not only

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89 J.N. Larned, A History of Buffalo, (New York: The Progress of the Empire State Company, 1911), p.29.

> respectable in point of numbers, but solemn, decent, devout and glad to hear the word. My mind felt an attachment for them and I could not but lament their destitute situation, their former disappointments in ministers and my own inability at that time to solve them.[90]

The first Religious service here, as recalled by William Hodge, Jr., who was then six or seven years of age, was held in a hewn log house on a farm lot No. 30, (near Ferry Street). This was in the latter part of 1811 or early in 1812.[91]

The first church established here was opened by Rev. Thadeus Osgood in February, 1812. The church was called "The First Congregational and Presbyterian Church". It was the result of an organization known as the "Moral Uplift Society" founded in November, 1811, by General Holt.[92] Minister Osgood gave his opinion of the Buffalo people by saying that he "found more attention to religious instruction and to divine things in general than he had witnessed in any other new settlement".[93]

While the war was in progress, no churches were functioning along the Niagara Frontier, and only small

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[90] Buffalo Gazette, January 15, 1812.

[91] William Hodge Papers, op. cit.

[92] Buffalo Old and New, op. cit.,p.5.

[93] Larned, op. cit.,p.31.

religious groups assembled privately in homes where services consisting of prayer and Bible reading were conducted by laymen. Dr. C. Chapin often performed funeral services for persons wherever he happened to be located. Some irreverent youth exclaimed that: "Dr. Chapin did the praying and swearing for the whole community".[94]

It was not until the war scare had abated in 1814 that church services were resumed in this area. A Rev. Glezen Fillmore, Baptist, preached here in a log cabin two or three times a year before the war ended in 1814. No churches were erected during the war period of 1812-1814.

CATHOLIC RELIGION

Considerable discussion has been given to the state of religion in this area immediately prior to and during the war, especially from a Protestant point of view. Catholics did not fare so well as their non-Catholic brethren in matters of religion. The only religious practices possible for the Catholics were family prayers at the fireside or the reading of some spiritual book when such a treasure could be found. As to the number of Catholics residing here during the war period we have no record, but according to Rev. Thomas Donohue:

> Many Catholic families were undoubtedly lost to the faith because they had no priest, no Catholic society,

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[94] Johnson, op. cit., p.161.

> no Catholic influences, no means of keeping alive the principles of faith. Many died without the consolation of religion.[95]

Therefore, we conclude that there were a limited number of Catholics residing here on the Niagara Frontier. The lack of priests on the American side of the Niagara border was pitiful. Priests who lived in Canada were not allowed to visit American civilians or soldiers during the war.[96]

It was not until 1821, eight years after the burning of Buffalo, that a priest came here from New York. He was Father Kelley, and while here, he said Mass in old St. Paul's Episcopal Cathedral at the Terrace.[97] It was the first Mass said in this area since the time of Father Hennepin. The Catholics, it is stated, "looked with amazement at the services, since many had not seen a priest for years".[98] Father Kelley was the first resident pastor in the western portion of the state.

A Catholic Parish had begun in Albany in 1808, and it was to serve all the spiritual needs of Catholics between

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[95] Rev. Thomas Donahue, History of the Catholic Church in Western New York, (Buffalo, New York: Catholic Historical Pub. Comp., 1904), p.135.

[96] Mary Roach, Journal of Major Isaac Roach, 1812-24, Reprinted from the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and biography, p.55.

[97] Note: St.Paul's Church was a non-sectarian meeting house for worship. It was purely a co-operation spirit then existing among religious denominations that prompted the invitation to Father Kelley to say Mass at St. Paul's.

[98] John G. Shea, New History of the Catholic Church in United States, P.J. Kennedy Publishing Co., 1879, p.462.

that city and Buffalo. Catholics residing in this area found it necessary to take their children to Albany to have them baptized. A parish in Rochester was opened by Father Kelley in 1823, and this foundation is considered the beginning of the present diocese of Buffalo.[99]

It is recorded that Bishop Conwell, who was consecrated Bishop of Philadelphia in 1820, made a visit to Buffalo the following year, and it is supposed that he said Mass in the home of either Patrick or Louis LeCouteulx, and baptized a son of O'Rourke's.[100] Mr. LeCouteulx had come to Buffalo in 1804.

Many places were blessed if they could see a priest once or twice a year, because of the difficulty of traveling.[101]

There is one last observation in reference to the Catholic population on the Niagara Frontier that can be made. It is Dean Harris' statement: "that earlier than 1816 a few Catholic families began settling in Niagara and along the banks of the river".[102]

It is regretted that the Catholic faith was so inactive during the sad period of the War of 1812. Our

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[99] Rev. Thomas Donohue, op. cit., p.69.

[100] Ibid., p.68.

[101] Ibid., p.69.

[102] Rev. Danial Harris, The Catholic Church on the Niagara Peninsula, 1861-95, (Toronto: William Briggs Publishing Company, 1895), p.178.

survey has found little concerning the Catholic faith which had previously been so fruitful on the Niagara Frontier. Through no fault of their own, the few Catholics who lived in this war-torn area were obliged to forego the blessings of their religion.

The various factors on the Home Front, such as recruiting, patriotic group activities, propaganda, letters, recreation, mail service, medical services, hospitals, education, and religion did effect the morale of the Niagara Frontiersmen during the war period. Consequently their lives were guided by their spirit of co-operation and sacrifice during the troubling days of the War of 1812.

PART VI

BUSINESS REACTIONS ALONG THE NIAGARA FRONTIER DURING THE WAR OF 1812

When war came to the Frontier inhabitants, one phase of existence which concerned the inhabitants was business life. During the first year of the war, there was little effect on necessary articles and prices of foods. There seems to have been an ample supply of clothing and foods for both civilian and military personal. In 1812, those settlers who had foods to dispose of and who resided within a convenient distance of the market (army war market), availed themselves of its advantages to sell produce to the army. The government ordered to be made in 1812, through four contracts, 20,000 woolen blankets, 6,000 cotton blankets, 25,000 yards of jersey, 40,000 pairs of shoes, 5,000 swords, and thousands of felt hats and caps.[1] This was about two months before the war was declared.

Business trends were very high during 1812 and part of 1813. Various business establishments continued to advertise their goods regularly in the local Gazette. An example of this in the following:

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[1] Buffalo Gazette, May 5, 1812.

HATTING BUSINESS

Stocking and Bull

> Respectfully inform their friends and the public in general that they have commenced the above business in the village of Buffalo, nearly opposite R. Cook's Inn; where they manufacture hats of every description, not inferior in point of taste to any Manufactured in the United States and Warranted good.
>
> Military hats -- ful trimmed on a new and improved plan--all of which they offer at wholesale or retail on as liberal terms as in any part of the state... Wholesale purchasers may rely on having their hats well papered and packed for transportation.
>
> Also a general assortment of Hatter's Stock and Trimmings.
>
> For Sale at a small advance from the Albany Prices.
>
> N.B. - Cash paid for Hatting Furrs.[2]

The boot and shoe business seemed to outrank all others in importance. This business was located on the west side of Main Street near Exchange Street,and conducted by McEwen. The next important business was the hat making business located on Main Street between Huron and Chippewa Streets and conducted by a Mr. Campbell. Business enterprises of lesser importance were: watch making, blacksmith shops, milling, wig making, book stores, tailoring (mostly military) grocery stores, printing offices (Salisbury), Walden's law offices, cabinet work (Haddock's), masonry, taverns markets,

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[2] Buffalo Gazette, July 11, 1812. (Also see Illustration on following page for photostat of Advertisements.)

INFORMS the inhabitants of the village and vicinity of Buffalo, that he has commenced the

TAYLORING BUSINESS,

in the West End of the New Red House, lately erected by Mr. Folsom, on Terrace—where he intends to perform all kinds of work in his line, neatly and fashionably, faithfully and punctually, on reasonable terms.

Orders from the country, promptly executed.

The smallest favor gratefully acknowledged.

Buffalo, April 21. 3

HATTING BUSINESS.

CARDING and FULLING.

RESPECTFULLY [illegible] and the public in general, that they have commenced the above business in the village of Buffalo, nearly opposite Eagle Tavern; where they manufacture HATS of every description, and inferior in point of value to any Manufactured in the United States, and Warranted good.

MILITARY HATS furnished on a new and improved plan. All of which they offer at *Wholesale* or *Retail* on as liberal terms as in any part of the States.—Wholesale purchasers may rely on having their Hats well papered and packed for transportation.

Also a general assortment of

HATTER'S STOCK AND TRIMMINGS.

For sale at a small advance from the Albany prices.

N. B. Cash paid for HATTING FURS

Buffalo, Feb. 24, 1812. tf 22

WHISKEY.

A Quantity of

EXCELLENT WHISKEY,

For sale, cheap for Cash,

By

E. WOODRUFF.

Willink, March 2, 4

TEAM WORK, &c.

THE subscriber has the honor to inform the gentlemen citizens of this village, that he has commenced

TEAMING—

and will be ready at short notice to do any job in his line.

He also will drive a Stage waggon to Batavia, at any time, for 4 or 5 passengers, at [illegible] each.

Having adopted this mode of maintaining his family, he humbly solicits a share [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

and Lecouteulx's drug store.[3]

It is well to mention that one of the thriving business enterprices was pine casket (coffin) making conducted by Mr. William Hodge, Sr., at the section now known as Main and Utica Streets. This business in the fall of 1812 and early winter of 1813 furnished nearly three hundred pine coffins for soldiers who died on Flint Hill north of Canjackety's Creek. Deaths soon outnumbered the possibility of supplying the demand for coffins. The exact price of these coffins has not been recorded, except the statement that the price was liberal.[4]

Though the village of Buffalo was small there seems to have been considerable business activity in Buffalo and along the Niagara Frontier during the early period of the war, until Buffalo and other villages were destroyed.

PRICES AND SALES IN GENERAL

With the advent of war in 1812 and until Buffalo was burned in 1813, business conditions were considered good -- especially in the tavern business.

> Mr. Hodge relates the prices charged at his establishment -- for a 'cold hack' (cold-cut) sandwich, 25¢; whiskey, 12½¢ per gill; horses stabled for $1.00 a span

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[3] Robert Bingham, The Cradle of the Queen City, (Buffalo, New York: Baker, Jones, Hausauer, Inc., 1931), p.234.

[4] Frank Severance, Recalling Pioneer Days, Meadville, Pennsylvania: The Tribune Publishing Company, 1922), p.170.

per day; oats were given at $1.00 to $2.00 per bushel. (This price remained throughout the war). Hay was sold by the tavern keeper at his stables, bringing as much as $30 per ton.5

Almost anywhere on the Frontier, wheat was sold for $1.25 per bushel -- cash.

Even the tonsorial trade advertised liberal prices; for example:

Shaving --

Once a week -- 1.13 per quarter
Twice a week -- 1.50 per quarter
Thrice a week -- 2.00 per quarter
Hair dressing included in prices.6

Besides the foregoing prices, the following give a more exact account of the prices on the Niagara Frontier:

Eggs	$ .48	2/3	per dozen
corn	1.00		per bushel
Flour	8.50		per bbl.
Beef	.06 and .10		per pound
Pork	.16	2/3	per pound
Potatoes	.75		per bushel
Mutton	.08		per pound
Tea	1.12		per pound
Mackeral	25.00		per bbl.
Whiskey	1.00		per gal.
Fish	10.00		per bbl.
Flour barrels	.37	1/2	each
Hay (some places)	10.00		per ton
Shoes (adults)	2.25		pair
Shoes (children)	1.00		pair 7

The following prices are listed by Colonel Sage as the prevailing prices charged at Lewiston and in that area

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5 Severance, op. cit., p.178. (Also see photostat on the following page of Mr. William Hodge's personal recolletions.)

6 Buffalo Gazette, August 11, 1812.

7 Augustus Porter - Day Book - Manuscript Buffalo Historical Society.

money & last at out this time in keeping
his tavern Barry [illegible] the fire will kittle over
the fire [illegible] & the [illegible] boarding meat
were hired with soldiers, wanted whenas
their [illegible], that they called cold [illegible]
a cold [illegible] had meal twenty five [illegible]
a bisket two and a half cents, pot brandy
gin, rum, & other liquors to why pint cent
a gill horse at two cents a [illegible] all the
term of the year, and pasture some time a
hay and grain sold for a huge price.

I have [illegible] my father remark that he has
bought meal at a dollar per bush, the
he ever has for last in Wheat times they
was selling [illegible] from twenty to thirty dollars
per ton—

There was at one time, soon after the was
closed, no flour to be had in the place
father heard of a wagon load coming in fro
the east, on the Batavia or Williamsville road
he sent a man (Ezekiah Jackson) out to me
it, and buy it, which he did at fifteen d
per barrel,

About this time, and after, untill the ye
1825 or say 1826 (the canal was finished in the fall
1825) there used to be the big five six, an
seven horse teams, large Pennsylvania cover
wagons with wide tire traveling on this
transporting goods from the City of Albany to
Robert or Bob Hunter was one. a Mr Gilbert

throughout 1812. Both American and English terms of currency are listed because there were a few persons (number not given) who resided there and who were of British natioality, trafficking there until the war had well begun.

Cotton Materials	556d (1.26)	per yard
Muslin	55d (1.20)	per yard
Tea	125d (2.88)	per pound
Coffee	72d (.72)	per pound
Tobacco (plug)	2s (.48)	
Nails	2s (.48)	
Hats	74s (8.00) [8]	

There seems to have been a tendency to increase prices as the war began. Since there was no curbing of prices, great difficulties arose. There was local opposition, for example, to this rise of prices on the part of the public. We read where the mechanics of the village gave public notice as follows:

> The master mechanics of this village and vicinity are respectfully requested to meet at Buffalo Inn, Thursday 19, 4 P.M. for the purpose of forming a society.
>
> While we take into consideration the unsettled and irregular rates of prices, the various impositions practiced upon the community and the importance to the village of some check to these growing evils, it is hoped that every mechanic of respectable standing will give his attendance.[9]

There were no further public notices concerning high prices, and therefore it seems that the action taken by the mechanics had a lasting effect in this area.

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[8] Buffalo Gazette, October 4, 1812.

[9] Ibid., July 25, 1812.

Prices in other sections of the United States were noticeably higher than on the Niagara Frontier, e. g., in New York, in December 1813, Hyson Tea by the chest cost $4; salt, $5 per bushel; sugar, $9 per cwt; while rice was $3 per cwt., in Charleston, and $12 in Philadelphia; flour, $4.50 per bbl. in Richmond, and $6 in Baltimore; sugar, $21 per cwt. in New York in August, 1813, rose to $40. in December, 1813.[10]

These high prices existed in the areas mentioned because the British had, by October, 1813, blockaded the American coast so effectively that not a single man-of-war was free to protect the coast of the Atlantic and scarcely an American vessel was able to enter or leave port, thus preventing a flow of goods necessary for national resistance.

As in all wars, contractors grew rich. An example of this was the charge of $1000 to transport a field piece from New York City to Buffalo.[11] Shipping goods from Lewiston to Buffalo and Black Rock was an expensive process for the freight on a barrel of salt was listed as $.07 per pound.

On the Great Lakes, there was considerable privateering.[12] It had become a species of warfare adopted by law.

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[10] Marvin Winthrop, The American Merchant Marine, Sampson Law, (London: Marston and Company, LTD., 1902), p.127.

[11] Babcock, op, cit., p.244.

[12] Ibid.

The license and double duties on goods captured went to the United States Treasury. However, the British captured so many of our vessels with their rich cargoes that the Americans suffered a losing bargain.[13]

In spite of the efforts to control smuggling, the flow of meat across the border to Canada provided the British troops with beef and supplies throughout the war. This food came from New York and Vermont, encouraged by the New York and New England opponents of the war.[14] While this illegal affair was going on, many of our own soldiers fell sick from eating poor and unwholesome meat and rations.[15]

On the Canadian side, General Provost issued a Proclamation on May, 1813, prohibiting

> The exportation from lower Canada to any country or place, -- wheat, flour, meal of any kind, barley, rye, oats, peas, potatoes, biscuits, salted pork and beef, until the following September.[16]

RATIONS

Because of limited supplies of food, the government issued a ration at Fort Niagara and its immediate dependencies. The rations were to amount to .14¢ per soldier. When soldiers were on the march, the Secretary of War decided

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[13] Buffalo Gazette, September 22, 1812.

[14] Louis L. Babcock, The War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier, (Meadville, Pennsylvania: Tribune Publishing Company, 1927), p.244.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Buffalo Gazette, May 17, 1813.

that the amount to be paid for rations was; meat .05¢, bread and flour .05¢, liquor .03¢, small parts .01¢.[17] No such system was provided for civilians. The supplying of the Frontier army posts with rations was affected through a contract made by Augustus Porter of Niagara with the United States Government in 1810. The execution of this contract was continued throughout the war period.

HOARDING

There seems to have been some unscrupulous persons holding on to food products, which caused a decline in the supply in January, 1813, and steps to prevent it were taken by the authorities. The following announcement was given by Colonel John E. Miller, 17th Regiment:

> The citizens of the said district are required and positively commanded to bring and deliver to such persons and to such places all the flour, wheat, oats which they may have on hand more than is absolutely necessary for the use and consumption of their families and stock... and any person or persons withholding such supplies of flour and grain or failing to deliver within the time prescribed shall be severely punished.[18]

We find no record of further action in reference to hoarding nor any record showing that drastic action had been taken against violators of the order.

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[17] Buffalo Gazette, April, 19, 1814.

[18] Captain E. Cruischank, Documentary History of the Campaign on the Niagara Frontier in 1814. (Welland, Ontario: Tribune Office, (no date)), p.292.

REAL ESTATE

The "Dutch Barkers", (Holland Land Company) had bought title to more than five million acres of land in central and western New York. They became guardians of peoples' rights and interests. Rich and poor alike bought excitedly of wild lands wherever credit could be made. Joseph Ellicott wrote: "that in consequence of unsettled affairs of United States, the embarrassment of trade and commerce had greatly impeded progress of immigration and sales of land".[19] Even in early 1813, the trade impetus continued, and hopes were high. Land was not expensive, for we read that where Utica Street and Main now intersect, land was sold for six dollars per acre.[20] Even this low price prevented many property sales, for Mr. Joseph Ellicott wrote that:

> War being carried on partly within the territory under this agency and partly in enemy territory which in its effects has not only greatly impeded the progress of our sales and settlements in that vicinity but many of our settlers have fallen sacrifice on the altar of their country's rights in defence of their families, their houses and possessions.[21]

This decline of sales continued until the rebuilding of the village, which began when the people returned to their normal way of living.

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[19] Joseph Ellicott, Holland Land Company Papers, Buffalo Historical Society Publications, 1814, Vol. II, p.149.

[20] William Hodge Papers, Manuscripts Buffalo Historical Societies Archives.

[21] Ellicott, op. cit., p.149.

REBUILDING OF BUFFALO

The winter of 1813-14 had been a severe one for the Buffalo villagers, for they had seen their dwellings pillaged, and burned, and fellow inhabitants scattered and made homeless. Spring opened with more hope for the destitute families. Many persons returned to the burnt and scarred village and began to rebuild homes, crude though they were. These were encouraging tokens of resurrection of the stricken community.

When the inhabitants began their work of reconstruction, they were without much capital to pursue to advantage their plans to rebuild good homes and mechanical or mercantile establishments. At first, therefore, they could procure neither the requisite materials for building nor the necessary provisions, except those from the army commissary, which consisted mostly of salt provisions. However, the soldiers who were stationed in Buffalo and vicinity wanted fresh meat, even if it were poor, and they took pains to obtain it. It is related that they stole the only cow that Mr. Hodge possessed. Indeed, they stole everything else that they could take away and that was capable of being eaten.[22] This condition was evidenced in the first month of 1814, but living conditions were soon to have a brighter aspect for the citizenry.

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[22] William Hodge Papers. op. cit. (See photostats on the following pages of Hodges written recolletions.)

During the war of 1812 (as it is usually called) in the first winter

~~Though~~ ~~there were~~ ~~in the time of this war, I think it was~~
~~a winter of~~ the soldiers stationed at Buffalo and living
~~commit~~ many depredations upon the property of the inhabitants
such as killing and carrying off their cattle Sheep poultry
&c. had nothing but salt provisions furnished them as
rations, fresh meat they would have, even if it was
ever so short, many of the cows belonging to the inhabitants of the town
they killed in the woods and probably
for Pigs stole ~~took~~ and if only one was lost the loss
of the owner was much on account of the ~~winter~~.
Our flock of sheep was at that time to the town of Clarence being the nearest
was selected as a safe flock ~~where there was no soldiers~~ as it was
~~supposed~~ to be out of the route of the soldiers ~~in the~~ ~~night~~
morning. ~~But when we came~~ to return
home a father ~~and~~ ~~sister~~ ~~was~~ ~~keeping~~ ~~Out~~ the next morning
they were all gone, ~~had been~~ stolen and ~~taken away~~ dressed down the way
and carried to their camp, Finally there was some of the
soldiers caught in committing those depredations, ~~they were~~
~~delivered~~ to their camp and delivered up to their officers
to be punished but they were not disposed to punish them
they all were alike, the inhabitants some of
were exasperated, the inhabitants
waited the commanding officer what they should do if they
caught them in those depredations, the said
"shoot them, shoot them down the rascals" upon this the
some of young men of the town
took it in the night a watch night
Guy Wilkins Williams Holt Daniel Clinton Velquis Hodges
were watching one night at the Ridge
at Transits Creek all were in the Cushman log house
playing cards the men they discovered some eight soldiers
crossing the ridge and hailed them, they answered "we have
business we are going to stop marauding soldiers on the march"

and fired a shot. The one on guard returned the fire this started those in the house they sallied out and fired away at them gave them a good dropping of coarse shot, five of them fell three made their escape of those five four ~~of them~~ were wounded one was not, he fell to save himself from being shot. They were all taken to camp and delivered up to the commanding officer, who ~~commended~~ approved of the course taken by the Citizens, This put a check to their stealing and plundering for a time

Though the war continued throughout 1814 with increased vigor, Buffalo did not figure prominently in the conflict. New and efficient officers had come to the Frontier and commanded the troops. Buffalo received at this time the title of "Phoenix Buffalo",[23] for in all sections of the village were evidences of reconstruction. We are given a clear picture of the progress being made from the following editorial on the Gazette:

> Buffalo village which once adorned the shores of Erie and was prostrated by the enemy is now rising again. Several buildings are already raised and made inhabitable. Contracts for twenty or thirty more are made and many of them are in considerable forwardness. A brisk company has been organized by our association of most enterprising and public spirited men, with sufficient capital for the purpose of rendering the brick so reasonable that the principal streets are to be built of that article. All that is required to re-establish Buffalo in its former prosperity are ample remuneration from the government and peace. Peace if not obtained by negotiation, must be obtained by a vigorous prosecution of the war. Buffalo had its charms -- the situation, the prospect and the general health of people is good.[24]

"Some of these houses", says Hodge, "were primitive and cheap".[25] "Military operation", says Larned, "stimulated the rebuilding. Excitements were plenty; regiments coming and going, business activities of several kinds thrived".[26]

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[23] Buffalo Old and New, Supplement of Buffalo Courier, November 11, 1900, p.7.

[24] Buffalo Gazette, April 2, 1814.

[25] William Hodge Papers, op. cit.

[26] J.N. Larned, A History of Buffalo, (New york: The Progress of the Empire State Company, 1911), p.30.

Again we are reminded by the Gazette "that the greatest activity and enterprise continues at Buffalo in building up and improving that place".[27]

The spending of money by soldiers, and others who passed through Buffalo, brought high prices, and again says Hodge "the people were jubilant and felt well, and talked of seeing the village twenty years hence".[28] "This spending of money", says the same author, "gave a wonderful spur to the hopes and exertions of the citizens".[29] The army needed large supplies, and this added to the village prosperity in April, 1814.

The rapid progress made by the villagers is clearly shown by a public announcement in the Gazette in May, 1814, which states that the following buildings had been erected: "23 houses; 3 taverns, 4 dry goods stores; 12 grocery stores and other shops, and 3 offices".[30]

Thus, from the foregoing statements, it is evident that Buffalo residents were determined to restore their village and begin life anew. Since conditions were becoming more and more favorable, the restoration would be only a matter of time.

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[27] Buffalo Gazette, May 3, 1814.

[28] William Hodge Papers, op. cit.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Buffalo Gazette, May 24, 1814.

A few business establishments which had been operated here prior to the war gradually re-opened in 1814. There was the Stocking and Bull Hat Company (during the war it was located in Canandaigua) whose store in Buffalo was located on Main Street, while the factory was located on Washington Street. Townsend and Coit Drug Store, at Main and Pearl Streets, was re-opened. Herman Potter opened law offices on Main Street. Ebenezer Walden did the same. Other lawyers who set up offices were: Bates Cooke, John Root, and James Harrison. Incidentally, the Sheriff's quarters were re-established on March 5th, 1814.[31]

In June, 1814, the Judges of Common Pleas Court were declared ready for business in the house of John Brunson, which was used as a temporary court.[32] The jail, which was not burned during the war, was located on the east side of Washington between Clinton and Eagle. This was made ready for use about the same time as the court.

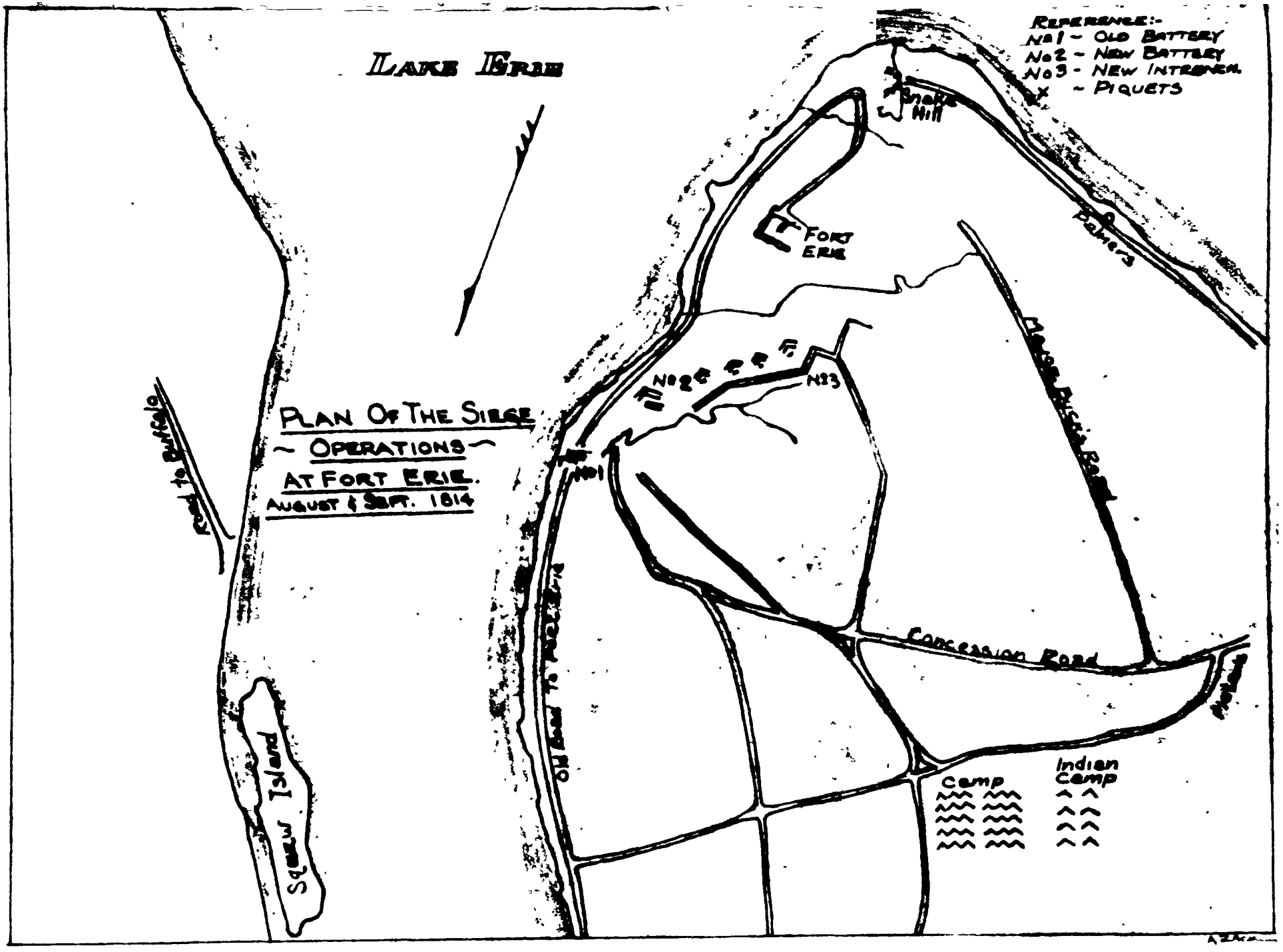
The newly established firm of Andrews and Hopkins on Main Street had notified the public in May, 1814, that they were ready to accept for cabinet making.[33]

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[31] Truman C.White, Our Country and its People. (Boston, Mass: The Boston History Publishers, 1898), Vol. I, pp.170,680.

[32] Buffalo Old and New, op. cit., p.7.

[33] Ibid.


Lake Erie
Plan Of The Siege
~ Operations ~
At Fort Erie.
August & Sept. 1814
Reference:-
No 1 - Old Battery
No 2 - New Battery
No 3 - New Intrenchm.
X - Piquets
Smoke Hill
Fort Erie
Palmers
No 2
No 3
No 1
Chippewa Road
Concession Road
Road to Buffalo
Squaw Island
Road to Black Rock
Camp
Indian Camp

The rebuilding program of the village was well under way, in June, 1814, but the peace was again disturbed in September, 1814, when the militia was ordered to Buffalo. The Fort at Erie was in great danger of being besieged. These circumstances stirred a patriotic note in all hearts. Business came to a temporary stand still. The Land Office was closed. The merchants' stores were likewise closed, and mechanics' shops ceased to produce. Rich and poor, young and old, were impelled more forcibly by the voice of patriotism than by warning notes to serve the soldiers who had so lately crowned themselves with glory at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane. The people were spurred on to duty and patriotism by an editorial in the Gazette, which read as follows:

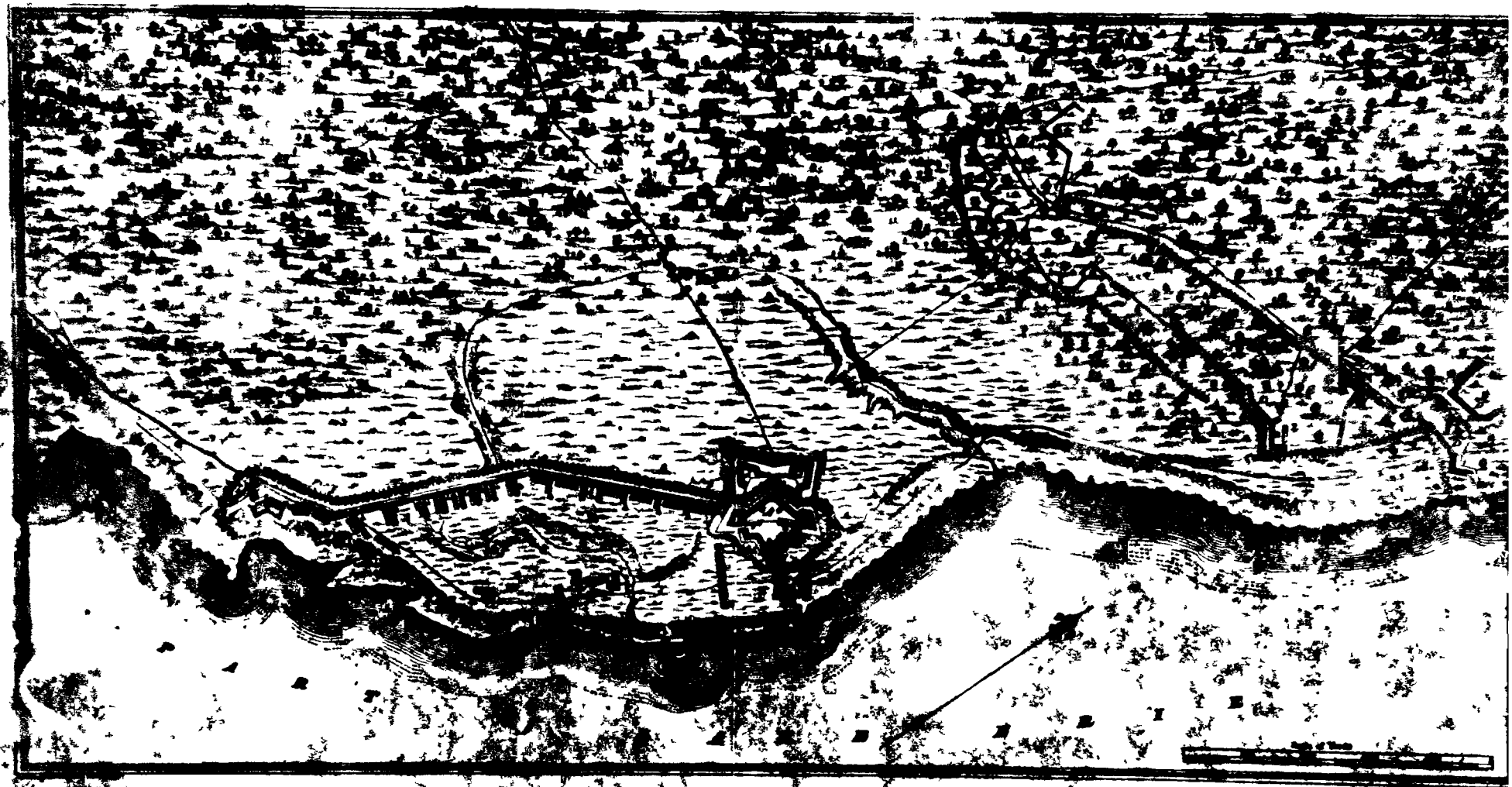
> The prospect before us calls for united and great exertions to save the country. The storms of parties have raged long enough. Let harmony be diffused throughout the American public. Let the country imitate the patriotic City of New York and the nation will be safe.[34]

The American forces at Fort Erie on September 17, 1814, under General Brown, staged a severe battle, losing 500 men, while the British lost 600.[35] Then, too, most of the British batteries were destroyed. Consequently the

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[34] Buffalo Gazette, September 13, 1814.

[35] Theodore Roosevelt, The Naval War of 1812, (New York: The Review of Reviews Corp., 1882), Vol. I, p.20.



(This plan is a copy of one made by the United States engineer corps.)

British withdrew from that area.

The citizens of Buffalo, who had gathered at the Waterfront of Buffalo and Black Rock at three A.M., gave a shout of joy in the night air, and waved lanterns and torches in abundance, flashing a light across the stream to Erie to illuminate the way for the American victors.[36] The people watched the discharge of guns, and, when the bastion at the Fort blew up, they were filled with dismay, for they knew not whether it meant the abandonment of the Fort by the Americans or the capture by the British, a worse disaster. Nothing more was done in the way of fighting, as this was the last of the Canadian battles on the Niagara Frontier. On November 5, 1814, the American army recrossed the Niagara to the United States.

In December, 1814, it became apparent that peace was not far distant, and there was great rejoicing among the people of the Niagara Frontier.[37] This period of joy resulted from the fact that there was no more fighting on the Niagara Frontier, though there was a strong feeling of enmity existing between the two Nations.[38] Business continued until the soldiers began to leave. This occurred

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[36] Benson T. Lossing, The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1869), p.386.

[37] Buffalo Old and New, op. cit., p.7.

[38] Ibid.

immediately after peace had been declared on December 24th, 1814. Most of the soldiers moved out immediately, but a few remained until the early part of 1815. As spring approached, all were gone.

The Army's departure from Buffalo meant a considerable loss of business. Now the people settled down to a quiet existence after the period of war strain. They were now thrown upon their own resources. Trade was limited, and provisions were scarce and high. The great flow of money had ceased, and it was becoming hard work to get along. During the boom period, many had gotten into debt, and others had not recovered war losses of one and a half years before. "This condition", says Hodge, "lasted five years".[39]

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[39] William Hodge Papers, op. cit.

PART VII

THE FINANCIAL PART OF THE WAR EFFORT, RELIEF AND CLAIMS FOR LOSSES SUFFERED IN THE WAR OF 1812 ALONG THE NIAGARA FRONTIER

The prosecution of a war makes great demands upon the resources and finances of a country. Our population with the advent of war was about 7,500,000.[1] At the same time, the financial standing of the country was at a low ebb. The mercantile class, particularly of New England, who controlled the financial resources of the country, opposed and was openly hostile to the idea of war in all its phases. Since the war program was to be mainly supported by loans, the mercantile class was not the least interested.

The Secretary of the Treasury, Gallatin, recommended no increase in taxation. He was, however, more concerned with the support of the war by means of loans. He suggested an issue of Treasury notes bearing interest and payable in one year. These notes bore a little more than five per cent interest, but notes of less than one hundred dollars were not interest bearing. As the war progressed, notes

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[1] Louis L. Babcock, The War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier, (Meadville, Pennsylvania: Tribune Publishing Company, 1927), p.10.

were issued to the amount of thirty-seven and a half million dollars, though they were not all in circulation at the same time.[2]

The National Bank charter had not been renewed, so that the country was left without a central banking system. Local banks totaling eighty-eight existed in its place. They were occupied with small affairs. Some were unsound, and nearly all jealous of Federal Authority and not eagerly disposed to co-operate in National financing.

The fact that loans were to be the main source of revenue did not mean that taxation was to be omitted, for the financial pressure upon the young nation was to be quite severe. Therefore, customs duties were levied doubly, and an excise tax was laid on distilleries, refined sugar, suctions, retailers of wines, stills, boilers, whiskey, (there was a $1.00 tax per gallon on it), carriages, shop tax, land tax, and tax of high prices.[3] Some of these indirect taxes were so low that the labor in collecting them hardly warranted the effort. The cheap tax of $1.00 per gallon on whiskey nearly caused a rebellion in Pennsylvania.[4]

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[2] The Bankers Magazine, Rhodes Journal of Banking, May, 1896, Vol. 52, p.50.

[3] New York Examiner, December 13, 1813.

[4] Fremont Wirth, The Development of America. (New York: American Book Company, 1940), p.248.

The loans issued by the Government were difficult to market, for they brought in much less than their face value, which paid 7½ per cent interest.

At the opening of hostilities in 1812, the people of New York subscribed for $839,000. Again on August 3, 1813, Congress laid a direct tax of $3,000,000. In December 1813, Congress borrowed $55,000,000 and paid an annual interest of $4,125,000. Again on February 22, 1814, Congress authorized a loan of $25,000,000 to support war needs.[5] By May, 1814, the Government Loan amounted to $16,000,000 at six per cent interest.[6] "Throughout the war" says Fish, "the total amount of loans of the United States amounted to $98,000,000".[7]

So far we have reported on the amount of loans passed by Congress, but what did the Niagara Frontier contribute toward these loans? According to William Hodge, Jr., the people in this area kept their money and carried it with them; hence no support on the part of the citizens was given. They were not in a position to render any support financially to the war effort. "No direct source", he claims, "can be

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5 Buffalo Gazette, March 22, 1813.

6 Ibid., May 4, 1814.

7 Carl Russel Fish, The Development of American Nationality (Rivised Edition; New York: American Book Company, 1929), p.15.

found where any definite support was given. There was no bank here prior to or during the war, and not until 1816 did a bank open under the name, Bank of Niagara".[8] This statement is also supported by the Bankers Magazine (1896), which mentions that the first bank opened in Buffalo in 1816.

From what has already been written concerning the suffering and loss of the Niagara Frontier inhabitants, it is quite obvious that they received the sympathy of the more fortunate. This was evident from the tender solicitude with which national, state, local, and private aid was rendered.

As a preparation for any eventuality in this area, the State Legislature in 1812 set aside, out of a fund of one half million, a sum of fifty thousand dollars to relieve the distress of citizens.[9]

During November and December, 1813, the people on the Frontier experienced profound suffering, and soon after Buffalo was burned, a meeting was held in Canandaigua, in which a long address to our fellow citizens was adopted. It opened with a vivid picture of frontier conditions:

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[8] William Hodge Papers, op. cit.

[9] Buffalo Gazette, October 13, 1812.

> The war in which we are engaged, is rapidly assuming a character of ferocity and terror forbidden by the law of nations and by every sentiment of humanity. You, every day see the aged and the helpless, with a scanty remnant of their moveable property, hastily snatched from the grasp of the invaders, returning from the frontier and casting themselves upon the sympathies of their countrymen for immediate support. These are generally parts of families, for no families have been left entire, which the hand of the ravager could reach.
>
> Upon our own territy hundreds of our fellow citizens have seen their houses burned, their unarmed friends either killed or carried into captivity and their long-cherished hopes blasted by the sudden and almost unresisted approach of an enraged enemy. But we do not, at present, expect relief from complaint or remonstrance; we have more pressing interests. And it is inconsistent with the genuine spirit of liberty to shrink from the performance of any duty however difficult, however dangerous.[10]

The address continued in like general phrases, and finally became specific. It recommended military organization, but sounded a warning:

> Let not portions of the militia attempt to form volunteer corps unauthorized by law, and thus distract and weaken that force which reason, past experience and the most venerable authorities of our country equally point out as the anchor of our safety. Bunker's Hill and Bennington are names which bring to the militia-man's bosom the most animating remembrances. And why should it be doubted that the same class of our citizens, in a contest conservated by the genius of defensive war, may not hereafter emulate the glory there acquired.[11]

This address was adopted, ordered signed by the chairman and clerk, and directed to be printed in the newspapers

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[10] Minute Book of the Committee on Safety and Relief at Canadaigua, manuscript, Library of the Buffalo Historical Society.

[11] Ibid.

of the village. Further resolutions directed the citizens to procure subscriptions for the sufferers, and to recommend like proceedings to neighboring towns. Finally, Messrs. Holley and Beals were created a committee to see that the proceedings were published, and to draw up letters addressed to prominent citizens throughout the state, soliciting relief for the sufferers. On January 8th the committee again met and received the following letter, which Messrs. Holley and Beals had drawn up:

Canandaigua, 8th January, 1814

Gentlemen: Niagara county and that part of Genessee which lies west of Batavia, are completely depopulated. All the settlements in a section of country forty miles square and which contained more than twelve thousand souls, are effectually broken up. These facts you are undoubtedly acquainted with; but the distresses they have produced none but an eye-witness can thoroughly appreciate. Our roads are filled with people, many of whom have been reduced from a state of competence and good prospects, to the last degree of want and sorrow. So sudden was the blow, by which they have been crushed, that no provision could be made either to eludē or to meet it. The fugitives from Niagara county especially, were dispersed under circumstances of so much terror, that, in some cases mothers find themselves wandering with strange children, and children are soon accompanied by such, as have no other sympathies with them than those of common sufferings. Of the families thus separated, all the members can never again meet, in this life; for the same violence which has made them beggars, has for ever deprived some of their heads, and others of their branches. Afflictions of the mind, so deep as have been allotted to these unhappy people, we cannot cure. They can probably be subdued, only by His power, who can wipe away all tears. But shall we not endeavor to assuage them? To their bodily wants we can certainly administer. The inhabitants of this village have made large contributions for their relief, in provisions, clothing and money. And we have been appointed, among

other things, to solicit further relief for them, from our wealthy and liberal minded fellow citizens. In pursuance of this appointment, may we ask of you, gentlemen, to interest yourselves particularly in their behalf: We believe, that no occasion has ever occurred in our country, which presented stronger claims upon indivisual benevolence; and we humbly trust, that whoever is willing to answer these claims, will always entitle himself to the presious rewards of active charity. We are, gentlemen, with great respect.

Your very obedient servants,

Wm. Shepard,
Thads. Chapin,
Moses Atwater,
N. Gorham,
Z. Seymour,
Myron Holley,
Thomas Beals,
Phineas P.Bates,
Committee of Safety and Relief at Canandaigua.[12]

The meeting, in approving of the appeal, ordered that copies should be sent to DeWitt Clinton, Robert Troup, Matthew Clarkson, John B. Coles, Thomas Morris, Moses Rogers, Robert Browne, and Thomas Eddy of New York City; to Hon. Philip S. Van Rensselaer, James Kent, Ambrose Spencer, Elisha Jenkins, Stephen Van Rensselaer, Rev. William Neill, Rev. Timothy Clowes, and John M. Bradford of Albany; to James Emmott and Levi McKean, Poughkeepsie; to Robert Jenkins, Elisha Williams, Reuben Folger, John Talman, and William W. Van Ness of Hudson; to Joseph C. Yates, Charles Kane, and Elephalet Nott of Schenectady; to Jonas Platt,

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[12] Minute Book of the Committee on Safety and Relief at Canandaigua, manuscript, Library of the Buffalo Historical Society.

Thomas R. Gold, and E. Moseley of Whitesboro; to Jedediah Sanger and Joseph Kirkland of New Hartford; to Benjamin Walker, Nathan Williams, and J.Van Rensselaer of Utica; and probably to many others. The above are listed in the old record-book found in the Historical Society library.[13]

It is worth noting that an original list of subscribers, bearing the signatures of scores of prominent men of that day, is also preserved in the Historical Society library. It is eight feet long, and is dated "Albany, January 17, 1814". Among the autograph signatures appended are Frances LeBaron, $10; John Schaick, $30; Dudley Walsh, $60; John S. VanRensselaer, $5; S. VanRensselaer, $100; Gideon Hawley $5; S. DeWitt, $20; Goldsbrow Banyar, $50; John Lansing Jr., $50; T. Clowes, $20; Jacob H. Ten Eyck, $5; Daniel D. Tompkins, $50; John W. Yates, $10; Ann Van Cortlandt $20; James Kent, $30; H. Bleecker, $10; Catherine Gansevoort, $10; Elizabeth Bloodgood, $5; S. Van Renselaer $60; J.S.S. Staats, $5; John I. Van Rensselaer, $10; the proceeds of monies taken at the theater on the 22d, $474.25; from the Methodist Church, $68.50; from the children in Mr. Upfold's school, $9; from Mr. Young's school, Zion St., $4.31; collected in St. Peter's Church, January 30th, $320;

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[13] Minute Book of the Committee on Safety and Relief at Canandaigua, op. cit.

from the inhabitants of the town of Greenville in the County of Greene, $350; the scholars of Isaac G. Hutton in the town of Colonie, $12; from the First Presbyterian Church in the town of Goshen in the County of Orange, $153.[14]

Documents like the foregoing give a vividness and reality to the situation not otherwise to be had. It is evident that the Canandaigua committee sent many copies of their appeal to the well-to-do communities of New York and on the Hudson. Much of the help that was received came from those quarters.

On February 2d the committee directed the payment of $75.62½ to Mrs. Farwell, "late of Buffalo". So far as appears, this was the first relief given under the direction of the committee. Joseph Ellicott wrote to Mr. Beals that "if this Committee will pay the amount of said order he will refund the same to them on sight". The chairman was directed to pay the amount to Mrs. Farwell.

Mr. Beals spent eight days in his tour of the frontier for the collection of information relative to the sufferers. It is a misfortune that he did not write a graphic account of what he found! It would be a document of matchless interest. He reported the names of a number of persons who were in immediate want, also the names of

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[14] Minute Book of the Committee on Safety and Relief at Canandaigua, op. cit.

others whose houses and property were burned, but who were not in immediate want. From this time on, the committee made numerous payments to suffering refugees. On February 2nd they appropriated $50 in goods and money to relieve the needs of Mrs. Alvord of Lewiston, and $25 to the widow of Samuel Pratt, late of Buffalo.[15]

On February 3d the committee voted for the payment of the following:

To Elisha Foster of Buffalo	$20
Widow Atkins at 11 Mile Creek	25
John Olmstead at 11 Mile Creek	25
Wm. Dudley's widow	25
Mr. Friskett's widow (up the lake from Buffalo	10
Michael Dill, near Buffalo	25
Widow of John Roop	25
Joel Thorp's family in Clarence	25
Holden Allen at Buffalo	25
MrsSawyer at Presqu' Isle (Erie)	25
Orange Dean	25
John White near 11 Mile Creek	25
Conrad House,Jr., near Black Rock	25
John Harvey, Willink	25
Ralph M. Pomeroy	50
Joseph D. Hoyt's cild at T. McEwen's	10
Tim'y McEwamp, 11 Mile Creek	25
John Root,Harris (Hill)	25
Robert Keane's wife at 11 Mile Creek	20
Rapheal Cook, at 11 Mile Creek	50
John Haydock at 11 Mile Creek	25
Wilow St. John at Buffalo	25
Amos Callender at Clarence	25
Luke Draper's wife at Peck's in Clarence	25
Mrs. Hoysington, at Peck's	25
David Klink, up the lake from Buffalo	25

[16]

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[15] Minute Book of the Committee on Safety and Relief at Canandaigua, op. cit.

[16] Ibid.

On February 5th the committee made the following appropriations:

Ephraim Stocker at Geneva	$30
Widow Enos at 11 Mile Creek	25
Benjamin Haines at Bloofield	25
Jenning's wife at 11 Mile Creek	10
Benjamin Gregg at 11 Mile Creek	20
Jonathan Root at 11 Mile Creek	20
Mrs. Pomeroy at Mrs. Clark's	15
Mr. Tomlinson at Bemis	10 [17]

The committee on this day also voted that Messrs. Seymour and Beals be a committee to dispose of goods sent in for distribution as they might think proper for the benefit of the sufferers. There were appropriated to Elijah Newbon $5 in cash and articles of clothing. The sum of $50 was placed in the hands of Seymour and Beals for distribution in their discretion.[18]

On the 9th of February the committee voted that there be placed in the hands of Jonas Harrison, David E. Evans, and Richard Smith at Batavia, in addition to the sum sent to them by Judge Atwater for distribution on February 3d, the sum of $100. The following appropriations were also made:

Holden Allen, an additional sum	$50
Mrs. Tigner, left with gentlemen at 11 Mile Creek	20
Asa Dickinson	25
Joshua Lovejoy	25 [18]

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[17] Minute Book of the Committee on Safety and Relief at Canandaigua, op. cit.

[18] Ibid.

The committee voted $13.25 to Moses Atwater for expenses incurred in his tour to 11 Mile Creek; $12.50 to Thomas Beals, that being the amount of his expenses on his tour to gain necessary information. The sum of $29.25 was paid to Messrs. Seymour and Beals to be used at their discretion in relief work. The amount of $200 was voted for the relief of the Tuscaroras whose village had been burned, and Captain Jasper Parrish was requested to spend the amount for necessary clothing for the Tuscaroras or in such manner as would give them most relief.[19]

On February 12th the committee made the following appropriations:

Solomon Hearsey, Ridge Road	$25
Wife of George Wilson (with Mrs. McBride	15
Nathan Hall, six miles from Buffalo	25
Samuel Howe (one of Wilcox's corps)	15

On the 19th of February, $100 more was placed in the hands of Messers. Seymour and Beals for use at their discretion. February 23d the committee met again and voted that $25 be sent to Morris F. Shepperd to be expended for the benefit of John Sagas' wife and children. The sum of $15 was voted for Levi Mudget of Hartland, and $20 for Mrs. Sally Engle at Stult's in Gorham. On March 2d the committee appropriated as follows:

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[19] Minute Book of the Committee on Safety and Relief at Canadaigua, op. cit.

Solomon Lusk	$15
Tim'y Smith late of Lewiston	15
Wm. Finch, lived at Ellicott's new salt works	25
James Baird, Buffalo	25
Elnathan Holmes, Cambria	10
A.S. Bemis of Buffalo	20
Mrs. Pomeroy, further sum	10
Widow Atkins, further sum	25
Thomas Flinn	20
Nathaniel McCormick of 4 Mile Creek	25
John Brown, 4 Mile Creek	25
Joseph Hewit	25
William M. Howell	25
Thomas Brown, 18 Mile Creek	25
Rev. William Holmes, late of Tuscarora Village	25

[20]

April 16, the committee voted the following appropriations:

Isaac Colt, Jr., near Manchester	$50
Ezra H. Bemis of Porter, 2d app'n	10
Willard Humphrey, 2d app'n	15
Moses K. Stevens at Black Rock	25
Widow Arabella McClure, Black Rock	15
Widow Lydia Stevens, Black Rock	15
Wheeler Kitchen, 18 Mile Creek	20

[21]

At this point the record of the old minute-book ends. Probably the committee continued its useful work for some time.

One cannot read these painstaking old records without being impressed with the devotion which characterized the work, especially of Mr. Beals. It is plain that he and his associates felt a genuine sympathy for the sufferers

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[20] Minute Book of the Committee on Safety and Relief at Canandaigua, op. cit.

[21] Ibid.

and neglected no needy case. The relief was extended to those entitled to it wherever they could be found.[22]

Late in January, 1814, Governor Tompkins addressed the State Legislature as follows:

> The distresses of the families who have become the victims of a cruel and unprecedented warfare, call for the immediate and liberal interposition of the Legislature. The character and dignity of the State, as well as justice to our exposed and suffering fellow citizens demand the exertion of its utmost power and resources to punish atrocities of the enemy.[23]

The Gazette announced early in February, 1814, that

> A considerable sum of money and a quantity of provisions, and clothing has been subscribed in this town, and a part of it sent on to the relief of the sufferers on the Niagara Frontier. The sympathy and benevolence of every town is put in requisition to alleviate in some degree the distresses of their unfortunate brethren.[24]

One week after Governor Tompkins' speech in the State Legislature, he again addressed that body on the recent events as follows:

> The recent invasion by the enemy of the Western Frontier of this State and the extraordinary surrender to him of the Garrison and Fort Niagara; the burning of the fourlishing villages and settlements -- the pillage of private property and the massacre of peaceable inhabitants of the frontier by a savage foe cite the liveliest sympathy for the sufferers, and to arouse the indignation of every friend of humanity and his country.[25]

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[22] Minute Book of the Committee on Safety and Relief at Canandaigua, op. cit.

[23] New York Examiner, January 29, 1814.

[24] Buffalo Gazette, February 4, 1814.

[25] Ibid., February 8, 1814.

Early in March, 1814, both Houses of Congress passed a bill granting relief to the Niagara Frontier sufferers by donating $40,000 for them; $5,000 for the Canadian sufferers in sympathy with United States and $5,000 for the Tuscaroran Indians, who had aided the American cause.[26]

Through the pathetic appeal of the Committee of Safety and Relief from Canandaigua, June 8, 1814, the urgent need for aid was described in the following words:

> Children are seen accompanied buy such persons as have no sympathies with them other than those of common sufferings of the families thus separated. All the members can never meet again in this life, for the same violence which made them beggars had forever deprived some of their heads and others of their branches. Afflictions of the mind so deep as have been allotted to these unhappy people we cannot cure. They probably can only be subdued by His power who can wipe all tears To their bodily wants we can only administer ... may we ask you, gentlemen, to interest yourselves particularly in their behalf.[27]

The appeal was not in vain. The following donations were promptly made as follows:

New York Legislature	$50,000
City of Albany	1,000
City of New York	3,000
Holland Land Company	2,000
Mr. Joseph Ellicott	200
Other donations	6,800 [28]

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[26] Buffalo Gazette, March 9, 1814.

[27] Minute Book of the Committee on Safety and Relief at Canadaigua, op. cit.

[28] Ibid.

All these contributions or donations came like manna to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, relieve the sick, and give shelter to the homeless.

Here and there, the more fortunate and less affected by the war came to the rescue of the afflicted and saved the poor from a more sudden termination of life.

A committee in Buffalo was selected in the latter part of 1814 to receive donations for the relief of the following from Cattaraugus and Greene Counties:

$ 75.50 - Methodist Church
460.00 - Mr Bernard (Benefit given)
13.31 - School children
Also bundles of apparel, blankets, sheets, cloth, muslin estimated at $270.
30.00 - From Grenville inhabitants, County of Greene.[29]

The officials of the village council appropriated $3,000 toward the relief of their brethren, and recommended that the different bodies cause collections to be made for the same purpose.[30]

A public acknowledgement of Canandaigua's charity was published in the Gazette:

> The Committee of Relief at Canandaigua have done themselves much honor in the active part they have taken to procure money by subscription for the relief of sufferers by the depredations of the enemy.[31]

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[29] Buffalo Gazette, February 15, 1814.

[30] Ibid., February 4, 1814.

[31] Ibid.

Subsequent to the destruction of Buffalo and Black Rock by the enemy, property to a considerable amount and of various kinds belonging to the sufferers was taken away by many of the good citizens of Niagara County. These persons were later requested to return the goods or give information regarding them to a committee organized in Buffalo for that purpose, but composed of persons through out the Frontier.[32]

According to Dr. Seth Grosvenor, by April 3, 1814, claims for damages had been filed in Buffalo for 334 houses, barns, sheds, and stores destroyed in the raids from Buffalo to Eighteen Mile Creek, which had an estimated value of $350,000. 143 structures in Buffalo were claimed to have been destroyed. The estimated value of these was $190,000. The number of structures burned in Buffalo was valued at $100.000.[33] The value of property destroyed at Newark is estimated at $358,000.[34]

We are further reminded by Seth Grosvenor that there apparently were many persons who had not made any claims, either because they had moved elsewhere or because they did not care to press a claim.

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[32] Buffalo Gazette, January 18, 1814.

[33] Louis L. Babcock, The War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier (Meadville, Pennsylvania: Tribune Publishing Company, 1927), p.137.

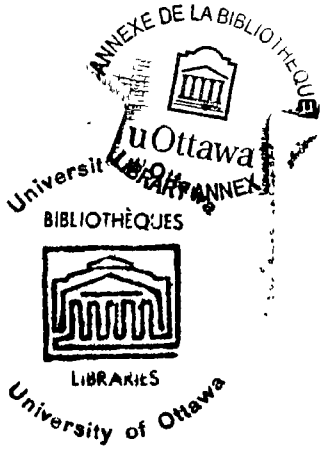
[34] Ibid.

This chapter has shown how the War of 1812-1814 was supported, viz., by large issues of bonds, and also by taxes. However, we find the inhabitants of the Niagara Frontier wholly unable to give financial support to the bond issues, whereas, they themselves were the object of the greatest sympathy and charity of their fellow citizens. We have also shown the great loss these people suffered in material possession, the value of which we have given.

395 A

NIAGARA FRONTIER AND THE WAR OF 1812

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF
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by
Edward Bernard Hein
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PART VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

War, just or unjust, aggressive or defensive, often places the people of a nation in a quandry. Historians at a later date are oftentimes as undecided and confused about the issues of a war as the people who actually lived through the struggle. The War of 1812 falls into this indecisive category.

One would not be completely honest to say that the United States became involved with Great Britain solely out of the idea of impressment of American seamen. On the other hand, it would be equally unfair to say that purely selfish, expansionistic motives prompted this great nation in 1812. It is not the purpose of this thesis to make such a conclusion. The primary concern of this work is to show just how the declaration of war affected the lives and activities of the people living in the Niagara Frontier.

However, a brief portion of the first part is devoted to a description of the Niagara Frontier as of 1812, with an insight into the early history of this area together with some interesting illustrations pertaining to that period. In particular the photostats depicting the blessing of the cross by Father Millet as well as the one showing one of Celeron's lead plates are extremely enlightening.

Chapter Two brings out the developments leading up to the War of 1812, together with the reactions of the Americans to this impending conflict. It shows the feeling of the New England States, the wealthiest states of the Union, who were opposed to the war on the grounds that it would ruin their business. Many of the Federalists showed how costly a war can be, no matter how short, and at the same time admonished the people to avoid wars. New York State, in general, wished the continuence of the Embargo and Non-importation laws as a substitute for war. Rhode Island instructed its Senators and Representatives to use every effort to avert war. Thus we see that in many parts of the United States people were opposed to war. Herein we showed the effect of the "War Hawks" in leading the Nation to War. Coming to the Niagara Frontier, we find these pioneers showing little if any interest in the Presidential election of the time, for the inhabitants were more interested in defending their homes.

Highlights of many of the important battles were brought out rather concisely. One definite advantage of the War of 1812 that the United States gained was that the power of the Indian in the Northwest was forever broken. Consequently the Westward migration increased by leaps and bounds. Albert Gallatin, an important cog in the administrative power of the Jeffersonian Democracy, said that the

threat of the war had the unifying force of arousing the spirit of nationalism among the people. It swelled a new pride in the Union which triumphed over the states right theory in the Civil War.

Certainly, doubt, joy, and sorrow, all are feelings which a people on the verge of war experience. Niagara frontiersmen were no different from the remainder of the people of this nation or any other nation, for they experienced these very same emotions. However, the moment the threat of hostilities became an actuality, all rallied to the cause of their country.

Soon after, the news of the war spread throughout the Niagara Frontier and cast a gloom of tense fear as the inhabitants prepared themselves for the inevitable hour of trial. The taverns, village stores and street corners buzzed with the topic of war. Consequently business was forgetten for the more important topic of defense. They were materially changed from a quiet, progressive and hardworking people to one of confusion of both mind and heart. There were doubts in the minds of all as to the certainty of the Indians loyalty to the American cause. The inhabitants had been assured of the devotion of the red man, for we find such great Indian leaders as Red Jacket, Cornplanter, Young King, Major Berry, Blue Sky and others working for the American

cause. The photostatic copy of Red Jacket's annuity payment for the year 1808 is of historical importance. It also may be said that in this particular war we find the Indians as regulars in the United States Army. Herein we find the photostatic copy of the army payroll deductions for January 1814, as further proof of same. This was the first time in the history of the United States that Indians were found on the regular army payroll. Since then the Indians have proven their value and courage fighting for the American cause. In World War Two a good number of Indians have been awarded distinguished medals of honor for unusual valor over and above their line of duty.

The Frontiersmen reacted as most people do when the realities of war appeared. The spectacle of war and war's tragedy were strongly brought to their attention when the neighboring village, Newark, across the river, was needlessly destroyed by our army. Retaliation on the part of the British brought to the American villages on the Frontier the sad truth of what war really meant, viz., suffering and death on their very door-step. They witnessed most vividly the horror and heartaches of seeing loved ones separated by death or driven into strange territory, and their homesburned before their eyes. The very villages in which they had been reared, and which they had helped to

build and which had become sacred to them, were suddenly destroyed. Evacuation scenes of helpless women and children became a common sight. Here and there, some brave group of refugees offered resistance to the enemy, but to no avail. The scourge of war had really made a war-minded people of the Niagara Frontiermen.

Further discussion describes the morale of these brave and truly unfortunate people, who needed some powerful encouragement. To a certain degree, with the means available, a co-operative spirit was created. This co-operation was manifested by the idea of "United we stand or together we fall". The moral was promoted through the medium of the newspaper, correspondence, mail service throughout the Niagara Frontier area, songs and recreation, hospital care, devoted doctors, limited educational facilities, neighborly devotedness, and lifting the mind and heart to God in prayer. Every effort, we have shown, was made by these pioneers to cope with a situation which at times seemed insurmountable.

It appears that the Frontiersmen had problems somewhat identical to ours in respect to road conditions. Whereas our great forefathers struggled to build roads passable to necessary traffic, we at present find ourselves limited in our road building program, because of the high

cost of construction and the extreme high taxes confronting the people. Just as in the early days of Buffalo , public opinion had to be resorted to in order to force necessary road improvements by the State Legislature. A somewhat similar procedure is followed at the present time.

Culturial activities were rising in the Village of Buffalo in the days prior to the War of 1812. A womans school was founded about this time, as well as a dancing school.

According to General Wadsworth, army moral was at a very low ebb along the Niagara Frontier, partly due to the lack of proper leadership, fighting equipment and other military needs. This had a very demoralizing effect upon the inhabitants of the Frontier. We may say that the United States as a whole found itself in a somewhat similiar position during World War Two.

General Smythe frequently gave out ridiculous proclamations during the early days of the war along the Niagara Frontier. These had an adverse effect upon the men under him, demorilizing the army personal in general. The later wars also produced like men whose actions left numerous army men unstable.

As in every war, the business life was disturbed. Though the inhabitants were never rich, sufficient food was

available and continued to be available until the end of 1812. Then came a real scarcity of food, for the army had to be fed. Prices began to rise and efforts were made to curb them, until Buffalo business was ruined by the burning of the village. The same effect was felt elsewhere as stores and shops were destroyed. Business establishments totaling over a dozen before the war dwindled to none after the burning. Transportation was almost nil throughout the war, and wherever it could be used in commercial work, it proved most expensive. People who had been eager to buy real estate along the Niagara Frontier prior to the war now saw no opportunity or reason to purchase land which they might soon have to leave. Thus, sales of land declined. The main source of food was always from the farms, but the farms were ruined because of neglect resulting from the lack of labor.

Business trends were very high during 1812 and part of 1813. The Buffalo Gazette bears that out in the advertisements that were found in the weekly editions of the paper for that particular period. Numerous photostatic copies of the said editions are living testimony of the afore said statements.

There was a tendency to increase prices during the War of 1812. Similiar situations prevailed during the other

wars, in particular the high prices of World War One are a blot on our economic history. Local opposition to same arose during the early days of the war for we saw the Master Mechanic organization taking an important step to curb the price rise. It may be said that profiteers prevailed during the War periods, with small basic differences during the War of 1812 and World War Two.

Smuggling of food across the border brought about poor and unwholesome rations to our soldiers. This situation was nipped in the bud by President Roosevelt in the last conflict by instigating rationing of necessary food items, the fighting personal getting theirs first.

Hoarding by some unscrupulous persons in the War of 1812 caused a decline in food supplies. Many people during World War Two in particular resorted to the same thing. Strict military regulations minimized food shortages during the two war periods.

Increased taxation is another favorite instrument used by governments to obtain increased revenue. Treasury notes were sold by Secretary Gallatin bearing five per cent interest and payable in one year. The United States placed taxes on refined sugar, wines, stills, boilers, whiskey, carriages, shop tax, and land tax in order to meet a war time budget. However, compared with the heavy taxes imposed by the United States because of World War II, the war taxes of 1812 seem insignificant.

Consideration was given to the support of the war by means of bonds, taxes, and loans, and charitable contributions to a people in a war torn area. In regard to the support of the war, we have seen that little, if any, aid was given from Buffalo or the Niagara Frontier. Though they had little money, the people were opposed to the idea of war. However, the inhabitants were far too poor to extend any support. The government had called for contributions through the staggering sum of $98,000,000. Banks were controlled locally, and many were unsound. Therefore, there was no safe medium to handle funds for the government.

Contributions were generously made to the Niagara inhabitants from national,state, local, and patriotic groups and governing bodies. These people were the object of the deepest sympathy. These benevolent gifts of charity bespoke the generous heart of Americans in time of trial.

One might ask: What type of people were these pioneers and what part did they actually perform on the "Home Front" during the war period of 1812-1814 ?

The pioneers were a hardy, robust, and energetic people, who lived in frugal dwellings. Their finances were limited, and they struggled constantly for a meager livelihood.

When war came into their midst they felt its realities, and they realized the burden and responsibilities of supporting a war program. It was seen that their small pittance did not permit financial aid. Besides, there were no banks on the Niagara Frontier during 1812-1814. Consequently the inhabitants were obliged to carry with them whatever money they possessed. In view of these facts, there was no definite procedure to follow in buying bonds and meeting government requests for funds. In fact, records have failed to give evidence of any financial assistance by Niagara Frontier inhabitants to the war program. Seemingly, they were content to leave such support to other areas in the United States, where money was more plentiful and facilities were available for collecting and holding money.

From time to time the people of the United States were called upon for greater united effort. Through the medium of the Buffalo Gazette, the Niagara Frontiersmen in particular were asked to show more patriotism. There seems to have been good reason for the call to patriotism, because along the Frontier lived many Federalists who were strongly opposed to war. Numerous warnings appeared in the Gazette concerning the treatment of strangers and the necessity of being cautious during a war period. Like announcements have appeared very often during World War One and World War Two.

All historical sources have rendered boundless praise to the patriotic zeal of the inhabitants in this area who gave generously in moral support. As in the Spanish American War, World War I, and World War II, they were interested in caring for the sick and wounded, and opened their homes for such a cause. They also gave manpower for the army and provided food for both army personal and civilians. This was a tremendous sacrifice for a group of poor citizens struggling for a livelihood.

Patriotic organizations such as the "Silver Greys" and many women sewing clubs helped to ease the war strain for the soldiers. Many a woman became a second Florence Nightingale of her period, especially one who learned some methods of nursing. She was always welcome in sick homes. The modern equivalent of the early nurse is the practical nurse of today who is always an asset to her community.

The government plan of World War II, unlike that of 1812-1814, endeavored to pay for a war on a much larger scale by the sale of bonds and the imposition of heavy taxes, thereby paying part of the war costs as the war progressed and at the same time avoiding the catastrophe of inflation. However, in 1812-1814, this plan of supporting war costs on a large scale could not be realized, for money was not plentiful or available.

The service to the sick and wounded in private homes disrupted family life, diminished food supplies, and added extra hours of labor.

The manpower problem caused no little concern, for all able-bodied men between 18 and 45 years of age were expected to serve their country. Unlike World War Two no draft law was in effect during the War of 1812. Service was merely on a voluntary basis. Periodic advertisements appeared in the Buffalo Gazette in order to raise more army recruits. As an inducement for those that enlisted for five years one hundred twenty five dollars bounty was paid upon "singning up" and a gratuity of three hundred and twenty acres of land and three months pay given upon honorable discharged. No such inducements were offered the enlisties of World War Two except mustering out pay and later "G.I." rights whose total value means a great deal to a war veteran.

Business suffered in help, and the food supply dwindled. Women and children were forced to carry on farming duties alone. The effect of this war was seen in the wave of animal stealing among soldiers, who needed food because the government had limited their supply to the extent of allowing only a .14¢ daily ration to each soldier on the Niagara Frontier.

In October and November, 1812, there was considerable illness on the Niagara Frontier. Such diseases as pneumonia and dysentary were quite prevalent during the war period. A mild epidemic of what one may suppose was influenza was found among the army personal as well as the civilian population. Every known medical aid was provided for the soldiers. No expense was spared by our government to minister to the wounded or sick soldiers. It is gratifying to note that the degree of medical aid to the soldiers by our government has increased with each and every succeeding war. Military hospitals were erected on the Buffalo Terrace, at Flint Hill (Delaware Park and Parkside Avenue), and at Williamsville. Doctors were available for military needs, and the government provided two surgeons to each regiment. Civilian doctors would not possibly serve the entire Niagara Frontier. Therefore many of the civilians were denied professional service. It seems rather amusing to note that although there was an extreme scarcity of physicians in the early days of Niagara Frontier, rival medical societies flourished. Numerous verbal blows were struck at each other through the medium of the Buffalo Gazette. Present day medical etiquitte prevents like situations to reach such stages.

Immediately preceding and after the burning of Buffalo and other villages along the Niagara Frontiers, people were seen wending their way in all directions. After having left their earthly possessions behind and being separated from loved ones, they were now obliged to seek shelter in forests and dwellings beyond the Niagara Frontier, thus becoming the objects of the greatest sympathy and charity.

All evidence available has noted the absence of regular ministers of religion on the Niagara Frontier, except the occasional itinerant reformer who passed through the villages. Apparently some of the inhabitants were lax in religious matters. It is interesting, indeed, to sum up the opinions of some of the itinerent preachers who passed through Buffalo. One was somewhat suprised that the people of Buffalo behaved as well as they did minus religious attention. Another was alarmed at the little attention paid by the magistrates and the influential people in regulating Sabbath. The Catholics were definitely a neglected group, for no priest is known to have been on the American side of the Niagara Frontier during the 1812-1814 period. It was not until 1821 that Father Kelley came here from New York and said his first mass. We may conclude that prior to that time some Catholic families were undoubtly lost to

the faith because they had no priest, no Catholic society nor Catholic influence to guide them. The private dovotion in the home kept alive what little Catholic faith existed. Some of Buffalo's leading citizens organized a "Moral Society",in order to correct what they believed to be scandalous conditions in the village. During the Spanish American War, the "Up-Lifting Society" of Buffalo had for its aim somewhat similiar motives.

The people along the Niagara Frontier were well aware of the value of education. Everything possible within their meager means was done to foster the schooling of their youngsters. The extreme shortage of both books and schoolmasters hindered their ambitions. Crude methods of punishment prevailed at this period of history. The rotating of a hot brick on a stove by a child as a form as punishment was not unusual. Spelling and recitation contests brought to the victor a silver dollar as a reward. Similiar contests prevail in our present day and age.

There is little information pertaining to public recreation. Any type of recreation used during the war period was purely of a family nature. Since this area was a War Zone, there were no dramatic productions, dances, or lectures, but only an occasional banquet for some high dignitary of the army or state. Admiral Perry's reception on October 24, 1813, was the highlight of the war period.

It is indeed appropriate to mention the work of the Committee on Safety and Relief from Canandaigua which spend both time and money to aid the sufferers along the Niagara Frontier. The record book kept by the organization is a living momument to the sacrifices put forth by its members. Later relief work was taken up by the New York State Legislature and the two Houses of Congress, the latter appropriating $40,000 for Niagara Frontier sufferers; $5,000 for the Canadian sufferers in sympathy with the United States and $5,000 for the Tuscorora Indians, who had aided the American cause.

The weekly Buffalo Gazette provided the main interest to those who could read. It was mailed to subscribers in Chautauqua, Canandaigua, and Cattaraugus Counties, and along the Niagara Frontier at a cost of two dollars a year. Many locally and nationally interesting items were contained therein, including notices concerning the dead , the sick and the wounded, business transactions, and military affairs affecting this area.

Mail service by carrier twice a week provided news for the inhabitants. Soldiers' mail was sent "collect", as they did not enjoy a "franking privilege". The usual letter mail (drop mail) cost eight cents on the Niagara Frontier. Mail rates advanced according to distance beyond the Niagara Frontier.

On closer observation, it is evident that the end of the conflict on the Niagara Frontier was traceable to a greater degree to the indomitable character of its inhabitants than to the efforts of the officials of the government, who were conducting their struggle for freedom without a definite war policy.

In conclusion, it seems evident from all available sources that the Niagara pioneers were co-operative and unified in their determination to aid morally the war program. This spirit won for them national sympathy during the difficult days of 1813-1814. This same spirit, sustained by the help of their fellow countrymen throughout the nation, inspired them with renewed energy to restore their villages. Commendable, indeed, was the spirit of the Niagara Frontiersmen before, during and immediately after the War of 1812.

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Gives one an insight into the feeling of the Federalists toward the War of 1812 and their consequent reactions.

Hanney, James, A History of the War of 1812 Between Great Britain and United States. Toronto, Canada: Morang and Company, Ltd., 1905.

A fine history of the Niagara Frontier in the war period of 1812. Gives a good account of the retaliation by the British after the destruction of Newark. The author justifies this retaliation.

Harris, Rev. Danial W., The Catholic Church on the Niagara Peninsula, 1861-95. Toronto, Canada: William Briggs Publishing Company, 1895.

The author refers in his book to the lack of religion on the Niagara Frontier during the War of 1812, though the book itself deals with a later period in the Niagara Peninsula. The author gives the background of religion in the Niagara Peninsula.

Hulbert, Archer, Niagara River. Chapter XI. New York: G. Putnam and Sons, 1908.

Gives a fine history of Niagara River as well as the campaigns on the river in 1812.

Johnson, Crisfield, History of Erie County. Buffalo, New York: Mathews and Warren, 1876.

The author explains the development and leading episodes on the Niagara Frontier during the War of 1812. It is very useful information for the subject of the Home Front.

Lossing, Benson T., The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1869.

Covers the leading episodes and historical landmarks of the Niagara area.

Niagara County, New York, A Concise Record of Her Progress and People, 1821-1921. Vol. I, Illinois: J.H. Beers and Company, 1921.

A record of the history of Niagara County for a Century with insights into the earlier period of the county. Tells of the War period of 1812 with many scenes and incidents vividly portrayed.

Pelt Van, Rev. P.J., Discourse to the Survivors of the Veterans Corps of the War of 1812. New York: Casper and Childs, 1851.

Many important scenes and Campaigns of the War of 1812 are touched upon. In particular, the destruction to the citizenry along the Niagara Frontier is vividly relived by many of the War survivors.

Porter, Augustus, Pioneer of Niagara Falls. With an account of his Day Book 1818-1822. Niagara Falls, New York: Victor H. Palsits Publisher, 1932.

Useful data on food prices preceding, during and after the War of 1812 from the "Day Book" of Porter.

Porter, Peter, Old Fort Niagara. New York: The Argus Company, 1903.

Shows the historic importance of Fort Niagara and the part it played in the War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier. The author was an actual witness of the many thrilling events during the war period.

Pratt, Julius W., Expansionists of 1812. New York: Mac Millan Company, 1925.

This work was useful in giving a general idea of the developments which led up to the War of 1812, and the major events of the war period.

Roosevelt, Theodore, The Naval War of 1812. New York: The Review of Reviews Company, 1882.

This book discusses most vividly the naval engagements on the Great Lakes and the ocean during the War of 1812. It gives a fine description of the Battle of Lake Erie.

_____, The Naval War of 1812. New York: G.P. Putman's Sons, 1927.

Discusses the Naval engagements of the United States during the War of 1812. This book also gives insight into many other important facts pertaining to the War of 1812.

Severance, Frank H., Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier. Buffalo, New York: Mathews, Northrup Company, 1889.

Explains the importance of the historic trails on the Niagara Frontier since the white man arrived, and the need of revering these hallowed areas.

Shea, John G., New History of the Catholic Church in the United States. New York: P.J. Kennedy, Publishing Company, 1879.

The author covers important facts relative to the Catholic Church in America and shows how no Catholic religion existed actively on the Niagara Frontier during 1812-1814.

Turner, Edward, Dark Days on the Frontier of Western New York. Buffalo, New York: Bigelow Brothers, 1879.

The author reveals the sad events during the War of 1812 and the many hardships faced by the population. The book has aided greatly in substantiating similiar statements of other authors on the subject of the Niagara Frontier.

Turner, Osamus, Pioneer History of the Holland Land Purchase of Western New York. Buffalo New York: Jewett Thomas and Company, 1850.

Shows the development of the Holland Purchase and the part played in making the Niagara Frontier an important area. The author also relates the difficulties in disposing of land during the War of 1812-1814.

Turner, Chipman P., The Pioneer Period of Western New York. Buffalo, New York: Bigelow Brothers, 1888.

A very interesting story of the early pioneers and their living conditions on the Niagara Frontier. The author lists important dates and leading events of the Niagara Frontier.

Ward, W.A. and Gooch, P.A., editors, The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy 1783-1919. Vol. I 1783-1815 New York: The Mac Millan Company 1922.

Being a history from the beginning of Pitt's first administration to the American War and the Treaty of Ghent. In particular the articles by Professor C.K. Wester, M.A. were very enlightening upon the causes of the War of 1812, Impressment and the British right of search.

White, Truman C, Our Country and Its People. A descriptive Work on Erie County, Vol. I, Boston: The Boston History Company Publishers, 1898.

Decribes rather fully the early history of Erie County together with many incidents and details pertaining to the War of 1812. In particular the book does justice to the Niagara Frontier, bringing to light many happenings in this area. Enlightening as to filling in many details of this thesis. The book was valuable in helping the author to find leads to research work.

Wilkinson, James, War Maps and Diagrams, Principal Battles and Military Affairs. Maps IV,V, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Abraham Small, 1816.

These maps are useful in giving a correct viewpoint of the war area in 1812-1814.

Wilner, Merton M., History of the Niagara Frontier. Vol. I and II, Chicago, Illinois: S.J. Clarke Company, 1922.

The author develops historically the whole Niagara Frontier giving the leading events enacted during the War of 1812. The information has been valuable in giving an additional knowledge of this area.

Winthrop, Marvin, The American Merchant Marine Sampson. London: Law, Marston Company, Ltd., 1902.

Shows the part played by the Merchant Marines in the War of 1812 and how its importance was recognized by the Government of the United States. It gives valuable aid in regard to the control of British shipping on the Great Lakes.

Wirth, Fremont, The Development of America. New York: American Book Company, 1940.

This book has been useful in explaining the amount of loans and bond issues during the War of 1812 and the difficulty in marketing the same.

Wittke, Carl, A History of Canada. New York: Crofts and Company, 1942.

A history of Canada from the days of the early explorers to the begining of World War II. Valuable for it brings out the events leading to the War of 1812, the war itself and the aftermath of the war in a different light.

SPECIAL STUDIES

A Discourse to the Survivors of the Veterans Corp. in the War of 1812. New York: Cooper and Childs, Publishers, 1851.

Babcock, Louis L., The War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier. Meadville, Pennsylvania: Tribune Publishing Company, 1927.

The author describes fully the life led by the civilians during the War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier, and the effect that the war had on their living conditions.

_____, Battle of Fort Erie. Vol.5, Buffalo Historical Society Publications, 1878.

Bingham, Robert W., The Cradle to the Queen City. Buffalo, New York: Jones, Hausaur, Inc., 1931.

Mr. Bingham has covered every phase of the Home Front during 1812-1814 in this worthwhile book. The value to our subject is inestimable.

_____, A History of Buffalo to the Incorporation of the City. Buffalo Historical Society Publications, 1931.

Anything worthwhile regarding early Buffalo and its development is here mentioned.

_____, Niagara, Highway of Heroes. A Narrative History of Western New York State, Buffalo, New York: Foster and Stewart Publishing Corporation, 1943.

This book gave a fine unified history of the Niagara Frontier from the coming of the White Man up to the War of 1812. It is elementary in form and has aided a great deal in writing the introduction.

_____, Buffalo Old and New. Buffalo, New York: Buffalo Courier Supplement, 1900.

This supplement has given useful information on the history of Buffalo during the war period of 1812. It describes the early background of Buffalo and its development into a city.

Carlile, F.Y., Buffalo and Erie County Papers. Edition 2, Buffalo Historical Society Publications, 1827.

Contains many leading facts concerning events, pertaining to the war on the Niagara Frontier and the areas which received many of the villagers from the war torn village of Buffalo in 1813.

Documentary History of the Campaign on the Niagara Frontier in 1814. Part IV, (Proclamation by Col. John E. Miller) Welland, Ontario: Tribune Office, 1907.

This is a very useful document relating to many of the phases of life on the Home Front in 1812. It shows how 1812 was a year filled with hopes.

Early Transportation. Buffalo Historical Society Publications, 1880.

Treats especially of the early transportation on the Niagara Frontier, and the difficulties met with during the War of 1812-1814.

History of Niagara County. Niagara Falls, New York: Niagara Historical Association, 1821.

This is a very thorough review of the growth of Niagara County from the first settlements, touching upon the leading events, persons, business enterprises and education.

Loans of the United States During the War of 1812. Vol.II, Bankers' Magazine Rhodes Journal of Banking and Bankers Magazine Consolidated, 1896.

This book has aided in giving valuable information in the biographies of Dr. Cyrenius Chapin and Peter B. Porter.

Prominent Persons. Vol. IV, Copy 2, Buffalo Historical Society Publications.

This is an account of the leading citizens in early Buffalo, before and after the burning of the village.

Severance, Frank S., Studies of the Niagara Frontier. Buffalo, New York: Buffalo Historical Society Publications, 1911.

This book covers most important facts relative to War of 1812-1814 on the Niagara Frontier. Gives definite information on the trials of the people in this area.

Updyke, Frank,A., The Diplomacy of the War of 1812, (Baltimore; The John Hopkins Press, 1915.)

Being a study of American diplomacy during the War of 1812. General consideration is also given to the questions entering into the cause of the war; and, also, to the negotiations subsequent to the Treaty of Ghent. Important for it makes references to the American States Papers, Parliamentary Debates, Niles Register, Writings of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Gallatin.

Wickser, Josephine, Heroic Women of the Niagara Frontier. Buffalo, New York: Buffalo Historical Society Publications, 1931.

Discusses briefly the part played by many women during the War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier. The work is written as a recognition of their heroic sacrifice.

Williams, Edward, An Interpretation of Old Fort Niagara. Niagara Falls, New York: Old Fort Niagara Association, 1929.

Tells a beautiful story of this historic landmark and its importance in wars on the Frontier.

Woodward, W.E., A New American History. New York: The Literary Guild, Incorporated, 1937.

This book had given information pertaining to the financial conditions of the country at the beginning of the War of 1812-1814.

Zimmerman, Fulton James, Impressment of American Seamen. Vol. CXVIII Number 1 New York: Columbia University.

A research into the history of the Impressment of our American seamen by the British. Covering the missions of Pickney, Rufus King, James Monroe, the "Chesapeake" affair and the problem of desertation. Also included in same is the impressment during the War of 1812 as well as the diplomatic history after the Treaty of Ghent.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

THE BUFFALO GAZETTE AND THE WAR NEWS

The power of the press cannot be overlooked during this period. The Home Front in the War of 1812-1814 possessed a body of citizens who were vitally interested in the affairs of their neighbors. They were all undergoing their greatest trials, and the human being craves comfort. Each family wished to know how others fared during the crucial months of the war. They were fortunate in having a medium whereby they could obtain this necessary information. On October 3, 1811, Hezekial A. Salisbury had opened his newspaper printing establishment in Buffalo. His Gazette was the only local chronicle circulating in this area. It sold for two dollars a year and was published each Tuesday. Its arrival was always anxiously awaited by its subcribers. It was regarded as a most reliable chronicle, for its owner insisted on publishing truth as he found it. It always stated whether facts were authentic or mere word reports. It was mailed to the territory of persons living by the Genesee River, Niagara Frontier, Cattaraugus County, Canandaigua, and Buffalo area. The character of this paper has been proven by the historian of the Holland Land Company, who says:

> The Buffalo Gazette was most reliable, Frequently it allayed unnecessary excitement and alarm throughout Western New York and it preserved, through the eventful crisis, a high character for truth.[1]

The Gazette included in its publication stirring editorials, sales, weddings, deaths, notices of army desertions, court martials, medical reports, army casualties, army and navy losses, government affairs, business transactions, advertisements, reports of other cities, poetry, and other valuable items. Since it contained so much information, it was bound to be of great value to those who could receive and read it. However, many were not in such circumstances. It is assumed that every other family subscribed to the Gazette. During the war, particularly after Buffalo was burned, the Gazette was moved to a small place, Harris Hill, eleven miles east of Black Rock.. The paper played an important part in safely surveying and reporting the scenes of war from Harris Hill.

Another step toward the conflict with Great Britain was reported in the January 14, 1812, edition as follows: "The Senate passed the bill reported by Mr. Giles for raising an additional force of 25,000 men".[2]

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[1] History of Holland Purchase, p.131.

[2] Buffalo Gazette, January 14, 1812.

In the issue of May 12, 1812, the following appeal was made to the men of the vicinity:

Honorable Service!

To Men of Courage, Enterprise and Patriotism.

Every able bodied man, from the age of 18 to 45, who shall be enlisted in the army of the United States, for a term of five years, will be paid a boundy of Sixteen dollars and whenever he shall have served that time or obtained an honorable discharge, he will be paid, in addition, three months pay, and allowed one hundred and sixty acres of land; and in case he died in service his heirs and representatives will be entilled to the said three months pay, and one hundred and sixty acres of land, to be designated and laid off at public expense.

Soldiers in the army of the United States, are supported and clothed and paid five dollars per month, in addition (exclusive of allowance for fatigue duty); so that in five years, a prudent soldier may save from three to four hundred dollars, at least.

To those who enlist for eighteen months, will be paid a bounty of sixteen dollars, and after serving that time, or having been honorably discharged, they will be paid a gratuity of three month's pay.

Application to be made at the Rendezvous at Buffalo (New Amsterdam) to.

John M. O'Connor
First Lieutenant
U.S. Artillery [3]

Buffalo 2, May, 1812.

Simmiliar advertisements appeared regularly in the Gazette. Preparations for war also effected many of the citizens of Buffalo.

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[3] Buffalo Gazette, May 12, 1812.

See illustration 1 for similiar advertisement dated June 8, 1812.

...division attacked Mr. ... house, breaking the windows and ... furniture, bursting the doors, and threat... life of Mr. Wood. The work of ... was not finished when the magistrates received information of it, and a part ... horse were dispatched to rout the as... The main troop, with the Cumber... speedily followed—the rioters ... surprised, and again retreating precipi... the river, effected a junction with ... fellows in the fields adjoining the Man... road. The cavalry now broke in upon them—immediate overthrow and dispersion followed—several of the ringleaders were seized, and populace ran with loud screams and great confusion into the town. In less than ten minutes an area of one hundred acres was cleared; the cavalry leaping hedges and walls in their progress and driving all before them, amidst a storm of stones and brick bats. The prisoners, as they came in, were delivered over to the Cumberland militia, and marched under escort to the town hall, where they remained strongly guarded.

The fields having been cleared, the mob repaired to the market place, and adjoining streets, threatening rescue, and growing more outrageous as the night advanced. The cavalry dismounted for refreshment, again assembled at 7, and the mob remained deaf to the persuasion of the magistrates, orders were given to clear the streets. This was the most perilous of any part of the service—the rioters clung to the walls, took refuge in the different alleys, throwing stones and bricks from thence with unerring aim, and to the great annoyance of the troops. At length, however, they were driven from these last, and reduced to their last stand in the ... Church yard—a door of the great gates being procured, they retired with precipitation.

The nightly patrole of the town, 200 in number, were now augmented to 400, and proceeded to search the inns & lodging houses, taking many into custody for the night, and thereby rendering the more peaceable to repair to their respective homes. By the hour of 11 P. M. the town was quiet—the cavalry, however, continued on duty until two, and a patrole ... for the night.

On the morning of Tuesday troops ... Guards arrived at Stockport. The populace again assembled, more perhaps from curiosity to learn the fate of the prisoners, than from any hostile motive. The magistrates, however, apprehending a renewal of the disorders, a strong patrole of cavalry and infantry ... the town, ... having undergone ... previous to commitment.

The examinations having ... two P. M. the mittimuses ... were made out, and they ... under a strong guard ... Chester, to take their trial at the September

UNITED ... ARMY.

To Active and Patriotic ...

OPPORTUNITY ... which those who embrace ... their bravery, secure the ... country and entitle themselves ... some reward for their services.

A BOUNTY of SIXTEEN DOLLARS ... will be paid to every able-bodied man, between the ages of 18 & 45, who will enroll himself in the ... of the UNITED STATES, for the Term of Five Years. In addition to the ... Five DOLLARS per month ... service, &c. ... & CLOTHING, ... ance for fatigue ... of the term, ... charged with ... at the ... ORDERS ... In case of the death ... heirs and ... the above ... and the One Hundred ... Land.

... Nov. ...

... U. S. Factory.

... 4th June, ...

House, Carriage and Sign PAINTING.

DANIEL BUNTON, ... informs the public, that he ... menced the above ... Bow House, lately occupied by Mr. ... where he intends to carry on Carriage ... Sign Painting, ... terms. Those who will favour him with the job, or otherwise. ...

MRS. ANN ...

... Tailoress, ...

As the year 1812 wore on, military news increased. Following are two articles from Tuesday, May 19, 1812, number of our first newspaper which illustrates this point:

Baltimore, April 18, 1812

> Governor Hull, from Detroit, came with me from Washington yesterday. He starts tomorrow on his return home, and assures me that in a month from this time he expects to have, on the frontiers of Canada Eight Thousand men under his command.
>
> The Governor of this state in conformity with instructions from the President of the United States, bearing date on the 15th April directing him to detach Thirteen Thousand Five Hundred of the Militia of this state, issued orders on the 21st. ult. through the Adjutant General to the several Brigadier Generals, diresting them to detach their several quotas without delay...[4]

In the same number we have this communication, which showed the presence of anti-war sentiment in the country:

> War - We wish the members of Congress and other warhawks at Washington, could hear the People, the Farmers especially, of all parties, in this section of the country talk about War. They'd soon find that they knew nothing about the public sentiment, if they suppose that sentiment sic is in favor of war, embargo, or non-importation.[5]

The Gazette of June 16 and June 23, 1812, carried reports and rumors of War as shown in Illustrations 2 and 3.

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[4] Buffalo Gazette, May 19, 1812.

[5] Ibid.

FROM SOUTH AMERICA

A letter from a respectable American received here yesterday, dated at Pernambuco, April 19, 1812, says, "The Monarchs of Brazil and Buenos Ayres are now united together, and have declared war against the Prince Regent of Portugal. Rio Grande South, and Santa Catharine, Rio Janeiro, are captured by the Spaniards, and in a few weeks will be in Rio de Janeiro. There is no doubt but the Spaniards will conquer the Portuguese. The English government have entered into a treaty with the Spaniards not to trade with any assistance to the Portuguese, and no one of is suffered to trade either at Montevideo or Buenos Ayres except the English [illegible] Portuguese have been obliged to quit the country. This account is received by letters by the same vessel which brings the information.

Buffalo Gazette.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Wa[illegible]!

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The June 16, 1812, edition had the following article:

War!

War has been so long the order of the day that it is very difficult to ascertain, by the signs of times, whether we shall have it in reality, or have it in words, mere paper shot. The information contained in this paragraph, may be of the utmost importance to the people of this country - Time will determine...[6]

In the June 23, 1812, issue of the Gazette, the following information on the war was found:

War! !

On the subject of War, we have collected all the reports and rumors, which go the round of the newspapers, and have endeavored to present them in the most intelligible form, but whether these are true or untrue we cannot vouch.

On the 9th inst. says the Alexandria Herald, the Senators were engaged in secret session, on the propriety of declaring open and immediate war, on the passage of a bill received from the House of Representatives Messrs. Smith and Giles (contrary to expectation) are said to come out for war- and the letters of Marque and Reprisal will be issued in the course of a few days...

The National Intelligencer of the 10th, says; "The senate has been sitting with closed doors until four o'clock of each of the last two days. It is generally understood that serious and solemn debate has ossupied the time employed in their sittings, and that as yet they have come to no decision on the important question before them".

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[6] Buffalo Gazette, June 16, 1812. Also see Illustration 3.

Gazette.

BUFFALO

WAR!!

On the subject of War we have collected all the reports and rumors which go the round of the newspapers, and have endeavored to present them in the most intelligible form, but whether these are true or untrue we cannot vouch. On the 9th inst says the Alexandria Herald, the Senate were engaged in secret session, on the propriety of declaring open and immediate war, on the passage of a bill received from the House of Representatives. Messrs. Smith and Giles (contrary to custom) are said to come out for war—and that letters of Marque and Reprisal will be issued in the course of a very few days. It was moved that the House of Representatives, the members of the house have thereupon retired into the galleries of the other while in secret session, but was not carried.

The National Intelligencer of the [illegible] says:

"The senate has been sitting with closed doors until four o'clock of each of the last two days. It is generally understood that serious and solemn debate has occupied the time employed in their sessions, and that as yet they have come to no decision on the important question before them."

The same paper says:

"The House yesterday sat with closed doors from 12 till 4 o'clock, when they adjourned, after an interesting debate, without having concluded the subject before them."

From the Alexandria Gazette.

The communication by the President to Congress yesterday consisted of two letters from Mr. Foster to the Secretary of State, in which he calls the attention of this government to the declaration of the prince regent on the subject of the orders in council, the [illegible] state of the British government, to establish a good understanding with America. Mr. Monroe, in his reply, states that as far from the explanation being satisfactory, it proves the utter inadmissibility of the British government [illegible] that which this government has [illegible] of the French government and [illegible] Milan decree.

From the Editor of the Buffalo Gazette.

[illegible] attention has been excited by the lights seen on the Canada shore opposite to the Black Rock, not to mention the alarm of any person residing at the Rock, or the vicinity, we had reason to expect that a congressional attention would have [illegible] to this subject, we are extremely sorry that our expectation has been disappointed, and that our inhabitants annoyed by some thoughtless or ill disposed person having recently discharged several musket balls from the American shore, the whistling of these balls have been distinctly heard and ascertained by the examination of several respectable persons. One ball came near to the blacksmith shop [illegible] name to Henry Lewis's tavern, and one a little [illegible] lower down the river.

While we [illegible] that [illegible] we feel [illegible] will prevent [illegible] and [illegible] will [illegible] place in your [illegible]

[illegible]

Defence of New York. [illegible] expressions of strength to [illegible] of this harbor are [illegible] more [illegible] appearance of war, than the [illegible] ever [illegible] heretofore [illegible] warranted. [illegible] Oyster's Island, are [illegible] of [illegible] effective [illegible] dred [illegible] another [illegible] and their numbers are [illegible] every day by the arrival of detachments [illegible] different parts of the [illegible] and ammunition [illegible] about [illegible]

From the Alexandria Gazette.

> The communication by the President; to Congress yesterday consisted of two letters from Mr. Foster to the secretary of state, in which he calls the attention of this government to the declaration of the Prince Regent on the subject of the orders of council, and expresses the sincere desire of the British government to maintain a good understanding with America. Mr. Munroe, in his reply, states, that so far from the declaration being satisfactory, it proves the unjust pretensions of the British government in demanding that which this government has no right to ask of the French government, and asserts that the British and Milan decrees are revoked as relates to America...7

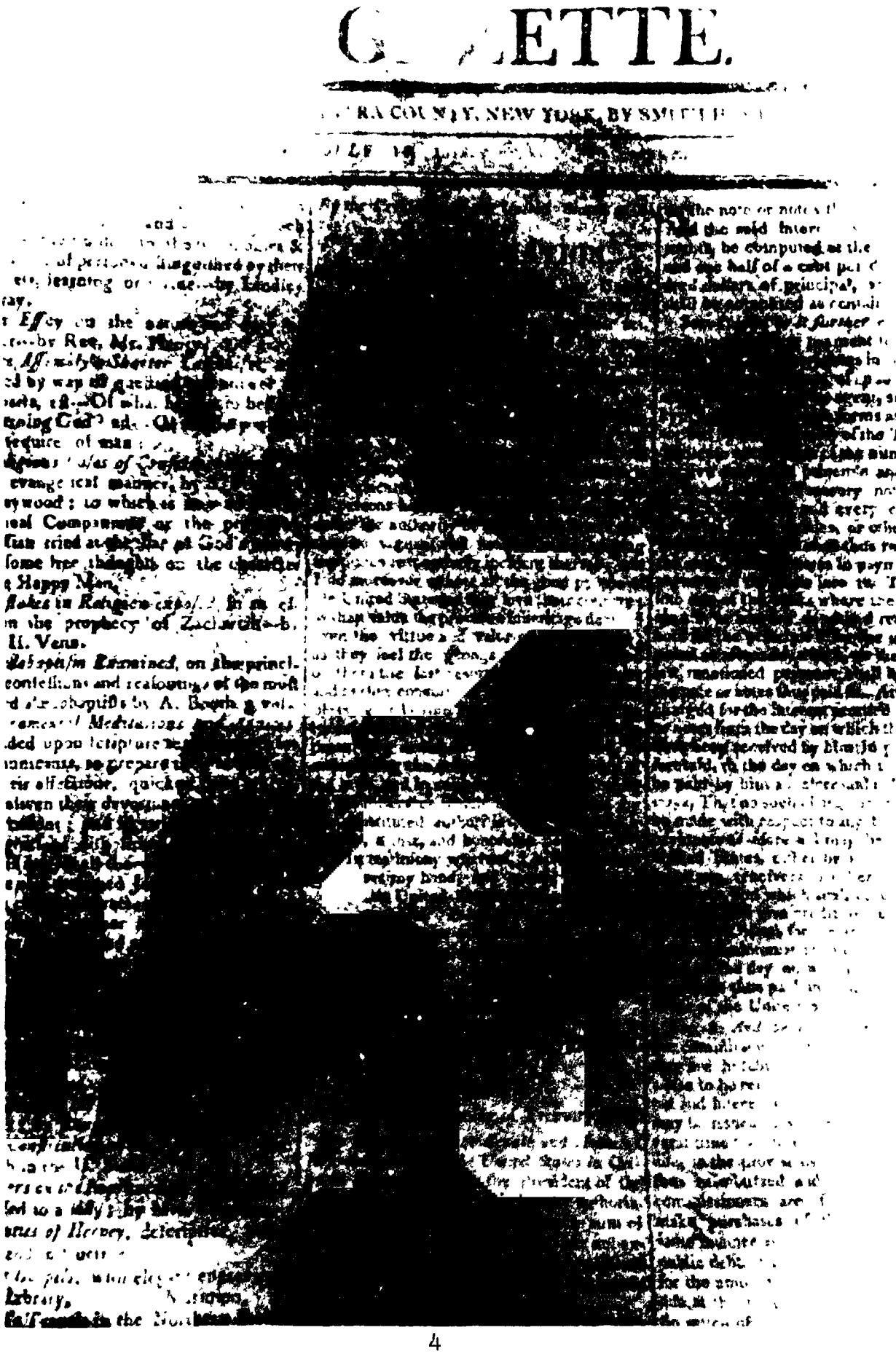
But as authentic news traveled slowly in those days and it took some time to publish the news after it had been received, it was not until July 14, 1812, that President Madison's Proclamation of the declaration of war by Congress on June 18, 1812, appeared in the Buffalo Gazette (See Illustration 4). The July 14, 1812, issue carried an account of the British defenses on the Canadian side of the Niagara River. It appeared under the heading:

Postures of Affairs on the Lines

> General Brock, president of the parliament of U. Canada, acting governor of the Province, and commander in chief of his majesty's Forces in U.C. is at present at Newark, superintending the various defences on the river. He is stated to be an able and experiensed officer with undoubted courage... He came from Little York, soon after hearing the Declaration of War, and it was believed with a serious intention of attacking Fort Niagara - but, contrary to what has been reported, he made no demand of surrender.

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7 Buffalo Gazette, June 23, 1812.



Expecting a descent from the American army, the Canadians have, for ten days past, been removing their families and effects from the river, into the interior. At Newark, Queenston, and other villages on the river, there are no inhabitants, except a few civil officers and soldiers. It is even said, that an immense quantity of specie, plate, &c. from various parts of the province, have been boxed up and destined for Quebec.

The British are understood to have about 6 or 700 regular troops stationed between the lakes, from Fort George to Fort Erie. These men are generally those who have 'seen service' in various parts of the world. The Militia of the province are ordered out en masse, Great discontent prevails in consequence of this requisition: there being no help to gather in the crops, the clamors of the people are but little short of open rebellion. There is no civil authority in Canada - no magistrates will act - the martial code has usurped the civil law. Many young tradesmen in Canada from the States will be ruined. They are required to take up arms or leave the country. They cannot collect their debts, nor bring away their property - but many have come away and left their all in jeopardy.

The British are said to have more than 100 pieces of flying, field and garrison artillery, in the different defences on the Niagara River. Fort Erie has been strengthened considerably - a redoubt of many rods in length was thrown up on Wednesday and Thursday last, on the hill a few rods below the house of John Warren, jun. and directly opposite the dwelling house of Gen. Peter B.Porter at lower Black Rock. There is also a small battery on a point below Chippawa, mounted with two pieces of heavy artillery, calculated to play upon the store house and mills of Schlosser. Below the Falls there is a small stone battery, hear the bank of the river, where the lower ladder formerly stood. On Thursday evening last, a rifleman deserted from the other side, and crossed the river immediately below the Falls on a pine log - he stated that but a little way from the battery up the river, a field piece was stationed in the bushes, in order to fire into Schlosser village. The woolen factory of Mr. John W. Stoughton (consisting of two carding machines, and dressing machinery), is very much exposed. On the hill, about

> half a mile from the stone battery, are placed two 18 pounders. The ladders on both sides of the river are taken up. On the hill above Queenston, there is a small defence on very commanding ground. Below Queenston, Esquire, there is a defence work of several rods in length. Opposite Youngstown, there is another redoubt thrown up Fort George, at Newark, nearly opposite the American garrison, is considered the strongest and most important fortresses in U. Canada.[8]

It also showed several other articles of local and national interest, including the following: "The Gov. and council of Connecticut have refused to put the detached Militia under the officers of the regular army of the United States - stating constitution objections".[9]

We modern Americans, living under the control of a strong, paternalistic national government, may be suprised at such an application of the principle of "state's rights", especially during wartime. Two weeks later we find the following article in the Gazette:

> The Governor of Rhode Island has followed the example of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and declined placing the militia of the state under the command of General Dearborn, as not authorized by the constitution.[10]

The July 28, 1812, edition carried the proclamations by New York Governor Daniel D. Tompkins and President James Madison, each setting aside a day of humiliation,

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[8] Buffalo Gazette, July 14, 1812.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid., July 28, 1812.

GN NEWS.

om ENGLAND.

London, May 29.

[illegible] Administration

[illegible] powerful the opposition, the decay which has [illegible] nation of a complete govern[illegible] after the Morning Chro[illegible]

[illegible] and confidently report [illegible] have projected a proje[illegible] ure by Lord Wellesley—[illegible] ply the influence, and lib[illegible] offices, &c. which must [illegible] and we most sincerely [illegible] they are, reject the propo[illegible] of the noble marquis for a [illegible] on public principle. That [illegible] sition was dictated by a [illegible] d, as we are assured, was [illegible] dered by lord Wellesley. [illegible] If no progress [illegible] formation of an Admini[illegible] we pledge our nationa[illegible], that the fault is not to be [illegible] ble mansion, Wel[illegible] ge, or to Lord Grey [illegible] is with whom [illegible] it, that his [illegible] Regent, had an [illegible] afternoon, the [illegible] distinguished characters [illegible] Carlton house with[illegible] to form, or even to [illegible] plan of such an administ[illegible] any way satisfy the vote of [illegible] mons. Until his royal [illegible] pleased to follow this old [illegible], and select some per[illegible] deem worthy of so high a [illegible] him either definitively [illegible] ministration, or to present [illegible] the plan of one, it is [illegible] gement can be made.

May 29.

[illegible] he quitted France, by the [illegible] med, that the several [illegible] late conscription had ex[illegible] s in Paris, which reach[illegible] parte just before he left [illegible] occasion, it is said the [illegible] w his confidence in his [illegible] ed his horse, mounted, [illegible] gh the principal streets [illegible] ied by a single attend[illegible]

From *London, May 30.*

[illegible] has recently discovered [illegible] disturbances, which [illegible] t of Honsperte plant to [illegible] tion in this country—[illegible] ery is the bug-bear made [illegible] le concerned. [illegible]

[illegible] fact, that many gentlemen [illegible] [illegible] States

PROCLAMATION.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS,

Goven. of the state of New York, Genera[illegible] and Commander in Chief of all the Milit[illegible] and Admiral of the Navy of the same.

WHEREAS the Senate and Assembly [illegible] during their late session, by concurrent resolutions, requested me, in behalf of the constituted authorities of the said state, to issue a proclamation, recommending to all the good citizens thereof to observe the last *Thursday in July* next, as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer: And whereas it behooves us not only to testify our gratitude to divine providence for the distinguished mercies & benefits hitherto enjoyed, but also to implore forgiveness of our ingratitude and manifold transgressions, and his guidance & protection in all our future [illegible] and [illegible] difficulties and perils.

I do therefore hereby earnestly recommend to all the good people of the state of New York, of every religious denomination, to abstain from all unbecoming amusements and unrelenting occupations on the 26th day of the present month of July; and at their respective places of devotion [illegible] devoutly, seriously and piously to observe the same as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name, and caused the privy seal of the State of New-York to be affixed, at the city of Albany, the sixth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.

By his Excellency's command,

JOHN M'LEAN, Jun. *Priv. Sec'y.*

National Fast.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the Congress of the U. States, by a joint Resolution of the two Houses, have signified a request, that a day may be recommended, to be observed by the People of the United States, with religious solemnities & devotion, as a day of public Humiliation and Prayer; and whereas such a recommendation will enable the several religious denominations and societies so disposed, to offer at one and the same time, their common vows and adorations to Almighty God, on the solemn occasion produced by the war, in which he has been pleased to permit the injustice of a foreign power to involve these United States; I do therefore recommend the *third Thursday in August next*, as a convenient day, to be so set apart, for the devout purposes of rendering to the Sovereign of the Universe and the Benefactor of mankind, the public homage due to his holy attributes; of acknowledging the transgressions which might justly provoke the manifestations of his divine displeasure; of seeking his merciful forgiveness, and his assistance in the great duties of repentance and amendment, and, especially, of offering fervent supplications,

[illegible]

Gen. [illegible]

On [illegible] ed in this [illegible] House Cur[illegible] Aids de [illegible] of a detach[illegible] field Light Dragoons [illegible] Bingham.

Gen. Hall [illegible] General Chandler [illegible] families.

On Saturday [illegible] Gen. [illegible] number of the [illegible] proceed to Black Rock [illegible] and other parts of the [illegible] respects to the Commanding [illegible] officers, and reviewing [illegible] the troops, he returned to Buffalo.

On Sunday morning the Gen[illegible] left this village for Lewiston.

The British [illegible] erected [illegible] posted, in a circular form, [illegible] Gen. Hamilton's opposite Black Rock. A number of soldiers are stationed near it.

When Gen. Hall [illegible] and Porter [illegible] Black Rock [illegible] on the [illegible] were [illegible] in the [illegible] —[illegible] were intercepted from Fort [illegible] and four pieces of [illegible] [illegible] Black Rock.

We [illegible] Black Rock [illegible] the house of [illegible]

It is with pleasure [illegible] soldiers and [illegible] commissioned officers [illegible] in the charge of [illegible]

It is reported that a parcel [illegible] Canada and landed on Grand [illegible] miles long and [illegible] Niagara river, between [illegible] for the purpose of [illegible] our frontiers. Two companies [illegible] stationed on the [illegible] Rock and Lewiston.

The Grand Island [illegible] and, if any Indians [illegible] probable that they [illegible] the purpose of [illegible]

British Spies [illegible]

fasting, and prayer for divine help during the trials of war. (see illustrations 5 and 5A) On the same page we find news relating to the arrival of General Hull, as "Commander in Chief of our Frontiers", as well as an article headed "British Spies in Our Country!" General Hull's proclamation to the Inhabitants of Canada read as follows:

Inhabitants of Canada!

After thirty years of peace and prosperity the United States have been driven to arms. The injuries and aggressions, the insults and indignities of Great Britain have once more left them no alternative but manly resistance, or unconditional submission.

The army under my command, has invaded your country, and the standard of the UNION now waves over the Territory of CANADA. To the peaceable unoffending inhabitant, it brings neither danger nor difficulty. I come to find enemies not to make them. I come to protect, not to injure you.

Separated by an immense Ocean, and an extensive Wilderness from Great Britain, you have no participation in her councils, nor interest in her conduct. You have felt her tyranny, you have seen her injustice, but I do not ask you to avange the one or to redress the other. The United States are sufficiently powerful to afford you every security, consistent with their rights, and your expectatious. I render you the invaluable blessings of Civil, Political, and Religious Liberty and their necessary result individual and general prosperity -- that Liberty which gave decision to our councils and energy to our conduct in our struggle for independence, and which conducted us safely and triumphantly through the stormy period of the Revolution. That Liberty which has raised us to an elevated rank among the Nations of the world, and which has afforded us a greater measure of Peace and Security, of Wealth and Improvement, than ever fell to the lot of any people.

…however due to his holy attributes, of acknowledging the transgressions which might justly provoke the manifestations of his displeasure; of seeking his merciful forgiveness, and his assistance in the great duties of repentance and amendment; and, especially, of offering fervent supplications that in the present season of calamity and war he would take the American people under his gracious care and protection; that he would guide their public councils, animate their patriotism, and bestow the blessing upon their arms that He would inspire all nations with a love of justice and of concord, and with a reverence for the unerring precepts of our holy religion, to do to others as they would require that others should do to them: and finally, that turning the hearts of our enemies from the violence and injustice which sway their councils against us, He would hasten a restoration of the blessings of peace.

Given at Washington the ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord 1812.

JAMES MADISON.

By the President,

The Secretary of State,

…Wednesday…

…The hon. general assembly of this state…in extraordinary session…on Tuesday last…Governor…Both houses…being convened…proceeded to business, when the following gentlemen were appointed a committee of war, from the several counties of the state, viz.

Hon. Benoni Munson, esq. } Newport.
Christopher Fowler, esq. }
Nicholas P. Ives, esq. } Providence.
Thomas Noyes, esq. } Washington.
John P. Child, esq. } Bristol.
Ephraim Bowen, esq. Kent.

…whereby the governor was empowered, at the request of the president of the United States, commander in chief of the army of the United States, to call out the militia when the exigencies of the service may require it. The report having been read and completed, it is expected the draft will be ordered to take place in the course of next week. A vote expressing the confidence of the legislature in specially convening the present session, in this momentous crisis, passed, [illegible] and seven others [illegible] dissenting. [illegible] adjourned on Thursday last.

The grand jurors of [illegible] and, if any Indians are [illegible] it is probable that they are [illegible] the purpose of killing [illegible].

British Spies.

War being now [illegible] citizens of this [illegible] too cautious [illegible] sources, especially [illegible] or news papers [illegible] &c. as it was [illegible] can be no doubt [illegible] Canada have [illegible] cross the [illegible] many [illegible] dated [illegible] persons [illegible] this character [illegible] intercourse [illegible] have [illegible] other and [illegible]

For [illegible] would refer [illegible] give to [illegible] the first [illegible] each person [illegible] on the check [illegible]

On Friday [illegible] the village [illegible] Upper Canada, [illegible] the late darkness, [illegible] Judge Barber, Capt. [illegible] who, unarmed, [illegible] town. They then [illegible] arrested him at [illegible] 20 miles from this village [illegible] diligently aghast, [illegible] satisfactory information [illegible] or how many [illegible] murder by means of [illegible] ment they succeeded [illegible] by the names of *James Hall* and *David Lee*, who rowed the boat from Canada with Clark. On Saturday they were carried to Buffalo and underwent an examination before Col. Swift and Major Mallet—they were then committed to the prison of this county until a Court Martial should be ordered by Maj. Gen. Hall. Both the [illegible] refused to escape from jail, and are now [illegible] will be guarded [illegible] determination [illegible] formed, we [illegible] their [illegible] [illegible] Indians [illegible] feel these [illegible]

In the name of my Country and by the authority of my Government, I promise you protection to your persons, property and rights. Remain at your homes - Pursue your peaceful and customary avocations - Raise not your hands against your brethren. - Many of your fathers fought for the freedom and independence we now enjoy. Being children, therefore, of the same family with us, and heirs to the same heritage, the arrival of an army of friends must be hailed by you with a cordial welcome. You will be emancipated from tyranny and oppression, and restored to the dignified station of freedom.

Had I any doubt of eventual success, I might ask your assistance, but I do not. I come prepared for every contingency. I have a force which will look down all opposition, and that force is but the vangeard of a much greater. If contrary to your own interest, and the just expectation of my Country, you should take part in the approaching contest, you will be considered and treated as enemies, and the horrors and calamities of war will stalk before you.

If the barbarous and savage policy of G. Britain be pursued, and the savages are let loose to murder our Citizens, this war, will be a war of extermination.

The first stroke of the Tomahawk, the first attempt with the scalping knife, will be the signal for one indiscriminate scene of desolation. No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian, will be taken prisoner! Instant destruction will be his lot. If the dictates of reason, duty, justice and humanitv cannot prevent the employment of a force which respects no rights, and knows no wrong, it will be prevented by a severeand relentless system of retaliation.

I doubt not our courage and firmness: I will not doubt your attachment to Liberty. If you render your services voluntarily, they will be accepted readily.

The United States offer you Pease, Liberty and Security. Your choice lies between these and War, Slavery and Destruction. Choose then, but choose wisely; and may He who knows the justice of our cause,

, July 11.

[illegible]

[illegible] half past eleven the Belvidera [illegible] the English fleet in sight [illegible] the American [illegible] two of the frigates Commodore's broad pendants: at 20 minutes past 6 o'clock P. M. the headmost ship, supposed the President, came up within hail, rather upon the [illegible] quarter, and fired three guns in quick succession, which killed two men, wounded several, and injured the rudder, [illegible] other damage to the ship; a few minutes after the Belvidera opened a fire of 6 stern guns, the only guns that could be brought to bear, which the [illegible] would bear upon from the [illegible] which soon after poured in [illegible] broadside, and continued firing single guns and broadsides alternately till 7 o'clock, when the Constitution coming up she ceased firing at the Constitution* then fired a few broadsides, but with little effect—At length the wind freshened, and the Belvidera [illegible] began to getting considerably ahead of [illegible] consorts: at 8 o'clock the Commodore's ship bore S W distant about 2 miles, and the Belvidera gradually increased her distance until the American squadron was out of sight.—At 12 o'clock the two headmost frigates were seen, they were then lying to.

Capt. Byron was wounded, as also 18 seamen, 3 of whom were badly; two seamen were killed; the standing and running rigging was several of the spars much injured.

Here follow some editorial remarks on the event—the declaration of war not being known—and a compliment on the delicate and proper conduct of Capt. Byron, [illegible] we have not room.

* *The Constitution left Annapolis on the 8th inst.*

Washingtonians!

A MONTHLY meeting of the WASHINGTON BENEVOLENT SOCIETY, of the county of Niagara, will be held at the house of Raphael Cook, in the village of Lewiston on the first Monday of Aug. next, at 6 o'clock, P. M. A general attendance is earnestly requested.

By order,

A. CALLENDER
Sec'y.

6

POSTSCRIPT.

[illegible] our paper [illegible] arrived [illegible] us with

[illegible]NADA!!

[illegible]

[illegible] Major [illegible] the [illegible]

PROCLAMATION.

[illegible] OF CANADA.

After [illegible] of peace and [illegible] the United States have been driven [illegible] Their [illegible] aggressions, the insulting indignities of Great Britain have once more left them [illegible] nothing but manly resistance or unconditional submission.

The army under my command, has spread [illegible] your Country and the standard of the UNITED [illegible] over the Territory of CANADA [illegible] unconditional [illegible] longer use [illegible] them.

[illegible] to injure you.

[illegible] Ocean, and an [illegible] from Great Britain, [illegible] nor [illegible] I have left her [illegible] seen her injustice. But I do [illegible] the use or to redress [illegible] United States are still [illegible] yeds every [illegible] their Rights, and fain [illegible] [illegible] you the invaluable blessings [illegible] and Religious Liberty and [illegible] prosperity—that Liberty, which [illegible] to our Country and every [illegible] in our struggle for Independence, and which [illegible] conducted us safely and triumphantly through the stormy period of the Revolution. That Liberty which has raised us to an exalted rank among the Nations of the world, and which has afforded us a greater measure of Peace and Security of Wealth & Improvement, than ever fell to the lot of any people.

In the name of my Country and by the authority of my Government, I promise you protection to your persons, property and rights. Return to your homes—Pursue your peaceful and customary avocations—Raise not your hands against your brethren.—Many of your fathers fought for the freedom and independence we now enjoy. Being children, therefore, of the same country with us, and heirs to the same heritage [illegible] arrival of an army of [illegible] by you [illegible] the contest [illegible] & resume [illegible]

Head [illegible]
[illegible]

and who holds in his hand the fate of Nations, guide you to a result compatible with your rights and interest, your Peace and prosperity.

W. Hull. [11]

The earliest news from Detroit was very optimistic. In the edition of August 4, 1812, we read:

> The gentlemen who gave us the handbill, containing Gov. Hull's proclamation, published in our last, stated that the Governor crossed the river on the 12th ult., and moved down the river about two miles and established his headquarters at Sandwich. He left the headquarters of the Governor on the 16th, and understood that in consequence of the Gov's proclamation, 70 or 80 militia have left Malden, and returned to their homes. The forces under Gov. Hull were rising 2000, part were regular troops - and some were 'sharp shooters'. A reinforcement was every day expected, and no movement would be made until auxiliaries arrive.
>
> An early reduction of Malden would be of the utmost consequence to the success of Gov. Hull in subjugating that part of Upper Canada. It would decide at once the conduct of a horde of savages, who reside in that quarter... The account of Hull's occupying Sandwich was known at Newark, 4 or 5 days before it arrived here, the distance from Detroit to Newark, being much less than the route on our side of the lake. It is presumed that troops were immediately sent to Malden, as for 10 or 12 days past, there has been several movements of British troops on the Niagara River.[12]

The news from Detroit which appeared on August 11, (see illustration 7) reports the loss of our fort on the island of Mideillimackinak, together with the loss of two

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[11] Buffalo Gazette, July 28, 1812.

[12] Ibid., August 4. 1812.

[illegible] Gazette.

[illegible] EXPRESSLY.

[illegible] BUFFALO:

[illegible], December 15, 1812.

[illegible] Detroit.

[illegible] arrived in this village [illegible] from Detroit, [illegible] are indebted for the following *important information:*

That when he left Detroit the 29th ult. Gen. Hull was strongly fortified in Canada nearly opposite Detroit—his *entire* force was about 3000—his spirits was not turned offensively till he should have received reinforcements from the Governors of Kentucky and Ohio, to whom he had sent *expresses* for 2000 soldiers and which were daily expected.

Judge Porter further stated, that information was received at Detroit, that about 300 British soldiers, under the command of an officer and 100 Indians, of the Sioux tribe, with two pieces of artillery on the night between the 12th and 13th of July last, landed on the Island of Michilimackinak, and on the morning demanded the surrender of the Fort which, after a few hours deliberation, was given up—Two American vessels the Mary capt. Keogh, and Sch'r capt. Dobbins were taken possession of—The Americans had not received the declaration of war—Two Sloops the Lake and Friends Goodwill captains Norton and Lee, had left Michilimackinak for Chicago on return with merchandize & taken possession of by the British and Indians—Judge P further stated, that on the 25th ult. two travellers, one a Mr David Sutton, son of Capt. Sutton, of the U. S. Army, were murdered and scalped by a party of Indians supposed to be about 40, on Swans Creek, between the river Raisin and Detroit—The Indians respected the travellers had the Mail, but shortly after that was also taken back.

Judge P on his return, was met by the Mounted Rifle Company of Cincinnatus, from Cincinnatus, in Ohio, who were marching on towards Detroit, with about the same number. They were *armed* and *mounted* without orders from any quarter, & were composed of the most respectable gentlemen in the country.

Major General STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER, who commands the forces of this state on the [illegible] frontier, has issued orders for the [illegible] Ogdensburgh, Plattsburgh, and Sackets Harbor, to be in readiness to march at a moment's notice. He proceeded on to Lewiston [illegible]

Andrews, informing them that they have agreed to remain neutral, and take no part in the present war between the U. States and Great Britain. They have likewise sent a deputation to Quebec to exhort all the tribes in that quarter to follow their example.

A letter from St. Lawrence county of a recent date, mentions that Gen. Brown & Col Fenedick have been on a mission to the Indian settlements at St Regis, a town situated at the mouth of a river by the same name which falls into the St Lawrence near the confines of this state and Lower Canada.—It was generally understood that the Indians evinced a disposition to observe the strictest neutrality and take no active part in the present contest.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Seneca county, to Col. Phinehas Swift, Commandant of the troops at Black Rock, dated Aurora, August 1, 1812

"Found washed up on the shore of lake Ontario at Elisburgh, mouth of the Big Sandy Creek, Jefferson county, on Sunday July 26, the body of a man well dressed: had on white cotton cassimere pantaloons, buff cassimere vest, and flannel under clothes—his shirt was marked with the initials L. P. S. and from his buttons he appeared to belong to the 1st Regiment United States Artillery. I have [illegible] information from Capt. G. Ashley living at that place. Probably there were others drowned at the same time; I think it will be well to make some inquiry."

Letter of marque. The fine Turpentine [illegible] ship Aurora, Abel Upton, is taken by the privateer Atlas, capt. Moffat, of Philadelphia, and sent into that port. She was boarded under American colors, but the captors told the Captain they were British. [illegible] a prize to Bermuda; when we understand that the captain informed them it was unnecessary, as he would convince them by his papers that the cargo was neutral property, and purchased on account [illegible] Dublin, and when the captors [illegible] Philadelphia—The captain [illegible] taken what historians call a "coup de guerre," but which begins to be pretty well known in this country as a *Yankee trick.* Columbian.

The ship Catharina, captain Rowlofsen, has arrived at Philadelphia in 41 days from Cadiz, with $6,000 dollars in specie.

Events of the War. Arrived [illegible] yesterday last in the Car of Neptune from York, Brigadier Gen. Smyth [illegible] the Army; Col Mc[illegible] Lieut Col Benson [illegible] Maj. Appleton [illegible] Lieuts and Ensigns [illegible] Artillery.

[illegible] Fort.—[illegible]

Some time last [illegible] pey formed a [illegible] cers, and volun[illegible] fence of the [illegible] doing [illegible]

Gen Dearborn [illegible] below Burlington [illegible] the lake, and [illegible] nada.—*ib.*

Swaggering. [illegible] tors, in exercising [illegible] exertions against [illegible]

The spirit [illegible] wakened, every [illegible] musket, [illegible] the *discomfited* [illegible] ing his dwelling.

This man has to [illegible] walnut, &c. but [illegible] ber proofs of a [illegible] the war is over.—

The ship Alexander Porter, of Boston, has arrived at Bordeaux [illegible]

The Blood H[illegible] of this vessel [illegible] have delivered [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] after they were [illegible] whether the [illegible] turn to England [illegible] in the bay [illegible] her. The [illegible] delivered [illegible] on board, [illegible] a considerable [illegible]

American vessels because of the fact that "The Americans had not received the declaration of war!"[12]

In the August 18, 1812, issue of the Gazette we find the following:

> On the 22nd of July, Gen. Brock, on receiving Gen. Hull's proclamation, issued a rejoiner, reprobating in strong terms, the declaration of War, and the style, matter and manner of General Hull's proclamation, and calling on all loyal subjects to rally round the government, and endeavor, by all means to expel the invaders.[13]

General Brock's proclamation was printed in the August 25, 1812, issue of the Gazette:

Proclamation

> The unprovoked declaration of War, by the United States of America, against the United Kingdom, of Great Britain and Ireland, and its dependencies, has been followed by the actual invasion of this Province in a remote Frontier of the Western District by a detachment of the Armed Force of the United States. The Officer commanding that detachment has thought proper to invite his Majesty's subjects not merely to a quite and unresisting submission, but insults them with a call to seek voluntarily the protection of his Government. Without condescending to repeat the illiberal epithets bestowed in this appeal of the American Commander to the People of Upper Canada, on the Administration of his Majesty, every Inhabitant of the Province is desired to seek the confutation of such indecent slander in the review of his own particular circumstances: where is the Canadian Subject who can truly affirm to himself that he has been injured by the Government in his person, his liberty, or his

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[12] Buffalo Gazette, August 11, 1812.

[13] Ibid., August, 18, 1812.

property? Where is to be found in any part of the world, a growth so rapid in wealth and prosperity as this Colony exhibits, - settled not thirty years by a band of Veterans exiled from their former possessions on account of their loyalty, not a descendant of these brave people is to be found, who under the fostering liberality of their Sovereign, has not acquired a property and means of enjoyment superior to what were possessed by their ancestors. This unequalled prosperity could not have been attained by the utmost liberality of the Government or the presevering industry of the people, had not the maritime power of the mother Country secured to its Colonists a safe access to every market where the produce of their labor was in demand.

The unavoidable and immediate consequence of a seperation from Great Britain, must be the loss of this inestimable advantage, and what is offered you in exchange? to become a territory of the United States and share with them that exclusion from the Ocean, which the policy of their present Government enforces. - you are not even flattered with a participation of their boasted independence, and it is but too obvious that once exchanged (estranged) from the powerful protection of the United Kingdom you must be reannexed to the dominion of France, from which the Provinces of Canada were wrested by the Arms of Great Britain, at a vast expense of blood and treasure, from no other motive than to relieve her ungrateful children from the oppresion of a cruel neighbor: this restitution of Canada to the Empire of France was the stipulated reward for the aid afforded to the revolted Colonies, now the United States; the debt is still due, and there can be no doubt but the pledge has been renewed as a consideration for Commercial Advantages, or rather for an expected relaxation in the Tyranny of France over the Commercial World. - Are you prepared Inhabitants of Upper Canada to become willing subjects or rather slaves to the Despot who rules the nations of Europe with a rod of Iron? If not, arise in a Body, exert your energies, co-operate cordially with the King's regular Forces to repel the invader, and do not give cause to your children when groaning under the oppression of a foreign Master to reproach you with having too easily parted with the richest Inheritance on Earth. - a participation in the name, character and freedom of Britons.

The same spirit of Justice, which will make every reasonable allowance for the unsuccessful efforts of Zeal and Loyalty, will not fail to punish the defalcation of principle; every Canadian Freeholder is by deliberate choice, bound by the most solemn Oaths to defend the Monarchy as well as his own property; to shrink from that engagement is a Treason not to be forgiven; let no Man suppose that if in this unexpected struggle his Majesties Arms should be compelled to yield to an overwhelming force, that the Province will be eventually abandoned; the endeared relations of its first settlers, the intrinsic value of its Commerce and the pretensions of its poweful rival to repossess the Canadas are pledges that no peace will be established between the United States and Great Britain and Ireland, of which the restoration of these Provinces does not make the most prominent condition.

Be not dismayed at the unjustifiable threat of the Commander of the Enemies forces to refuse quarter if an Indian appear in the Ranks. - The brave bands of Natives which inhabit this Colony, were, like his Majesty's Subjects, punished for their zeal and fidelity by the loss of their possessions in the late Colonies, and rewarded by his Majesty with lands of superior value in this Province: the faith of the British Government has never yet been violated, they feel that the soil they inherit is to them and their posterity protected from the base Arts so frequently devised to over reach their simplicity. By what new principle are they to be prevented from defending their property? If their Warfare from being different from that of the white people is more terrific to the Enemy, let him retrace his steps - they seek him not - and cannot expect to find women and children in an invading army; but defend themselves and their property when invaded, more especially when they find in the enemies Camp a ferocious and mortal foe using the same Warfare which the American Commander affects to reprobate.

This inconsistent and unjustifiable threat of refusing quarter for such a cause as being found in Arms with a brother sufferer in defence of invaded rights, must be exercised with the certain assurance of retaliation, not only in the limited operations of War

) GAZETTE.

... Niagara County, New York, by SMITH H. & H. A. SALISBURY.

...T, AUGUST 25, 1812. [NO. 1-

Poetry.

For the Buffalo Gazette.

Lovania D——.

STRANGER! be kind to this dear name,
While thou her lovely image shroud;
Her memory, sweet, a tear distilling,
And paying Heaven the deed applaud.

While I in distant lands am bound,
All joy and comfort fly my mind,
My heart still bleeding with its wound,
And far from friends to cheer my mind.

Oh Stranger! dost thou feel my woe,
Let pity drop the silent tear;
Torn from the arms of love I go,
And leave this frail memento here.

The moon's pale beams shine faintly round,
Upon the wretch of paler hue;
And this lone plain my sighs resound,
Responding from this aged yew.

Fond memory to me ... ls
Her lovely image to my ...
But soon my sinking ... m
And bids the lovely ... m ...

And must I then my love ... e
A victim to hard ... —
Can't fortune's wheel ... bestow,
And send me to the ... w tree?

... ?
... as ... ?
soon will the ... ?
And I must ... and die.

And when in dust I ... ?
And lost to every ... ?
O Stranger! tell the lovely Maid,
That COLIN's *heart was ever true*.

But, Stranger! to her name be kind,
While I am doomed to roam abroad,
And leave my love far ... ?
... ?

Pulaski, June 9th, 1812.

GEN. BROCK'S PROCLAMATION.

THE unprovoked declaration of War ... the United States of Ame... the United Kingdom of Great ... Ireland and its dependencies, ... lowed by the actual invasion of ... in a remote frontier of the Western District by a detachment of the armed force of the United States. The officer commanding the detachment, has thought proper to ... Majesty's subjects ... unresisting submission, ... a call to seek voluntarily the ... government. With ... peat the illiberal epithets ... peal of the American ... ple of ... of his ... ter is desired ... particular ... self that he has been ... ment in his person, ... ty? Where is to be ... world a growth so ... perity as this ... thirty years by a ... from their former ... their trade not ... people is to be ... ... ap... ... This unequalled ... attained by the utmost ... ernment or the persevering ... people had not the ... mother country ... ers to every ... their labor was in demand.

The unwarrantable ... of a separation from ... the loss of this ... what is offered you in exchange ... territory of the United States ... with them that exclusion from ... which the policy of the ... forces—you are ... ption of their ... the power to ...

But, Stranger! to her name be kind,
While I am destined to roam abroad,
And leave my love (as far behind,
Then shall [illegible] Heaven the [illegible]

Independence ODE.

[illegible]

COLUMBIA'S sons, with loud acclaim,
And patriot ardor fir'd,
[illegible]
With [illegible]
Unite to consecrate the day
To Freedom's [illegible]
And annual orisons repay
To Him, who rules the skies.

This day the great decree was past,
Which gave an empire birth;
This day was [illegible]
Sweet joy and gratitude [illegible]
We'll welcome its return,
As long as Freedom's sacred fire
On Bunker's altars burns.

Though loud Bellona's thunder roars,
And lowers the [illegible] sky,
Above the storms our [illegible]
And cleaves a [illegible]
And we will dedicate this day
To Freedom's bold emprise,
And annual orisons will pay
To Him, who rules the skies.

SOLITUDE.

RETIREMENT is thought to be the best state for the mind of man: Solitude appears the worst. In complete solitude the eye wants objects, the heart wants enjoyment, the understanding wants reciprocation. The character loses its tenderness when it has nothing to love—its firmness when it has none to strengthen it—its sensibility when it has nothing to soothe it—its patience when it meets no occasion for exercise—its humility when it is surrounded by dependants—and its delicacy in the conversation of the world. Where the intercourse is very [illegible] there is nothing worse than solitude.

SUNRISE.

[illegible] no phenomenon [illegible] and splendid than the rising [illegible] The radiant dress that brightens [illegible] the finest description, the most [illegible] the [illegible] the short-lived consolations of a [illegible] sleep, vacant and sick to thinking, when [illegible] with this bewitching [illegible] Are those people much to be pitied, who have been prevented by the love of sleep or a bad [illegible] indifference, from enjoying the [illegible] pleasure of contemplating the rising sun?

[illegible] the [illegible] of their [illegible] independence [illegible] that [illegible] exclusive from [illegible] powerful protection of the United [illegible] [illegible] must be [illegible] by the [illegible] [illegible] of France, from which [illegible] Provinces of Canada were wrested by the arms of Great Britain, at a [illegible] of blood and treasure, from no other motive but to relieve her [illegible] from the oppression of a [illegible] [illegible] the restoration of Canada to the [illegible] of France was the stipulated reward [illegible] to the revolted colonies of the United States; this debt is [illegible] can be by no means but the [illegible] [illegible] as a compliance [illegible] the [illegible] of France [illegible] you [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

> in this part of the King's Dominions but in every quarter of the globe, for the National character of Britain is not less distinguished for humanity than strict retributive Justice, which will consider the execution of this inhuman threat as deliberate murder, for which every subject of the offending power must make expiation.
>
> Isaac Brock,
> Maj. Gen. and President [14]

The paper for the following week (September 1, 1812) devoted an entire page to the "Sad Tidings from the West". There was an apparent attempt made to soften the blow somewhat by an account of the battle of Brownstown, which ended in a victory for the Americans, but there was no attempt made to gloss over the serious threat to the American cause by General Hull's evacuation of Canada and the surrender of Detroit.[15]

In the same issue we find the following editorial comment:

> The news from the West, contained in the preceding columns, has astonished and confounded every lover of freedom, and every friend of the American Republic. It has inspired the Canadians with a phrenzied zeal for conquest to control which the blood of the American people must flow.
>
> The Capitulation of General Hull, taken in connection with the attendant circumstances, is the most extraordinary document ever presented to the People of the United States. It precedent cannot be found on

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[14] Buffalo Gazette, August 25, 1812. See illustrations 8 and 8A.

[15] Buffalo Gazette, September 1, 1812. See illustration 9.

the pages of Ancient or Modern History. By this act the character of this nation has been degraded and years of the most noble and valorous Conquests of the American Arms, will not wipe away the stain. It will tend to baffle the enterprise of our soldiers - to depress the military genisus of our officers and cause the proud name of American to be sported with, by the most contemptible adherents of royalty, as looking down all opposition! By this deed the most important post in the western land, (when considered as one of the great barriers to Indian depradations), has been basely surrendered - a whole territory of the United States, has been given up to the unsparing hand of savage ferocity - and a brave band of defenders of our country made over to the enemy.

Is there not some chosen curse, Some hidden thunder in the stores of heaven, Red with uncommon wrath to blast the coward, Who thus has given up the land he govern'd.

It would unquestionably be highly improper to canvass the conduct of General Hull, if Treachery, Dupticity and Cowardice did not stalk hand in hand with all his procedings. Gentlemen from Detroit, who were present, during the whole campaign, do not hesitate to say, that the American forces might have captured Malden, when they first crossed to Sandwich, without the firing of a gun, as Fort Malden was in bad repair, with short 200 men, and a few Indians who are of little use in garrison defence. That even after he had evacuated Sandwich and returned "back agen" to Detroit, he might have maintained his position, and had a glorious opportunity of either capturing or destroying the enemy's forces which will be made to appear...

On the 16th General Brock marched on towards Detroit in a solid column, and in some places not more than 12 men could march abreast, and several 24 powders and other cannon were bearing upon the enemy, and not a gun was fired! O consummate treachery, O wretched imbecility! 'Twas here the damning deed was done...'

If there was no previous concert, why did General Brock march his army through the narrow passage, in front of our cannon, with three to one against him?

THE GAZETTE.

Sad Tidings from the West!

DETROIT TAKEN!

GEN. HULL'S ARMY

DERED TO BRITISH!

[illegible], Dec. 1812.

On Tuesday morning last [illegible]

[illegible] Detroit. [illegible]

Gen. Hull refused. [illegible]

they opened two batteries [illegible]

of Detroit, and continued [illegible]

On the 16th early in the [illegible]

manced firing and continued [illegible]

ing while time and the [illegible]

[illegible] Detroit on [illegible]

[illegible] that [illegible]

[illegible] when [illegible]

[illegible] they [illegible]

[illegible] Hull [illegible]

[illegible] Hull [illegible]

[illegible] to Fort Malden [illegible]

distinguished, Baker [illegible]

It was [illegible] stood, however [illegible]

taken and Detroit and [illegible]

on parole. [illegible]

[illegible] Malden. [illegible]

number [illegible] were [illegible]

of War!

[illegible] All [illegible]

given up [illegible]

Detroit, [illegible] also given up

McArthur [illegible] had been

sent to open a communication

by a different route from [illegible]

and were returning to [illegible]

the surrender. Captain [illegible]

at the River Raisin.

[illegible] a volunteer company [illegible]

[illegible] also included in [illegible]

[illegible] Elliott, British [illegible]

to River Raisin, to enforce

terms of the capitulation [illegible]

he refused, and took [illegible]

miles in his retreat, [illegible]

Detroit. Capt. Brush [illegible]

cape back to Ohio, where [illegible]

saw him, because he was [illegible]

of the enemy. The Ohio [illegible]

barked at Detroit, on the [illegible]

stand, have been landed [illegible]

the same day the remainder [illegible]

taken down to Malden [illegible]

Did he suppose that our troops would not fight? The bloody plains of Brownstown emphatically answer. But the battle is past, the campaign is ended, and we are disgraced...

Detroit surrendering, was in fact surrendering the whole territory of Michigan. All public documents were given up. Of course the reign of King George over Michigan, is now in regular operation. All public stores, about 4000 stands of arms, and 60 to 70 pieces of cannon, were delivered up. This was doing business by the wholesale.[16]

From time to time, reports of court martial proceedings appeared in the pages of the Gazette. The report of the charges against, and the conviction of, Captain Samuel Jennings is a typical one:

Court Martial

Before a General Court Martial held at Lewiston, in the county of Niagara, on the Niagara Frontier, by virtue of a General Order of Major Gen. Stephen Van Renseelaer, on the 28th day of August 1812. Samuel Jennings, late of the town of Palmyra, in the county of Ontario, Captain of a company of Militia, attached to Lieut. Col. Philetus Swift's Regiment of United States Volunteers, was arraigned on the following charges, preferred against him by Peris St. John, a private in his Company.

Charges

1st. For demanding and taking from Job N. Norris, a Corporal in his Company the sum of two dollars on or about the twentieth day of June, 1812.

2d. For retaining for his private use the whiskey rations of Peris St. John and James Hinkley for twenty days before trial.

3d For converting to his own use the whiskey rations of Peris St. John, James Hinkley, Jonathan Ballock and Ferris Sherwood, for thirty days while ordered by a court martial to be stopped.

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[16] Buffalo Gazette, September 1, 1812.

4th. For embezzleing the sum of one dollar of the pay of Azariah Mitchel, a drummer in his company.
5th. For embezzleing ten dollars, money had and received of Mr. Mc'Call on a settlement for break-guns, the property of the United States.

To which charges he pleaded not guilty. The Court after mature deliberation on the testimony adduced, unanimously found the said Capt. Samuel Jennings, guilty of all the charges exhibited against him, and sentenced him to be Cashiered, and to pay to the Corporal the two dollars in the first charge mentioned - to the Drummer the one dollar in the fourth charge mentioned to the persons mentioned in the second charge the whiskey rations therein mentioned - to the hospital the whiskey rations in the third charge mentioned - and to the United States the ten dollars in the fifth charge mentioned.

J. Harrison,
Judge Adrecate.[17]

The war was never extremely popular among the masses of Americans, and, after the surrender of our army at Detroit, it is not suprising to find the following notice in the October 6, 1812, issue:

Notice

A meeting of the friends of Liberty, Peace and Commerce, of the county of Niagara, will be held at Mr. Pomeroy's Long Room, in the village of Buffalo, on Thursday the 15th of October inst. at 1 o'clock, P.M. for the purpose of uniting in adopting such measures as may be deemed advisable, having for their onject, the termination of war, and the restoration of peace. By the order of the County correspondence committee.[18]

Another setback to the American cause is related in the account of the battles of Queenston, which appeared in

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[17] Buffalo Gazette, September 14, 1812. See illustration 10.

[18] Ibid., October, 6, 1812.

[illegible] and 161 a-
[illegible]

[illegible] Niagara District, on the 3d inst. *To* [illegible] a Person in Lt. Colonel [illegible]'s [illegible] aged 21 years.

COURT MARTIAL.

At a General Court Martial held at Lewiston in the county of Niagara on the Niagara Frontier, by virtue of a General Order of Maj. Gen. STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER, on the 25th day of August 1812, Samuel Jennings, late of the town of Pelham, in the county of Ontario, Captain of a Company of Militia, attached to Lieut. Col. MILLER'S Regiment of United States Volunteers, was arraigned on the following charges, preferred against him by Peris St. John, a private in his Company.

Charges.

1st. For demanding and taking from Job M. Morris, a Corporal in his Company the sum of two dollars, on or about the twentieth day of June 1812.

2d. For retaining for his private use the whiskey rations of Peris St. John and James Hinkley for twenty days before it was.

3d. For converting to his own use the whiskey rations of Peris St. John, James Hinkley, Jonathan Bullock and Peris Sherwood, for thirty days while ordered by a court martial to be stopped.

4th. For embezzling the sum of one dollar of the pay of Azariah Mitchel, a drummer in his company.

5th. For embezzling seven dollars, money had and received of Mr. McCall, on a settlement for breaking guns, &c. the property of the United States.

To which charges he pleaded not guilty.

The Court after mature deliberation on the testimony adduced, unanimously found the said Capt. SAMUEL JENNINGS guilty of all the charges exhibited against him, and sentenced him to be CASHIERED, and to pay to the Corporal the one dollar in the first charge mentioned—to the Drummer the one dollar in the fourth charge mentioned—to the persons mentioned in the second charge the whiskey rations therein mentioned—to the hospital the whiskey rations in the third charge mentioned—and to the United States the seven dollars in the fifth charge mentioned.

J. [illegible]
Judge Advocate.

[illegible]

Stray Mares.

STRAYED, [illegible] the 16th June last, two MARES—one a [illegible], 5 years old, the [illegible] when she went away—the other a light brown, 8 years old, under size, no brand or letter. They are supposed to have taken the S. & Tree R[illegible] through Warwick, towards Genesee River.

Whoever will return the Mares, or give information where they may be found, to the subscriber, or to the Printers hereof, shall be handsomely rewarded and all necessary charges paid.

John Welch.

Pelham, 8th Sept. 1812. 5t

ELOPEMENT.

WHEREAS my wife ZILPHA, has eloped from my bed and board, without my consent, and without any just cause—I do hereby forbid all persons harbouring or trusting her on my account, on penalty of the law, as I will pay no debts of her contracting after this date.

Jairus Rose.

Cambria, Sept. 10, 1812 3t

Job Hoisington's Estate.

THE subscribers, Assignees of the Estate of Job Hoisington, of the town of Buffalo, an Insolvent Debtor, request the Creditors of the said Insolvent to meet at the house of R. Cook, Innkeeper, in the town of Buffalo, on Wednesday the 14th of October next, at 10 o'clock, A.M. to prove and adjust their claims, and receive their dividends.

[illegible] FORWARD,
[illegible] JOHNSON,
[illegible] CLARK, Jr.
Assignees.

Sept. 14, 1812. 3t

[illegible] PAPER.

THE [illegible] Paper Mill, [illegible] Buffalo-Creek, [illegible] Niagara, [illegible] of Erie, [illegible] of Ontario, [illegible]

Cotton and Linen Rags,

[illegible] Gazette.

Militia and Corporals' WARRANTS,

[illegible] Printing Office.

the October 20 issue of the Gazette.

Battles of Queenston

On Tuesday morning last, just before daylight, in conformity to previous arrangement, Col. Sol. Van Rensselaer, at the head of 300 volunteer militia, from the 18th regiment, and Col. Christie, with 300 regular troops, the whole under the immediate command of Col. Van Rensselaer, crossed the river at Lewiston in 17 boats, with the intent to storm the enemy's works on the heights or mountain above Queenston. The militia and regulars moved forward with the greatest intrepidity and galantry, and carried the enemy's works with but a small loss and possessed themselves of the enemy's battery. In this affair, Col. Van Rensselaer, was severely wounded in the leg, thigh and side, and was carried back to the American side of the river. Gen. Brock, and his aid, Col. M'Donald, of the British forces, were killed in this engagement.

Gen. Wadsworth then clossed over with the residue of his brigade, consisting of detachments from Cols. Allen's, Bloom's, Stranahan's and Mead's regiments and Col. Fenwick with the light artillery, amounting in all to about 700 men. The command was transferred to General Wadsworth, who commanded in the subsequent operation of the day. After a line had been formed on the heights, our troops were attacked in rear, by the Indians and militia in the direction from Chippawa, who were repulsed and driven back, with great slaughter, and our men remained a second time in quiet possession of the field. At this period Gen. Van Rensselaer ordered over Col. Scott, of the artillery, and Lieut. Totten of the Engineers, to lay out the plan of a fortified camp - and immediately after, the General with Maj. Mollany, crossed the river. From the heights, the General observed a strong reinforcement of the enemy from Fort George, marching up under the command of General Sheaffe, who succeded Gen. Brock in command, a mounting to about 6 or 700 men. As this force, in co-operation with the force of the enemy yet hanging near our flanks, would inevitably overpower our brave troops now fatigued with several hours hard fighting, the General was prevailed to recross the river, in the hope

of inducing the militia to cross to the relief of our brave countrymen; not a man of whom could be prevailed on to cross over. The British militia and Indians, being reinforced by the troops from Fort George, made a vigorous attack, and although opposed by fresh troops, superior in discipline and numbers, yet our men maintained the unequal conflict with a determination, bordering up on desperation, for a considerable time, when all hope of relief being cut off, they capitulated to a superior force, and were conducted prisoners of war to Fort George. Our loss in prisoners and wounded was as follows:

Wounded - Of the regulars 62, 2 since dead 5 dangerous.
Of the militia 20, 9 dangerous.
Prisoners-Regulars 386, Militia 378, besides officers, numbers not estimated.

Of the killed, there are no returns, and opinions are so various on this point, that it is extremely difficult to fix on any probable number. Our loss in killed probably exceeds 100, and that of the enemy much the same number.

Our troops achieved all that bravery could accomplish. The misfortunes of the day are to be ascribed to causes, as yet undereloped. To express an opinion on this point would be highly improper, as an official account of the battle may be shortly expected.

The militia prisoners, we understand, have all been discharged, on parole, not to serve during the war. We cannot learn that any officers were killed above the rank of Captain, and but few were wounded.

There was a brisk exchange of cannon shot during the whole day at the different fortifications along the river. The jail and a brewery at Newark, were fired by hot shot from Fort Niagara and consumed.

The corpse of Gen Brock, and Col. Mc'Donald, were conveyrd to Newark and imerred near the Fort, with martial honors. Gen. B. was 53 years of age, a real gentleman and one of the best generals in the British provinces.

We understand that some of our troops in re-crossing the river brought over 8 or 10 prisoners, among whom was an Indian chief.[19]

This issue also contained accounts of "War Events at Black Rock".

The following week the editors of the Gazette defended General Van Rensselaer's action in attempting to take and hold the heights of Queenston. They asked, the rhetorical question, "But why were not the heights retained and the victory Complete"?, and followed with, "For this one plain, solitary reason: The Troops Militia Would Not March Across the River". The full text of the editorial appears in the October 27, edition:

Queenston Battle

It has long been a maxim with the world, that the reputation and character of a General are not to be established by his merit, or talents, but by his success. Men of sense know the cruel and wicked consequences of this erroe; but it is so much easier to glide along in the current of popular opinion, than to labor in giving it its just and proper direction, that even good citizens are often less brave in their duty upon such occasions than justice requires. The plain and melancholy truth is the appetite of the world is whet for slander; and its keenness is generally, in proportion to the excellence of the object destined to be devoured.

The application of these undeniable propositions is to the current reports of the day. - Many are unreservedly open-mouthed in reprobating the late movements

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[19] Buffalo Gazette, October 20, 1812. See illustration 11.

...were ... Indians, being rein-
...forced by the troops from Fort George, made
a vigorous attack, and although opposed by
...rest troops, superior in discipline and num-
...bers, yet our men maintained the unequal
conflict with a determination, bordering up-
on desperation, for a considerable time,
when all hope of relief being cut off, they ca-
pitulated to a superior force, and were con-
ducted prisoners of war to Fort George. Our
loss in killed, wounded was as fol-
lows:

Woodman. Of the regulars 69, 9 dead, 6 dangerous. Of the militia 20, 9 dangerous.

Passengers. Regulars 335, [illegible] 272, besides officers, number not ascertained.

Of the killed, there are [illegible] names, and
...plains are as various as the ...
...extremely difficult to fix on any ...
...ber. Our troops killed probably ...
...hundred, of which [illegible]

Our prisoners [illegible] that between ...
...[illegible] to be [illegible] on which ...
...[illegible] following ...
...[illegible] ...
...[illegible] ...
...[illegible]

of the army on this forntier. This ought not to surprize any one. Every man of sense knows that it has been long understood, nay predetermined that whatever movements the army might make was to be reprobated. And it is no sooner done, than said. Men also, who know little more of the matter than that a battle has been most gallantly fought, are already lavish of their censure upon General Van Rensselaer, and all his principal officers. Justice would, at least, require these men to recollect that the tardy and disjointed movements of the whole campaign have extorted the confession of disappointment from the most ardent advocates of the war. The season for militia operations was far advanced, and if we are correctly informed, such already, was the difficulty of procuring the current supplies of provisions and forage, that strong apprehensions were entertained that the prospect rather warranted the fear that the army would grow less, than the hope that it would enerase by delay. It is by many believed that General Van Rensselaer, impressed with these consideration, was constrained to make up his mind to meet the alternative of attempting an immediate blow, or relinquishing all hopes of the campaign. Prudence may, at present forbid detail on this subject; but, if we mistake not, there are facts vitally connected with it which must ere long out.

But after all the cavils, what does it amount to? What was General Van Rensselaer's plan, which is by some reprobated? It was to cross the Niagara: he did it; and with less loss than ever had been expected. What was his object? To possess himself of the Heights of Queenston; a position the most indispensable for future operations, of any on the Niagara. They were gallantly carried in the morning, and retained until nearly right. This fact prostrates all objection to the plan. But why were not the Heights retained, and the victory complete? For this one plain, solitary, and undeniable reason: The Troops Would Not March Across The River. But had General Van Rensselaer, at Lewiston, troops enough to have maintained his position? Let this question be answered once for all, he had double the number necessary. He had 1000 regulars and 2000 Militia. And if 3000 men could not make good their landing in Canada, how many would it take to retain it? But why did not General Van Rensselaer before discover that his troops would not cross the

river? - Because in the first place, he had not the power of discovering the secret intentions of mens' hearts; and again she could not believe that many who had been the most importunate to pass the river, would have shunned the opportunity when it was offered. Let blame rest where it ought.[20]

After the dismal failures at Queenston, Major General Van Rensselaer left town for his residence in Albany,and Brigadier Smyth took "chief command of the lines".

The September 29, 1812, issue of the Gazette carried the arrival notice as follows:

On Sunday Gen. Alexander Smyth, Inspector General of the Army of the United States and suite arrived at this place. We understand that Gen. Smyth will take the command of the United States troops which, with the last reinforcements, will amount to more than 1000 regulars. This force, together with the Volunteers and Detached Militia will secure the country from invasion at least.[21]

Let us trace the activities of Brigadier General Smyth through the pages of the Gazette. He began his activities as commander in chief on October 26, 1812, by agreeing to an armistice with General Sheaffe, who had succeeded General Brock after the latters death in the battle of Queenston. On November 10th the Gazette complained:

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[20] Buffalo Gazette, October 27, 1812. See illuctration 12 and 12 A.

[21] Ibid., September 29, 1812.

Buffalo,

Tuesday, October 27.

Queenston Battle.

It has long been a maxim with the world, that the reputation and character of a General are not to be established by his *merits*, or *talents*, but by his *success*. Men of sense knew the cruel and wicked consequences of this error; but it is so much easier to glide along in the current of popular opinion, than to labor in giving it its just and proper direction, that even good citizens are often led [illegible] upon such occasions that justice requires. The [illegible] truth is, the [illegible] slander, and [illegible] portion [illegible]

[illegible] General Van Rensselaer impressed with these considerations, is constrained to make up his mind to meet the *alternative* of tempting an immediate blow, or relinquishing all hopes of the campaign. Prudence may, at present, forbid a full [illegible] but, if we mistake not, [illegible] connected with it which [illegible]

But after all the cavils and [illegible] amount [illegible] was General Van Rensselaer's [illegible] reprobated? It was [illegible] the disparate he did it; and [illegible]

Gov. Tompkins and Suite.

Arrived in this village on Sunday, accompanied by Messrs. Livingston and Mc[illegible] aids de camp.

Maj Gen. HALL left this village on Thursday last, to attend the [illegible] session of the Legislature on the 1st Tuesday of Nov. next.

Maj. General VAN RENSSELAER left town yesterday morning for his residence at Albany. Col. Van Rensselaer remains in this village. His wounds, we understand, are in a good way of healing.

Brig. Gen. SMYTH has now the chief command on the Lines.

Armistice.

At the expiration of the armistice concluded between Gen. V. Rensselaer and Gen Sheaffe, [illegible] agreed upon between Gen Smyth and Sheaffe, to be terminated by either [illegible] notice.

The Queen Charlotte,

[illegible] from Malden last week, and [illegible] anchored at Fort Erie.

Military Stores, &c.

[illegible] supply of arms, ammunition, [illegible] lately arrived at the [illegible] Light Horse, and [illegible] have also ar-

Quiet Night.

[illegible] Conflict, a [illegible] Niagara, and killed a [illegible] Capt. Leonard's company, named [illegible] another lost both legs, named [illegible] who died in a few hours afterwards. [illegible] here was but little other damage done. — [illegible] the enemy's batteries, we learn, to a heavy charge and sufficiently thumped home.

Congress

[illegible] next Monday.

Exportation of Flour.

[illegible] shipments of flour [illegible] making at New York for [illegible] with great activity—[illegible] law.

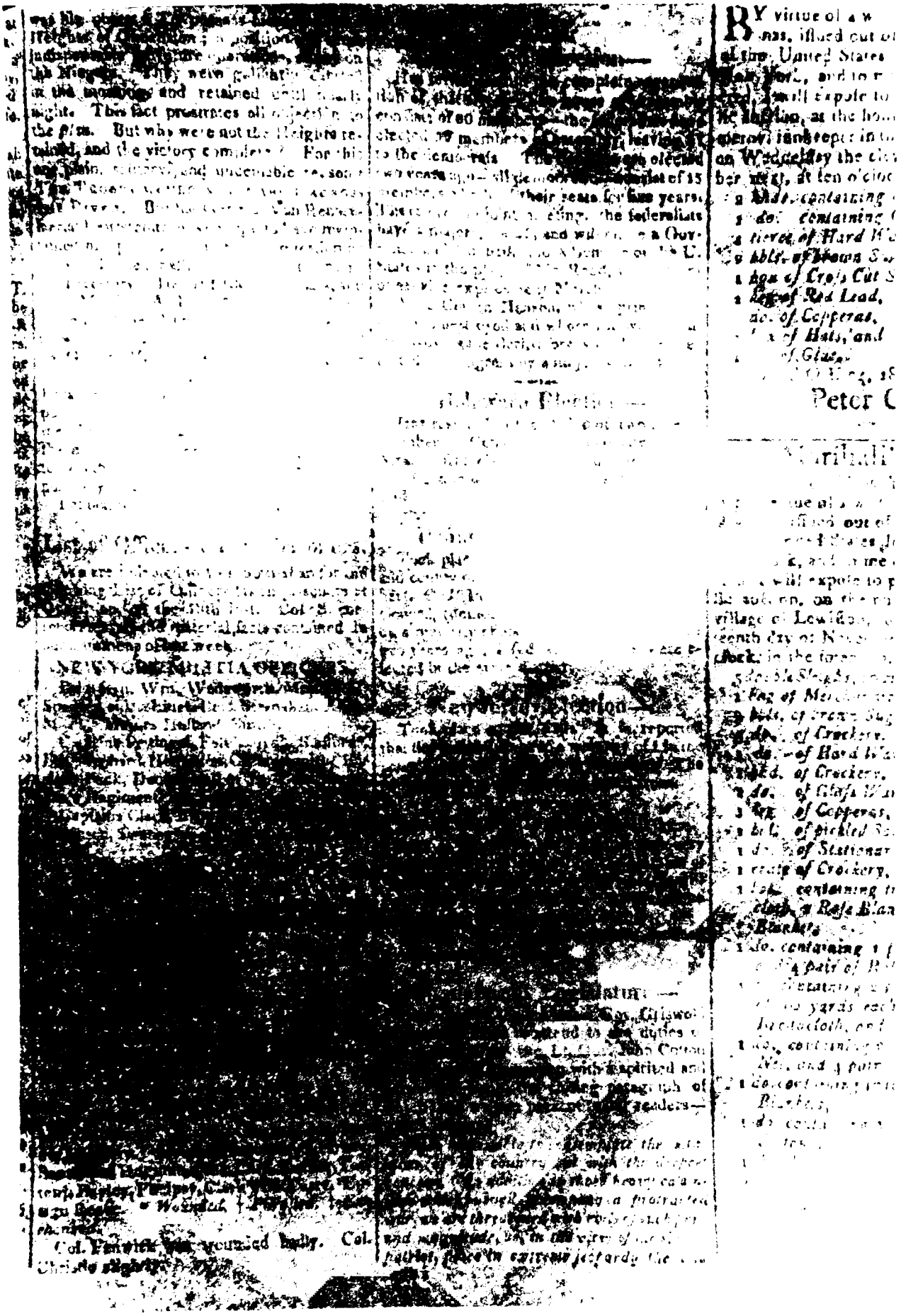
Canada.

[illegible]

[illegible] Vermont [illegible]

Commenced its [illegible] The Election Returns [illegible] 15,138 votes and [illegible] and 645 scattering,— cratic majority of 2,[illegible] ity for Councillors [illegible] being informed of [illegible] Speech to the Legislature [illegible] the following [illegible] gentlemen [illegible] [illegible] defence, as [illegible] [illegible] the populous settlements [illegible] Canada, [illegible] did not [illegible]

State of parties in [illegible] lature:—Fed 15[illegible]



Col. Fenwick was mortally wounded. Col.

BY virtue of a w
mas, issued out o
the United States
New York, and to r
sold, shall expose to
the highest, as the bo
ciety's tavern keeper in
on Wednesday the
ber next, at ten o'cloc
1 Box containing
1 do. containing
1 tierce of Hard W
1 bbls. of Brown S
1 keg of Cut
1 keg of Red Lead,
do. of Copperas,
of Hats, and
of Glass.

Peter C

Of our present situation we can only say, that the armistice still continues; but why we should voluntarily tie up our hands for the very little time which remains for active operations, we cannot conjucture.

Our opinion is, that if the blow is to be repeated this fall, the sooner the better; for even the tongue of reprehension does not pretend to deny but what the enemy are both confounded and crippled by the late action.[22]

The Armistice was not terminated until November 20. On November 17th the Buffalo Gazette carried the haughty, albeit stirring, appeal by General Smyth "To the men of the State of New York":

Proclamation

To The Men of New York: For many years you have seen your country oppressed with numerous wrongs. Your Government altho above all others devoted to peace, has been forced to draw the sword, and rely for redress of injuries on the valor of the American people.

That valor has been conspicuous. But the nation has been unfortunate in the choise of some of those who have directed it. One army has been disgracefully surrendered and lost. Another has been sacrificed by a precipitated attempt to pass over at the strongest point of the enemy's line, with most incompetent means. The cause of these miscarriages is apparent. The commanders were popular men, "destitute alike of theory and experience" in the art of war.

In a few days the troops under my command will plant the American standard in Canada. They are men accustomed to obedience, silence and steadiness. They will conquer or they will die.

---

[22] Buffalo Gazette, November 10, 1812.

Will you stand with your arms folded and look on this interesting struggle? Are you not related to the men who fought at Bennington and Saratoga? Has the race degenerated? Or have you under the baneful influence of contending factions forgotten your country? Must I turn from you, and ask the men of the Six Nations to support the Government of the United States? Shall I imitate the officers of the British King - and suffer our ungathered laurels to be tarnished with ruthless deeds? Shame! where is thy blush? No - where I command the vanquished and the peaceful man - the child, the maid and the matron shall be secured from wrong. If we conquer we will "Conquer but to save."

Men of New York: The present is the hour of renown. Have you not a wish for fame? Would you not choose to be one of those who, imitating the herous whom Montgomery led, have in spite of the seasons, visited the tomb of the chief and conquered the country where he lies? Yes - You desire your share of fame. Then seize the present moment. If you do not you will regret it; and say "the valiant have bled in vain" - the friends of my country fell and I was not there.

Advance then to our aid. I will wait for you a few days. I cannot give you the day of my departure. But come on, come in companies, half companies, pairs or singly. I will organize you for a short tour. Ride to this place, if the distance is far and send back your horses. But remember, that every man who accompanies us places himself under my command, and shall submit to the salutary restraints of discipline.

Alexander Smyth
Brig. Gen. [23]

Camp near Buffalo, 10th Nov., 1812.

A week later a more stirring appeal was made by the General to the soldiers:

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23 Buffalo Gazette, November 10, 1812. See illustration 13.

persons living at a distance.

To the Men of the State of New-York.

FOR nine years to [illegible] your country [illegible] with [illegible]. Your Government [illegible] to [illegible] to draw the [illegible] on [illegible]. But [illegible] been [illegible] in the selection of [illegible] have directed it. [illegible] surrender [illegible] brother [illegible] fired by [illegible] to plant it over the [illegible] with [illegible]. The cause of these [illegible] Commanders [illegible] of theory [illegible].

[illegible] any [illegible] Standard [illegible] will [illegible] No. [illegible] the [illegible] as one of [illegible] from Mont [illegible] the [illegible] prevent [illegible] Retreat [illegible] Camp [illegible] Rally to this place, if [illegible] far, and send back your horses. But remember that every man who accompanies us, places himself under my command, and shall submit to the salutary restraints of discipline.

ALEXANDER SMYTH,
Brigadier General.

Camp near Buffalo
30th Nov. 1812

[illegible] Major General Hall mentioned that general Smyth had ordered them moved upon Canada [illegible] the partial success of [illegible] Rock. Of which however [illegible] official information) began to [illegible] discontents in the troops to act. This was expressed to me into various channels in the shape of an [illegible] direct that they must have orders to act; or, if ill treated, they would go home. I forbid them commenting upon the obvious consequences of [illegible] personally, of longer with holding my orders under such circumstances. I had a conference with [illegible] as to the possibility of getting some person to pass over to Canada and obtain correct information. On the morning of the 4th, he wrote me that he had procured the man who bore his letter to go over. Instructions were given him; he passed over—obtained such information as warranted an immediate attack. This was confidentially communicated to several of my first officers, and produced great zeal on their parts especially as it might have a [illegible] effect upon the movements at Detroit, where it was supposed general Brock had gone with all the force he dared spare from [illegible]. The best preparations in my power were, therefore, made [illegible] the enemy from the heights at [illegible] and positions adjacent of the [illegible] during the [illegible] be obstructed [illegible] and [illegible] as much as possible.

Lieut. col. Fenwick's flying artillery, and [illegible] detachments of regular troops under his command, were ordered to be up in season from Fort Niagara. Orders were also sent to general Smyth to send down from Buffalo the detachment of his brigade as circumstances in that vicinity might [illegible]. The attack was to have been made [illegible] in the morning of the 11th, by crossing over the river in boats from the old ferry [illegible] the heights. To avoid any embarrassment in crossing the river (which is here a sheet of violent eddies) experienced boatmen were procured to take the boats from below the landing to the place of [illegible]. Lt. [illegible] was considered the most efficient skiff in his service. He went [illegible] in the extreme darkness, passed [illegible] far up the river; and there [illegible] a most extraordinary manœuvre, [illegible] his boat to the shore, and abandoned the detachment [illegible] this *front* [illegible] he had carried [illegible] which was prepared for all [illegible] this agonizing dilemma, stood [illegible] whose ardor had not been cooled by exposure through the night to one of the most tremendous north-east storms, which continued for twenty eight hours, and deluged the whole camp. The approach of day-light extinguished every prospect of success, and the detachment returned to camp. Col. Van Rensselaer was to have commanded the detachment.

After this result, I had hoped the patience of the troops would have continued until I could effect the plan suggested in my [illegible] guide. [illegible] carried Lieut. [illegible] artillery was to [illegible] lany's detachment of [illegible] er troops of the [illegible]

At dawn of day [illegible] ness, and the troops [illegible] under the [illegible] of [illegible] mounting [illegible] The movement was [illegible] brisk fire of musketry [illegible] a hole line of the Canada [illegible] then opened to sweep [illegible] some minutes [illegible] fire with [illegible]. A brisk [illegible] opened upon the boats [illegible] batteries on our battery [illegible] and occasionally threw [illegible] and was [illegible] served [illegible] mortar of the enemy's [illegible] artillery, by [illegible] gara Falls in the rear [illegible] return the enemy's [illegible] fire.

The boats were now [illegible] with the soldiers as well [illegible] not a but Col Van R [illegible] two men soon effected [illegible] tremendous fire directed [illegible] pass out to the [illegible] advanced the troops [illegible] advanced [illegible] [illegible] execute [illegible] the whole expedition. [illegible] after landing, col. Van [illegible] four wounds—a ball [illegible] thigh, entering [illegible] another not passed [illegible] thigh, a little below [illegible] calf of his left [illegible] heel. This was quite [illegible]. Under so severe [illegible] form two troops [illegible] means of the batteries [illegible] not [illegible] give way some was [illegible] in the [illegible] er. Col Van R [illegible] stand, and with great [illegible] ed his office [illegible] to pass [illegible] across the [illegible]. This [illegible] [illegible] hill, [illegible] [illegible] conflict was [illegible] by of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

To The Soldiers of the Army of the Centre

Companions in Arms!

The time is at hand when you will cross the streams of Niagara, to conquer Canada, and to secure the peace of the American frontier.

You will enter a country that is to be one of the United States. You will arrive among a people who are to become your fellow citizens. It is not against them that we come to make war. It is against that government which holds them as vassals.

You will make this war as little as possible distressful to the Canadian people. If they are peaceable, they are to be secure in the persons; and in their property, as far as our imperious necessities will allow.

Private plundering is absolutely forbidden. Any soldier who guits his ranks to plunder on the field of battle, will be punished in the most exemplary manner.

But your just tights as soldiers will be maintained. Whatever is booty by the usage of war, you shall have. All horses belonging to artillery and cavalry; all wagons and teams in the public service will be sold for the benefit of the captors. Public stores will be secured for the service of the United States. The Government will, with justice, pay you the value.

The horses drawing the light artillery of the enemy are wanted for the service of the United States. I will order two hundred dollars for each, to be paid to the party who may take them.

I will also order forty dollars to be paid for the arms and spoils of each savage warrior who shall be killed.

SOLDIERS! You are amply provided for war. You are superior in number to the enemy. Your personal strength and activity are greater. Your weapons are longer. The regular soldiers of the enemy are generally old

men, whose best years have been spent in the sickly climate of the West Indies. They will not be able to stand before you, when you charge with the bayonet.

You have seen Indians, such as those hired by the British to murder women and children, and kill and scalp the wounded. You have seen their dances and grimaces, and heard their yells. Can you fear them? No. You hold them in the utmost contempt.

Volunteers!

Disloyal and traitorous men have endeavored to dissuade you from your duty. Sometimes they say, if you enter Canada, you will be held to service for five years. At others, they say, that you will not be furnished with supplies. At other times they say, that if you are wounded, the Government will not provide for you by pensions.

The just and generous course pursued by the Government towards the volunteers who fought at Tippecanoe, furnishes an answer to the last objection. The others are too absurd to require any.

VOLUNTEERS. I esteem your generous and patriotic motives. You have made sacrifices on the altar of your country. You will not suffer the enemies of your fame to mislead you from the path of duty and honor, and deprive you of the esteem of a grateful country. You will shun the eternal infamy that awaits the man, who having come within the sight of the enemy, basely shrinks in the moment of trial.

SOLDIERS OF THE CORPS! It is in your power to retrieve the honor of your country; and to cover yourselves with glory. Every man who performs a gallant action, shall have his name made known to the nation. Rewards and honors await the brave. Infamy and contempt are reserved for cowards. Companions in arms! You come to vanquish a valiant for. I know the choice you will make. Come on my heroes! And when you attack the enemy's

batteries, let your rallying word be "The cannon lost at Detroit - or death".

Alex. Smyth
Brig. Gen. commanding [24]
Camp, near Buffalo, Nov. 17, 1812.

The Gazette of December 1, under the heading of "Progress of the War on the Niagara Frontier", tells of a sucessful raid on the enemy shore made by a party of about 200 soldiers and sailors under the command. This occurred on Saturday December 28, 1812, and the raiders returned to our shore at Black Rock about six o'clock the following morning. The article is concluded as follows:

> From 7 until 10 or 11 in the morning there was a constant embarkation of troops at the Navy Yards, and before the hour of 11 there were about 60 boats loaded and stationed in shore, awaiting the signal to make a descent. The day was fire - the troops were in excellent spirits - no opposing force appeared on the shore. A flag was now sent by General Smyth to the British Commander. The flag returned. The troops in the boats were ordered to debark, and the Volunteers who were in readiness for embarkation, were ordered back to their respective encampments. Since which period several movements have taken place, but as we are in possession of no official statements, we can at present give no further account - perhaps, indeed, here after some satisfactory statement may appear.[25]

Brigadier General Smyth's official despatch to Major General Dearborn concerning the activities of the army under his command from the night of November 27 until

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[24] Buffalo Gazette, November 17, 1812, See illustration 14 and 14 A.

[25] Ibid., December 1, 1812.

The most active and laudable exertions are making in Kentucky, the enterprize is [illegible] Volunteers from different parts are flocking to join the American Army. The town of Russellville has been patriotic—a subscription, [illegible] dollars we understand has been made for the purpose of [illegible]ing Volunteers an extra price for opening [illegible] and joining the army. Capt. Stephenson [illegible] and Captain [illegible] from Madison, have arrived [illegible] Gen. [illegible] has been appointed [illegible] of the Volunteers—Dr. [illegible] Colonel—Major—Samuel Pratt, Esq. [illegible]—and E. Chaplin, Esq Quarter-Master. The names of the other officers are not in our possession.

Buffalo Jail.

The present inhabitants of this [illegible] deserve the serious attention of the Legislature. It is a fact which all the well-informed know, that a very great majority of the felons committed to this Jail have deserved, and but few of them have ever been brought to justice. *Ryan*, a person tried at Lewiston for a rape in September last, escaped from [illegible] some weeks since. Last week, *Hurst*, the Interpreter, tried as an accomplice and fled to the [illegible] [illegible] Fullerton, (the Chief [illegible] has been apprehended [illegible]

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	4	
	6	3
Virginia		25
North Carolina	8	7
South Carolina		11
Georgia		8
Tennessee		8
Kentucky		12
Ohio		8
New Orleans		3
	99	118

It will be seen by the above statement that the five Madison a majority of 19—take 10 of these and give them to Clinton and Ellis [illegible] Now there is a possibility of Clinton's obtaining the requisite number from the states of Massachusetts, Maryland, and North Carolina, in addition to those [illegible]

The usual standing committees were appointed. Several appointments have been made by the council, the only one of importance is that of *Stephen Mack* to be first judge of the county of Niagara. In the election for electors there were three tickets run, federal Clintonian and Madisonian.

The following law has been passed at the present session of the legislature. An act to [illegible] the confinement of John Bowman, of Herkimer county, convicted of murder, to hard labor in the state prison during his natural life.

The following resolutions were moved in the house of assembly, by Mr. Hoffman, on Thursday last, and unanimously agreed to and a committee appointed to present them to the Governor.

Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be requested to lay before this house copies of the requisitions, if any, made on him, by [illegible] the United States, and of the correspondence or other communications, which exist between him and the Executive Department of the United States, or any of the officers of the United States, respecting the calling into service the militia of this state.

Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be requested to submit to this House an account of the number of the militia of this state, heretofore and since the declaration of the existing war, and at present, in the actual service of the United States, and of this state [illegible] specify under what authority the same have been, from time to time, ordered into actual service, and copies of the orders issued on such occasions, and also to designate the [illegible] who called into service, where stationed [illegible] Brigades commanded, together with [illegible] exercising the power of his Executive [illegible] subject of this reso[illegible]

Proclamation to the Soldiers

of the Army of the United States, now encamped on the Niagara.

SOLDIERS!

The time is at hand when you will cross the stream of Niagara, to conquer Canada, and to secure the peace of the American frontier.

You will enter a country that is to become one of the United States. You will arrive among a people who are to be your fellow-citizens. It is not against *them* that we come to make war. It is against that Government which holds them as vassals.

You will make this war as little as possible distressful to the Canadian people. If they are peaceable they are to be secure in their persons and their property, as far as our impositions necessarily will allow.

Private plunder is a soldier's dishonor. Any soldier who quits his rank to plunder on the field of battle, will be punished in the most exemplary manner.

But your just rights [illegible] will be maintained. Whatever is [illegible] press laws, you shall have [illegible] long [illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible] Nov 17, 181[illegible]

We have [illegible] ward respecting [illegible] —all we can say of [illegible] is not in us. [illegible] our fingers, [illegible] deposit them in the [illegible] not arrive at the place [illegible] to the negligence of [illegible] M'o on the route.

Marri[illegible]

At Ipswich, Ct. Mr. [illegible] Maine, (who [illegible] once, and then but about his marriage) to Miss [illegible]

In Hamburgh, by Mr. Reuben Newman [illegible] ers.

In Bloomfield, [illegible] Lucretia Norton.

D[illegible]

At Mansfield, [illegible] iel Skidder, aged [illegible] 12 days; on the 2[illegible] son, aged 10[illegible] Skidder was born in Thompson in Stonington [illegible] tives of the same [illegible] year, residing for a [illegible] other, striking instances and longevity, are [illegible] than 56 hours. The [illegible] ority to the fourth [illegible] York.—Mrs. Mary [illegible] ber descendants [illegible] eration; a great [illegible] daughter, and a [illegible] attended her funeral [illegible] widow Rebecca [illegible] family of brothers [illegible] who has died in [illegible] get of the survivors [illegible] years. At Ch[illegible] Campbell [illegible] [illegible] Hen[illegible] [illegible]

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The horses drawing the Light Artillery of the enemy, are wanted for the service of the U. States. I will order TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS for each to be paid to the party who may take them.

I will also order FORTY DOLLARS to be paid for the arms and spoils of each savage warrior, who shall be killed.

Soldiers! You are amply provided for war. You are superior in numbers to the enemy. Your personal strength and activity are greater. Your weapons are longer. The regular soldiers of the enemy are generally old men, whose best years have been spent in the sickly climate of the West Indies. They will not be able to stand before you, when you charge with the bayonet.

You have seen Indians, such as those employed by the British to murder women and children, and kill and scalp the wounded. You have seen their dances and heard their yells. Can you fear [illegible]? You hold them in the utmost contempt.

VOLUNTEERS!

Disloyal and traitorous men have endeavored to dissuade you from doing your duty. Sometimes they say, if you enter Canada, you will be held to service for five years. At others they say that you will not be furnished with supplies. At other times they say, that if you are wounded, the government will not provide for you by pensions.

The just and generous course pursued by the government towards the Volunteers who fought at Tippecanoe, is mute but an answer to the last objection. The other is too absurd to deserve one.

Volunteers! I esteem your generous and patriotic motives. You have [illegible] on the altar of your country. You will not suffer the enemies of your fame to mislead you from the path of duty and honor, and deprive you of the esteem of a grateful country. You will shun the *example* of [illegible] who, having come within sight of the enemy, *basely* shrinks in the moment of trial.

Soldiers of every corps! It is in your power to relieve the honor of your country; and to cover yourselves with glory. Every man who performs a gallant action, shall have his name made known to the nation. Rewards and honors await the brave. Infamy and contempt are reserved for cowards.

Companions in arms! You came to vanquish a valiant foe. I know the choice you will make. Come on my heroes! And show you [illegible] the enemy's breasts, [illegible] dying would be [illegible] *Death!*

Head Quarters,

FALL and WINTER GOODS.

GROSVENOR & HEACOCK,

HAVE just received from New York, a good assortment of MERCHANDIZE, of the latest importations, consisting of

DRY GOODS,
GROCERIES,
HARDWARE and
CROCKERY,

Which will be sold for CASH.

Buffalo, Nov. 11, 1812. 7

STRAY HORSE.

BROKE into the enclosure of the subscriber, about 2 weeks ago, a brown Horse—8 or 9 years old, one white hind foot, a Saddle with Yoke and Bridle. The owner is desired to prove property, pay charges, and take him away.

BENJAMIN TYLER.

Clarence, 2d Nov. 1812. 9

STRAY OXEN.

CAME into the enclosure of the subscriber, about 2 weeks ago, a yoke of OXEN—one a dark brindle, the other a light red, with some white on the back, seven years old, [illegible] small [illegible]. The owner is requested to prove property, pay charges, and take them away.

AMOS SHEPPARD.

Buffalo, 4 mile Point,
Nov. 10, 1812. 3w.

STRAY LOCK.

BROKE into the enclosure of the last number, about a fortnight since, a bright bay HORSE, 9 or 10 years old, a star on the face, some white marks, dark mane & tail, has been nicked, one white hind foot, and about 15 hands high. The owner is requested to prove property, pay charges & take the Horse away.

EPHRAIM BARKER.

Buffalo, Nov. 10, 1812.

STRAY HORSE.

[illegible] 3 weeks since, a brown Horse, [illegible] years old, [illegible]

December 1, is reproduced in illustration 15 and 15 A. The following paragraph is especially worthy of note in view of the charges which Peter B. Porter made against General Smyth:

> The volunteers and neighborhood people were dissatisfied, and it has been in the power of the contractor's agent - Peter B. Porter to excite some clamor against the course pursued. He finds the contract a losing one at this time; and would wish to see the army in Canada, that he might not be bound to supply it.[26]

In the same issue of the Gazette we find a letter written by Peter B. Porter to the editor of the paper, which was very interesting:

> To the Editor of the Buffalo Gazette
>
> Sir - A friend has just handed me the proof sheet of your paper of this morning in which is contained what purports to be Gen. Smyth's official accounts of the affairs of the 28th of November and 1st of December.
>
> I beg that you will suspend the publication so long as to assure the public that in your next, I will give a true account of some of the most prominent transactions of those days.
>
> When our lives, our property: When the precious and dear brought gift of our ancesters - the sacred honor of our country: When every thing that we prize as men or ought to hold dear as patriots, are falling and fading before us, it is time to speak out, whatever be the hazard.
>
> In ascribing, as I shall not hesitate to do, the late disgrace on this frontier, to the cowardice of

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[26] Buffalo Gazette, December 8, 1812. See illustrations 15 and 15 A.

Buffalo,
Tuesday, December 8.

TO OUR PATRONS

We much regret the necessity of apologizing for sending our paper on a half sheet, but "half a loaf is better than no bread" in this country. We sent to Utica for 12 reams of paper, and the teamster returned with 4 only. The roads are so bad that the error cannot be corrected. We are however making arrangements for a regular & sufficient supply of paper. Having [illegible] most of our advertisements on a page, [illegible] the Gazette of this week will contain more interesting matter.

Official Despatch.

(COPY.)

CAMP, near Buffalo, 4th Dec. 1812.

SIR,

THE troops under my command having been ordered to put themselves for the winter, it becomes my duty to report to you the proceedings had here since I took the command on this frontier.

On or about the 16th October, I ordered that 20 scows should be prepared for the transportation of the artillery and cavalry and [illegible] the carpenters of the army on that duty.

By the 26th of November, ten scows were completed, and by [illegible] boats from Lake Ontario, the number was increased to seventy.

I had issued an address to the men of the state of New York, and perhaps 3000 volunteers had arrived at Buffalo. I presumed that the regular troops and the volunteers under Cols. Swift and M'Clure, would furnish 2500 men for duty; and of Gen. Tannehill's brigade, reporting a total of 1850, as many as 413 had volunteered to cross into Canada. I deemed myself ready to [illegible] 3000 men at *once* according to [illegible]

Preparatory thereto, [illegible] of the 27th November, I sent [illegible] under Lt Col. Bar[illegible] Capt. King, with [illegible] Navy, at the head [illegible] Lt. Angus, the [illegible], and a part of the troops returned with all the boats, while Capt. King, Capt Morgan, Capt. Sproul, Lieut. Watson, and about sixty men, remained [illegible] King, notwithstanding, with those

Recollecting your instructions "to cross with 5000 men *at once*;" and consult some of my principal officers in "all important movements;" I called for the field officers of the regulars and twelve month volunteers embarked. Col. Porter not being found at the moment, Capt Gibson was called as the most senior officer of artillery.

These questions were put. *Is it expedient now to cross over? Is the force we have sufficient to conquer the opposite coast?*

The first question was decided in the negative, by Colonels Parker, Schuyler, Winder, Lt. Colonels Bærstler, and Coles, and Major Campbell. Col. Swift of volunteers alone gave an opinion for *then* crossing *over*.

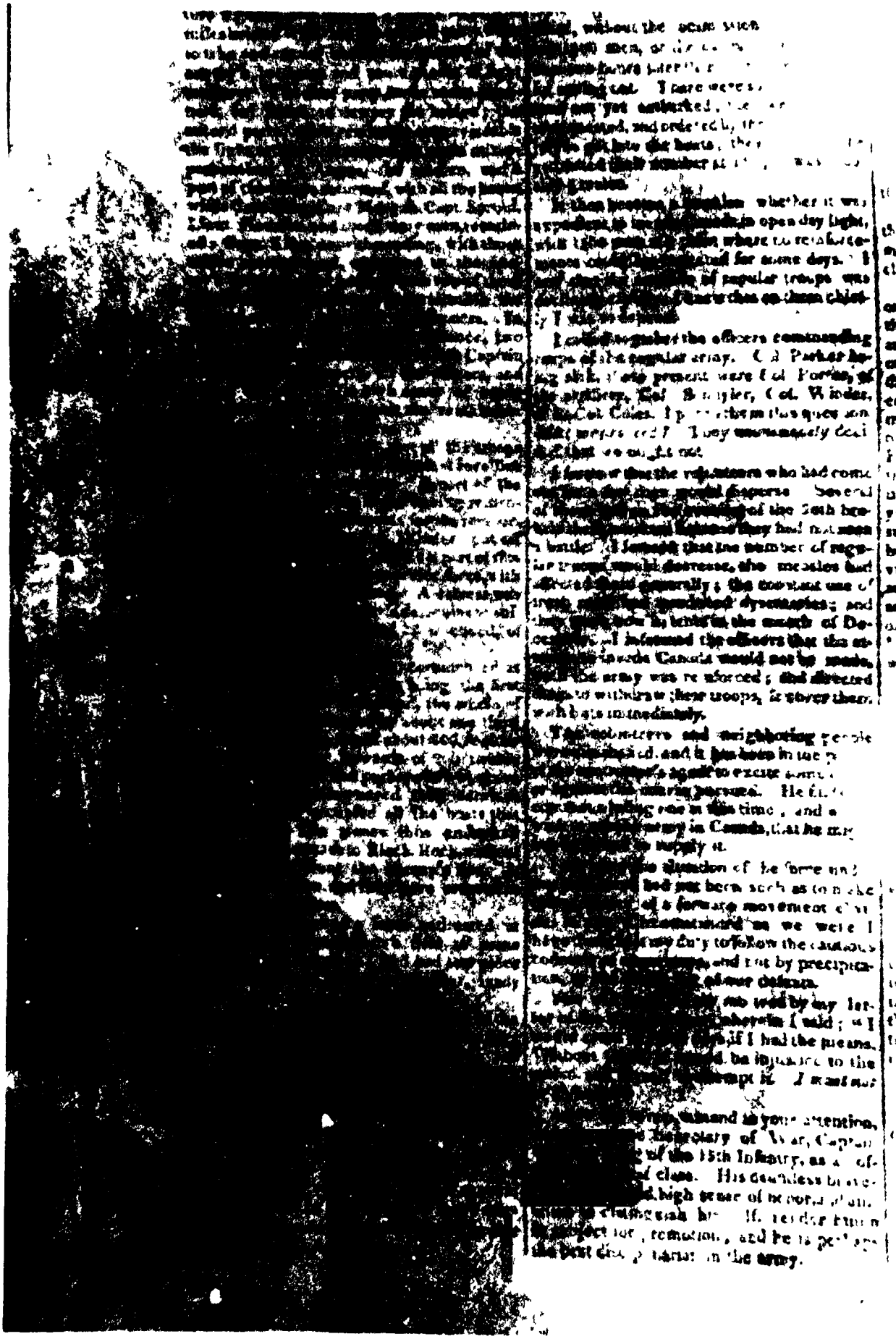
The second question was not decided.—Col. Parker, Col. Schuyler, Lt Col. Coles, and Major Campbell was decidedly of the opinion the force was insufficient. Col. Winder, Col. Swift, Lt Col. Bærstler, and Capt. Gibson deemed the force sufficient.

I determined on postponing crossing over until more complete preparation would enable me to embark the whole force at once, according to your instructions.

The next day was spent in such preparations; and the troops were ordered to be [illegible] at the place of embarkation at 8 o'clock [illegible] the morning of the 30th November. On their arrival they were sent into the adjacent woods, there to build fires, and remain until 5 o'clock in the morning of the 1st December, when it was intended to put off two hours before day light, so as to avoid the fire of the enemy's cannon, in passing the position which it was believed they occupied below; to land above Chippewa, assault that place, & if successful, march thro' Queenston, for Ft. George. The contractor was called on to furnish [illegible] for 2500 men for four days, which it was found he could furnish the pork, but not the flour. Sixty barrels were required, only thirty-five furnished.

The embarkation [illegible] was delayed by circumstances, so much so to be completed until day light, when it was found that the regular infantry 458 men, the artillery 177, Col Swift's regiment 230, six companies of federal volunteers amounting to 270 men, about 100 militia of Col. Dobbin's regiment, and a few men in a boat with Mr. P. B. Porter, contractor's agent, who was to pilot the enterprise, had embarked, the whole on board, without the regular[illegible] officers, being 1500 men [illegible]; and it was now two hours [illegible] time fixed on for setting out. There were some groups of men not yet embarked; they were applied to, requested, and ordered by the Brigade Major, to get into the boats; they did not: he estimated their number at 150; it was probably greater.

It then became a question whether it was expedient to invade Canada in open day light, with 1500 men at a point where no reinforce-



Gen. Smyth, I beg to be understood as not intending to implicate the characters of the officers whose opinions he has bro't forward to bolster up his conduct. Several of them I know to be as brave as over wielded as sword; and their advice, if indeed they gave the advice imputed to them, may be accounted for in the obvious consideration, with which every one who saw him must have been impressed that any military attempt under such a leader must, in all human probability, prove disgraceful.

Your very humble servant,
Peter B. Porter. [27]

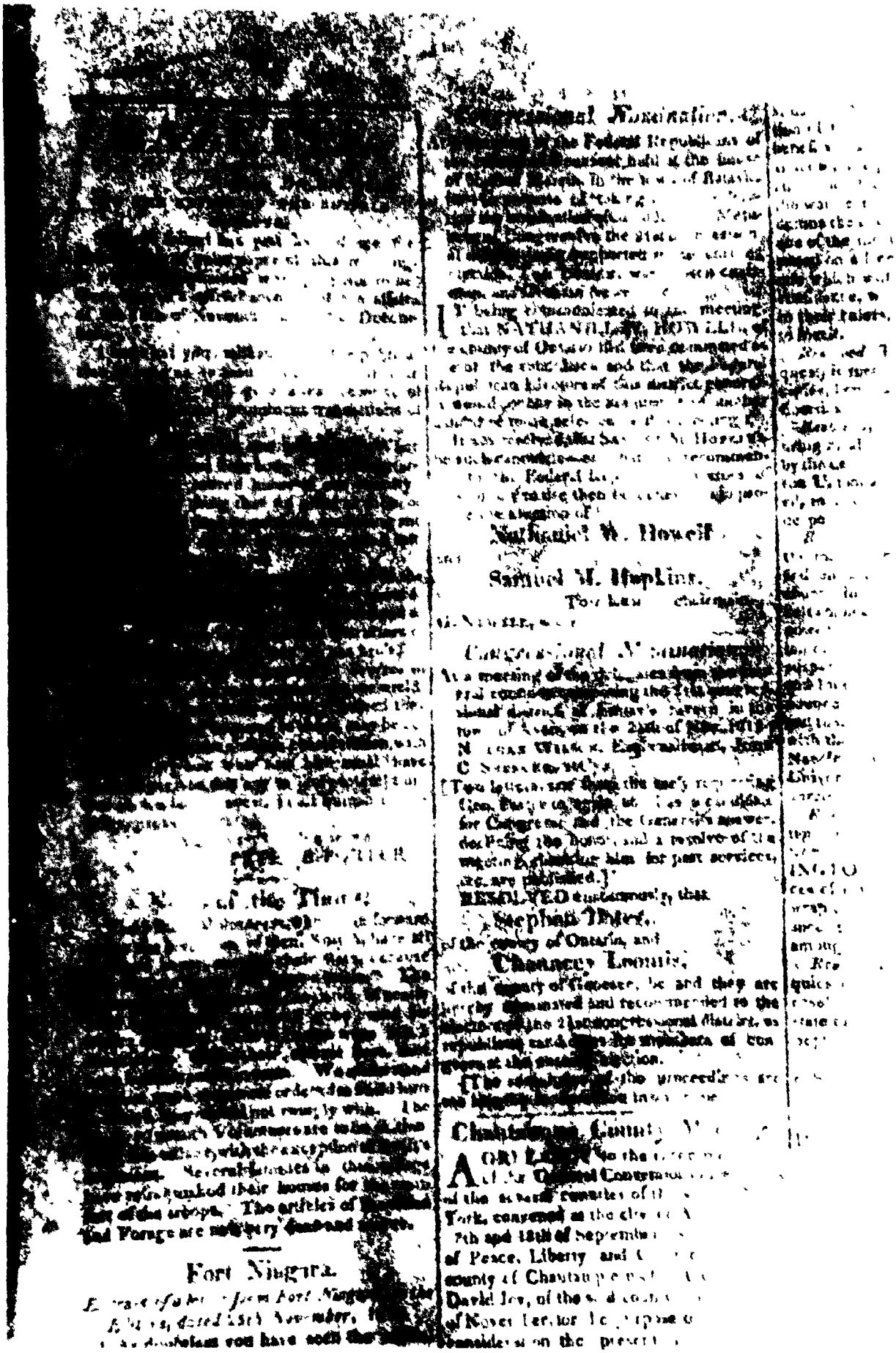
Below Peter B. Porter's letter to the editor of the Gazette we find an article headed, "Notes of the Times", which states that "The Militia Volunteers, who came forward under the invitation of Gen. Smyth, have all returned home, cursing their stars, because they had not seen, or felt a battle".[28]

In reply to Peter B. Porter's letter ascribing "the late disgrace on this frontier to the cowardice of General Smyth", the latter challenged his antagonist to a duel, which was fought on Grand Island without the loss of blood. The account of the duel is given in the December 15 issue of the Gazette, along with General Porter's version of the abortive attempts to invade Canada on November 28 and December 1, 1812. William H. Winder and Samuel Angus,

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[27] Buffalo Gazette, December 8, 1812. See illustrations 16.

[28] Ibid.



Fort Niagara.

official witnesses to the duel, give the following report on same:

> A meeting took place between General Smyth and Gen. Porter yesterday afternoon on Grand Island, in pursuance of previous arrangements.
>
> They met at Dayton's tavern and crossed the river with their friends and surgeons - both gentlemen behaved with the utmost coolness and unconcern - a shot was exchanged in as intrepid and firm a manner as possible by each gentleman but without effect. It was then represented by Gen. Smyth's second, that Gen. Porter must now be convinced that the charge of cowardice against Gen. Smyth was unfounded, and should, in honor, be retracted; which, after mutual explanations, as to the matters which had given rise to the charge, was accordingly done by him. General Smyth then explained, that his remarks on Gen. Porter, were the result of irritation, and were intended as provocatives, from having been assailed by Gen. Porter, and that he knew nothing derogatory to Gen. Porter's character as a gentleman and officer.
>
> The hand of reconciliation was then offered and received.
>
> We congratulate the friends of these gentlemen upon the fortunate termination of a difference, arising from too much precipitation, but which has been adjusted in a manner so honorable to both.
>
> Wm. H. Winder
> Sam'l. Angus. [29]
>
> Black Rock, Dec. 13, 1812.

On the same page we find the following under the heading, "Progress of the War":

> The latest accounts from Plattsburgh states, that the Northern Army, headed by General Dearborn, made a movement on the enemy's lines, when after some time

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[29] Buffalo Gazette, December 15, 1812. See illustration 17.

Printed and Published, at the Village of Buffalo, Niagara Co

VOL. II. NO. 12.] TUESDAY, DECEMBE

Buffalo,

Tuesday, December 15.

DUEL.

[We are happy to have it in our power to give the official account of the recent affair on Grand Island: it will tend to counteract the numerous falsehoods which are in circulation respecting the meeting... The challenge, we understand, was given by Gen. Smyth.]

A MEETING took place between Gen. SMYTH and Gen. PORTER yesterday afternoon on Grand Island, in pursuance of previous arrangements.

They met at Dayton's tavern and crossed the river with their friends and surgeons —both gentlemen behaved with the utmost coolness and unconcern—a shot was exchanged in as intrepid and firm a manner as possible, by each gentleman, but without effect. It was then represented by Gen. SMYTH's second, that Gen PORTER must now be convinced that the charge of cowardice against Gen. SMYTH was unfounded, and should, to honour be retracted; which, after explanations, as to the manner which had given rise to the charge, was accordingly done by him. Gen. SMYTH then explained, that his remarks on Gen. PORTER were the result of irritation, and were conceived as provocatives, from having been insulted by Gen [illegible] and that he knew nothing derogatory to Gen. PORTER's character as a gentleman and officer.

The hand of reconciliation was then offered and received.

We congratulate the friends of both gentlemen upon the [illegible] of a difference, arising [illegible] expectation, but which has [illegible] a manner to honorable to both [illegible]

[illegible]

Black Rock, Dec. 13, [illegible]

To the Publisher [illegible]

In the Gazette of the [illegible] give an account of some of the [illegible] first of December, [illegible] time, received from Gen. Smyth, newspapers, which, as a man of honor, I am bound to believe, that the course pursued by him on those days, was such as was required by his orders and instructions from the Secretary of War, & gen. Dearborn, this communication will assume a character quite different from the one [illegible]

and bayonets) and routed them in all directions: Captain Dox who took a distinguished a part in this affair was severely wounded.—After a hard and destructive engagement, the enemy were completely dispersed, the two field pieces spiked, and the house in which the enemy quartered fired, the seamen returned to our shore, bringing off their wounded and several prisoners. Out of 12 naval officers who embarked in this enterprize, nine of them with more than half their men, were killed or wounded. If bravery be a virtue—if the gratitude of a country be due to those who gallantly and desperately assert its rights, the government will make ample and honorable provision for the heirs of those brave tars who fell on this occasion, as well as for those who survived. Capt King proceeded to spike and dismount the guns in the batteries. Lt. Col. Barcular dispersed the enemy lower down the river, taking a number of prisoners.

By sun rise in the morning, most of the troops had arrived at the place of embarkation and the day was fine. I marched 340 of the volunteers who had rallied under Gen. Smyth's invitation, well armed and provided and in high spirits; about 150 more who came in the evening before were at Buffalo drawing their arms and ammunition, with orders to join us as soon as possible. I stationed my men as instructed by Gen. Smyth in a [illegible] on my right, with directions to wait for further orders. The parties who had crossed in the night aided by our [illegible] which, at day light opened a powerful [illegible] directed fire, and a piece of flying [illegible] on Grand Island under charge of Capt. [illegible] driven every thing from the opposite shore: Col. Winder an officer of great [illegible] and bravery, under the misapprehension that the party under Lt. [illegible] were in danger of being cut [illegible] an inadequate force, attempt (although [illegible] Grand Island) to land 250 men at a [illegible] point above the river, and [illegible] retreat [illegible] by General Smyth. The [illegible] now commenced, but it [illegible] steadily, that, at twelve o'clock, the [illegible] of the regular troops and Col. Swift's [illegible] were not in the battle. A considerable number of boats were lying on the [illegible] of the river and creek, having been [illegible] by the high water of the preceding [illegible] several were in the creek half filled [illegible] water and ice. I called on Gen. Smyth [illegible] and to occupy part of those boats with my volunteers, many of whom were impatient to embark. Being however at this moment informed by Col. Porter, that the boats which had been used by Col. Winder, were lying about a mile below, Maj. Chapin and myself, with about 20 men went down the shore brought up five boats, filled them with men, and arrived at Black Rock the point from which [illegible]

spent in manuevering and reconnoitering, returned to Plattsburgh: a part of the force to remain there, a part to winter at Burlington, and the remainder to return to the snug quarters at Greenbush, with General Dearborn. The efficient force of Gen. Dearborn is disputed - some letters put 10,000 men under his command while others allow him no more than 4 or 5000. The probability is, that the General foresaw that the army he was to contend with were veterans, and disposed to dispute every inch of their invaded territory - that his force was incompetent to pass the Rubicon - insufficient to overawe opposition - and not inpred to the toils, the sufferings, the dangers of a winter campaign, in a clime still more rigorous than that of our own country. Nothing more will be done in that quarter, until the spring opens on Lake Ontario, the complete success of the gallant Chauncey, seems doubtful; from what we can learn, he has captured only two British merchant vessels; the armed vessels kept out of his way.

Respecting our situation - that is not to be envied. Since the failure of the expedition, the citizens have been in constant alarm - some from the enemy - some from the fear of famine - and others from an epidemic disorder, said to be contagious. The superstitious, say "what the sword spares, the pestilence will destroy, and what pestilence spares, will be overwhelmed with famine". As to the enemy we do not believe their force sufficient to invade us; their policy hitherto has been defensive: the only thing we need fear from them, is retaliation - which might be effected by small parties of the enemy; and which might be prevented by a strong line of centinels on our most exposed coast. Lieut. Col. Baerstler, with a detachment of regulars, is stationed at Black Rock. While the roads remain in their present almost impassable state, there will unquestionably be a scarcity of provisions. Flour is now selling at 6 dollars per hundred. Butter at 2 shillings ans 6 pence per pound. The taverns and groceries are completely dried up. Even the whiskey distilleries are very hard run. The disease which has proved fatal to many of our citizens and very many of our soldiers, we hope is beginning somewhat to abate. Those volunteers who came out for a few days have suffered much, but the regular troops have suffered

more. Not accustomed to the steady fare of the soldier, or the solid ledging of tents, the new recruits and volunteers were much exposed to violent colds, &c.

Although Peter B. Porter's resentment toward General Smyth was apparently greatly tempered by the "affair of Grand Island", and his communication to the Gazette assumed a character quite different from the one first contemplated, the cudgel was taken up by Cyrenius Chapin, who had previously demonstrated his prowess as a controvertist in the "Battle of the Medical Societies". In the December 29th issue of the Gazette, we find the following contribution from Major Cyrenius Chapin:

To The Public

The disgraceful attempt of General Smyth to invade Canada has everywhere excited astonishment; and tho' much has been said and written respecting it, yet not statement has been laid before the public, calculated to make that impression which the public mind ought to feel. The official dispatch of Gen. S. is in many instances erroneous; and so far from being a dignified statement to facts, is but a pitiful attempt at personal abuse, containing little more than the suggestions of bumbled arrogance and pride...

The publication of General Porter contains with a few exceptions, a correct history of the most prominant proceedings of the army under Gen. Smyth, but many things are therein omitted which, ought to be known, in order to guide the public opinion, and enable those at a distance from the scene of action, to judge correctly of the conduct that was pursued...

---

[30] Buffalo Gazette, December 15, 1812. See illustration 18, 18A, 18B.

On the morning of the 27th, a party was ordered by Gen. Smyth to cross the river and storm the batteries of the enemy opposite to Black Rock. This was intended to have the effect of a suprise; but the boats had just got underway, when an alarm gun was fired from the opposite shore, and the expedition was abandoned...

The events that took place on the morning of the 28th at the time the enemy's batteries were stormed, and their cannon rendered useless, have been amply detailed in the publication of Gen. Porter; tho' from the official dispatch of Gen. Smyth it would be impossible to form any but an incorrect opinion of the brilliant achievement.

From a persual of it, one would suppose that Capt. King was alone entitled to the need of praise; and so far from giving due credit to the gallant tars who were concerned in the expedition, the manner in which he mentions them would induce a belief, that they basely fled in the moment of trial.

This gross misrepresentation on the part of Gen. Smyth doubtless arose from a pitiful desire to revenge himself on Lieut. Angus, who commanded the seamen, and who expressed his decided disapprobation on the conduct of the General, in the subsequent transactions of that day, the fact is that Lt. Angus had under his command about 40 seamen, including officers. Of these 37 were killed and wounded; and what is remarkable, not a single man of them was wounded except when fronting the enemy. From this the public can judge, with what bravery they encountered danger, and how little they merit the shameful treatment they have received from the hands of General Smyth.

Capt. Dox, too of the regular army, has not even the consolation to find his name mentioned in the official report of the General, tho' he was severely wounded. The moment he reached the hostile shore, and yet continued to fight with the most determined bravery until the object of the expedition was accomplished. He also disapproved of the measures of the General and this was his punishment.

At the time the cannonading commenced on that morning Gen. Smyth was comfortably lying in his bed, at his quarters, about 3 miles distant from the scene

[illegible] transactions of the 28th November and 1st of December." Having, since that time, received from Gen. Smyth, communications, which, as a man of honor, I am bound to believe, that the course pursued by him on those days, was such as was required by his orders and instructions from the Secretary of War, & gen. Dearborn, this communication will assume a character quite different from the one then contemplated. I am pledged, however, to the public to give facts, which I shall proceed to do without comment: leaving it to time to develop, the object of military movements which have appeared to me and others not only extraordinary but inexplicable.

On the 27th of Nov. there was collected at this point a military force of about 6,500 effective men consisting of regular troops, New York, Pennsylvania and Baltimore Volunteers, all under the command of General Smyth.

There were lying at the Navy Yard near Black Rock, which had been previously prepared for the purpose of transporting the troops across the river,

70 Public Boats calculated to carry 40 men each,	280
5 Long boats belonging to individuals but which had been taken into the public service, calculated to carry 100 men each,	500
10 Scows for artillery, and 25 men each,	250
Besides a number of small boats,	
	3,540

At two o'clock on that day I received a copy of Gen. Smyth's order for the march of all the troops, the succeeding morning at reveille, to the navy yard, to embark for Canada. I immediately gave orders for the New York volunteers who had been placed under my command, to parade at 4 o'clock in the morning at their encampment about one and an half miles from the navy yard. In the evening I learned from [illegible] Gen. Smyth's division which were to cross the river at 11 o'clock at night to attack the enemy's batteries at Black Rock. Gen. Smyth being here a stranger, Lieut. Angus had suggested to him the propriety of [illegible] the scope of his intended [illegible] until nearly daylight, to give us [illegible] possible, before the passage of the enemy's troops to collect [illegible] down the river. They had [illegible] the evening under a severe [illegible] and grape shot from two pieces [illegible] artillery. Lieut. Angus with [illegible] of sailors, assisted by Captain [illegible] of his party effected the [illegible] enemy [illegible]

and proposed to occupy [illegible] with my volunteers, many of whom were impatient to embark. Being however at this moment informed by Col. Porter, that the boats which had been used by Col. Winder, were lying about a mile below, Maj. Chapin and myself, with about 30 men, went down the shore brought up five boats, filled them with men, and arrived at Black Rock the point from which it was proposed to put off as soon as many of the regular troops. At about 2 o'clock all the troops which it appeared were intended to be crossed at first were collected in a group of boats at Black Rock under the cover of our batteries. I have seen no official account of the number of men in the boats. My opinion was that the number exceeded 2000. Most men of observation who were present estimated it at 2600. The men were in fine spirits & desirous of crossing.

Gen Lanchill's volunteers, Col. F. McClure's reg't, some riflemen, cavalry, &c. amounting to about 2,000 were still paraded on the shore, and, as I am informed, were ready to cross. Several boats of sufficient capacity to carry about 1000 men were still here at the navy yard unoccupied. I have not been able to learn that any order or request was made, for the embarkation of any of the troops other than the regulars and Col. Swift's regiment. The enemy estimated at about 500, were drawn up in a line about half a mile from the river.

After remaining in the boats till late in the afternoon, an order was received to disembark. It produced among the officers and men generally great discontent and murmuring, which was, however, in some degree allayed by assurances that the expedition was only postponed for a short time, until our boats could be better prepared.

On Sunday another order was issued by Gen. Smyth for the march of the troops to the navy yard, to embark at 9 o'clock, on Monday morning. I was at Buffalo when it was received, but found that it was generally, as it indeed deserved, disapproved by the officers of the volunteers. I saw Gen. Smyth, in the morning at Black Rock, with Col. Winder, and heard my objections to his plan. The enemy had remounted his guns on the batteries, so as to render it impracticable to cross at the favorable point which had been taken on Saturday, above mentioned that [illegible] navy yard. Immediately [illegible] the enemy lay in force, much [illegible] in consequence of the effort of Saturday, occupying a line of shore of about a mile, where the current [illegible] and the banks always. I did not [illegible] possible, to effect a landing with [illegible] any [illegible] order, if at all,

LO[illegible] GAZETTE.

of Buffalo, Niagara County, New York, by Smith H. & H. A. Salisbury.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15. 1812. [WHOLE NO. 64.

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many of whom were
Being however at this
Col. Porter, that the
ered by Col Winder,
Chase, Maj. Chapin
30 men went down

to the face of the flying artillery and infantry, which a full view of our movements in the day time would enable them to oppose to us. I proposed to postpone the expedition to night—to march and embark the troops silently—to put off about an hour and a half before day light, so as to pass this dangerous line of shore in the dark, when we should suffer little from their fire, and to land about five miles below the navy yard, where the stream and the banks of the river were peculiarly favorable to a safe and orderly landing. Col. Winder coincided my proposal with great earnestness & force; & it was adopted. The army was to embark at 3 o'clock on Tuesday morning & to proceed at half past four, according to the order of a line of battle submitted a few days before by Gen. Smyth—the regulars on the right, or in the front boats; Gen. Tannehill's troops in the centre, and the New York volunteers on the left. I was to go in the front boat with a chosen set of men, direct the landing, and join the New York volunteers on their arrival.

On Monday evening seven boats for col. Swift's regiment, and eight for the late volunteers, were brought some distance up the river and left at different points to avoid the noise and confusion of embarking the whole army at one place. At half past 3 on Tuesday morning, the eight boats were filled with volunteers (Col. Swift's regiment being higher up) and dropped down, taking their stations above the navy yard. On our arrival I found that about one half of the artillery (a corps which has, on every occasion while on the line, shown great exactness of discipline, promptitude and zeal for the service,) had embarked, and the residue were embarking. Not a man of the regular infantry was in the boats for a boat half an hour, when Col. Winder's regiment entered their boats with great order and silence.

About three quarters of an hour after this, the remaining regulars commenced the embarkation, when I dropped down to the front of the line, with a flag in my boat to designate it as the leading boat. I was accompanied by Majors Cyrenius Chapin and John W Macomb, Capt. Mills of the cavalry, Adjutant Chace and Quarter Master Chaplin, two pilots and about 25 volunteers from Buffalo, under Lieut. Haynes.

I mention the names of these gentlemen because they had the day before decidedly objected to passing at the proposed point by day light, but when day light appeared, and one of the men caused some difficulty on that

Progress of the War.

The latest accounts from Plattsburgh state, that the Northern Army, headed by General Dearborn, made a movement on the enemy's lines, when after some time spent in manœvring and reconnoitering, returned to Plattsburgh: a part of the force to remain there, a part to winter at Burlington, and the remainder to return to the snug quarters at Greenbush, with General Dearborn. The efficient force of Gen Dearborn is disputed—some *letters* put 10,000 men under his command—while others allow him no more than 4 or 5000. The probability is, that the General foresaw that the army he was to contend with were reserving and disputing to dispute every inch of their invaded territory—that his force was incompetent to pass the Rubicon—insufficient to overrun [illegible]—and not inured to the toils, the sufferings, the dangers of a winter campaign, in a climate still more rigorous than the [illegible] country. Nothing more will be done in the [illegible] ter, until the spring opens. On Lake Ontario, the complete success of the gallant Chauncey, seems doubtful; from what we can learn, he has captured only two British armed vessels; the armed vessels keep out of his way.

Respecting *our* situation—*that* is not to be envied. Since the failure of the expedition, the citizens have been in constant alarm—some from the enemy—some from the fear of famine—and others from an epidemic disorder, said to be contagious. The superstitious, say "what the sword spares, the pestilence will devour, and what pestilence spares, will be overwhelmed with famine." As to the enemy, we do not believe their force sufficient to invade us; their policy hitherto has been defensive: the only thing we need fear from them, is *retaliation*—which might be effected by small parties of the enemy; and which might be prevented by a strong line of centinels on our most exposed coast. Lieut Col Barstler, with a detachment of regulars, is stationed at Black Rock. While the roads remain in their present almost impassable state, there will unquestionably be a scarcity of provisions. Flour is now selling at 6 dollars per hundred. Butter at 2 shillings and 6 pence per pound. The taverns and groceries are completely dried up. Even the whiskey distilleries are very hard run. The disease which has proved fatal to many of our citizens and veterans, and of our soldiers, we hope is beginning somewhat to abate. Those volunteers who were out for a few days, have suffered much; the regular troops have suffered more. Not accustomed to [illegible] the usual lodging of tents, the new [illegible] volunteers [illegible]

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> of action. He arose and after delaying some time to enjoy the comforts of breakfast, he and his entire suite proceeded to the navy yard. During the whole way Gen. Smyth is said to have manifested every mark of fear; and strictly charged his attendants not to utter a single word.[31]

Partial reproduction of Cyrenius Chapin's attack on General Smyth appear in illustrations 19, 19A, and 19B. Another attack on General Smyth was in the form of a satirical verse which appeared in the January 5, 1813, issue of the Buffalo Gazette. (illustration 20 and 20A)

The end of General Smyth's career on the Niagara Frontier is indicated by the following short notice which appeared in the January 26, 1813, edition:

General Smyth at Home

> General Alexander Smyth has arrived at his residence in Wythe County, Virginia - The General prosecuted his journey with all possible expedition and secresy, prudently avoiding all the towns and villages where he would probably be exposed to insult and indignity.[32]

During the fall of 1812 and the following winter, there was a severe epidemic of what probably was influenza among the troops stationed here. The December 22, 1812, issue carried the following notice:

> The fever, which has made such dreadful havoc among our citizens, continues to rage. The physicians are taking unwearied pains to ascertain the character of

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[31] Buffalo Gazette, December 29, 1812.

[32] Ibid., January 26, 1813.

…at the navy yard ready to …the embarkation will take …— The General will be on horseback at … o'clock, and from will proceed to the …

… will be effected with much order and d… than yesterday— boats will be allowed to … brave volunteers. Fifty-one will go in each red boat; forty men in each white one. Apiece of artillery and caissons in each of the artillery men attached to them or to other corps.

Seats will be put in the boats to-day, and oars added to the long boats, each of which will carry fifty-two men. Boats will be provided this morning from the navy yard to-morrow. A field officer of each corps will attend to direct the preparations made, and the brigade majors to order. These will cause seats to be made, and other preparations.

The cavalry will mount at Kalorama heights at Rock creek bridge, and muster on the high ground.

While embarking the music will play martial airs. *Yankee Doodle* will be the signal to get under way.

The troops will act together, but with … respective to keep their … When we pull for … exertion will be made … may have been … by capt… that the enemy must be …

… will be … the United States … FIFTY … encouraging … passed away … on the … expectation … to enjoy … promised … held a … to … Dec… … … …

...at the Navy Yard, he found that ...Angles with most of his men had re... ...d in a few minutes after, Lt Col. ...ler with the infantry and several pris... ...arrived with information that the one... ...erica were taken and their cannon ... At this information General Smyth ... contain his joy. "Hazza" he ex... ...Canada's ours! Canada's ours!— ...ours! This will be a glorious day ...the United States." On being informed ... Capt. King was left behind, he ordered ... Winder to go with his regt. and bring ... over, but Col. ... that a sufficient force was ready to ... him, and ... ...immediately the ... ...and, ...

On that morning ... ...more than ... ...the shore, ...the night, ...de the landing place. Every heart beat ... with expectation—every bosom glowed ... with enthusiastic ardour, ...have brought ... ...enemy were ... ...batteries were silenced—their station harmless. A handful of our brave seamen and soldiers had taught them a lesson of terror. They had retired back from the point of attack, apparently uncertain what to do, or how to act. The day ... ...and every thing seemed favourable ... the Americans ... ...our standard ...

Instead of ... ...Gen. Smyth ... ...length, ...the passage ... ...hand ...

"The ... ...and 18 ... ...ordered ... ...being ... ...a contemptible ... ...have captured ... ...strong force.

... the scene of ... ...ere. The next day, the following ... ...excited a belief that Canada ...

It is impossible to describe the ... ...prevailed among the troops, at ... ...disgrace. Gen. Smyth prudently kept himself out of sight, or it is more than probable that he would have fallen a victim to their honest indignation. The soldiers ... ...came so under the proclamation ... ...were ordered to return ... ...sent home. The man who had betrayed them to disgrace, and ... ...conducting them to honor and glory, did not even tender them his own, or his country's thanks for their well meant services; neither did he ever render the most trifling assistance in their organization.

The following extracted letter from maj D..., aid to Gen. Porter, will serve to throw some light on the shameful conduct of Gen. Smyth.

"The Pennsylvania Volunteers became ... a few days after their arrival at Buffalo, dissatisfied with their situation. The long consultations of Gen. Smyth's interviews excited ... and combined with the combustible ... at this inclement season of the year, to produce in their minds the worst effects. For although nine tenths of the brigade, upon its arrival, would have cheerfully crossed over into Canada in defiance of danger, yet their canoes, added to the indisposition of their own General, prevented ... more than about four hundred and fifty from ... agreeable to a requisition made ... the night, that would cross ... with Gen. Smyth with an official ... ...brigade, and expressed my regret ... ...and volunteered; but the General ... ...that the weather was ... ...and the rest would be ready in [illegible] ... and would ... ...the enemy. [illegible] ... the order of the 28th ult. ... ...orders, I marched ... the navy yard with ... ...of infantry, ... by Major ... ...and ... ...Peter, Volunteers ... ...ob[illegible] ... ...ordered ... ...and ... ...would be ... ...place, ...more ...

...emoved ... ...present, were ... ...creased.

As to the ... ...barked ... ...called to ... ...cannot ... ...asserting ... ...Gen. Porter, or under ... ...been guilty of a gross ... ...for the volunteers under ... ...ed to at least 250, or ...

CLARK

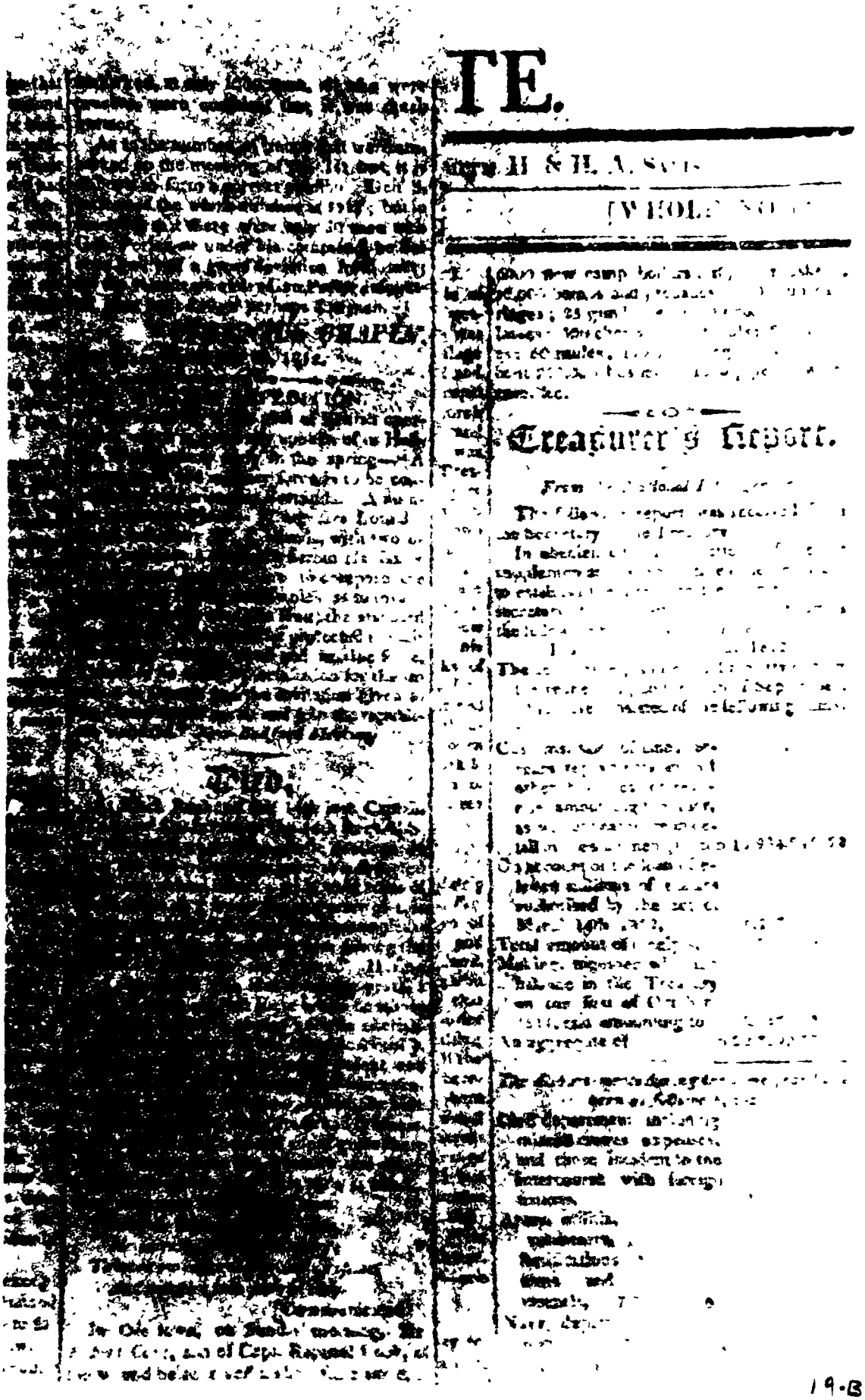
BUFFALO, December ...

BRITISH ...

The following is the ... ...ations which is generally ... ...fax, to take place early ... ...strong naval and military ... ...centered this winter ... ...ber of land regiments ... ...guiana and other W. I. ... ...three regiments of ... ...several (some English ... ...three (viz. 1,000 ... ...the north and north-west ... ...of rebellion. The ... ...having by exciting ... ...This is to be done ... ...Canada and ... ...the Canadians to ... ...can produce." ...

...

At Black Rock, on ... ...Beaver Steamer, ...ry. With that ... ...pay the last ... ...much valued friend ... ...lamentation of ... ...ers and citizens ... ...



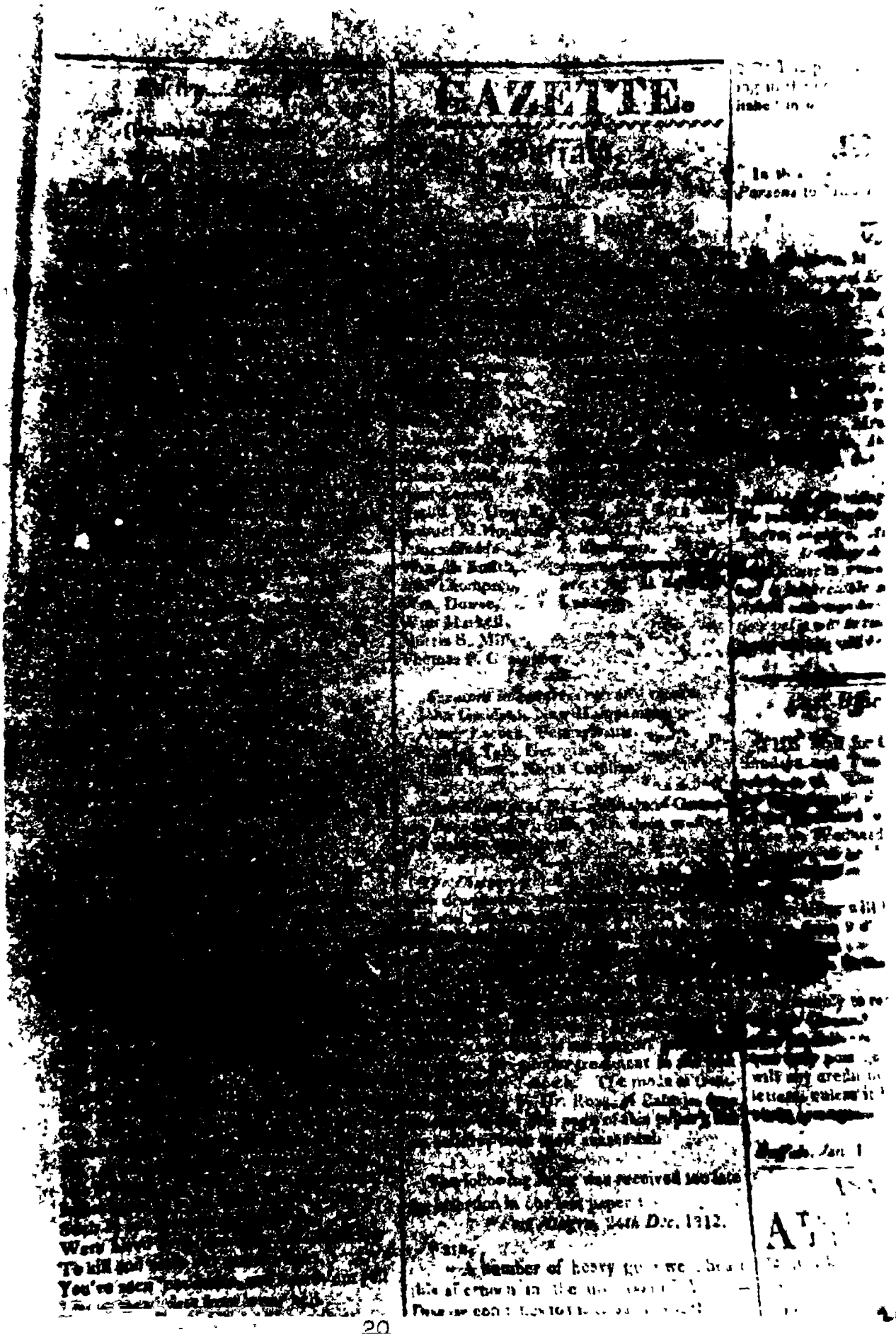
TE.

H & H. A. Sa[illegible]

[WHOLE] [illegible]

Treasurer's Report.

19-B



We'll "mow" or push "down opposition,"
Indians you've seen, these Royal Lions,
Such as our president [illegible]
Were hired by [illegible]
To kill and scalp our [illegible]
You've seen 'em [illegible]
Like drones, [illegible]
Can [illegible] from [illegible]
You look on in complete contempt,
Upon Volunteers: to camp you've gone,
Under my *great shield*, number one.
Traitorous men, disloyal too,
Your duty would not have you do,
They tell you, if you cross the river,
I'll hold you there to fight *forever*.
But no such thing; you need but fight
So long as *I* shall think, is *right*.
Sometimes they tell you, you'll all starve;
What rascals! there are pigs to carve
In Canada, my sturdy boys,
And [illegible] and other joys
In great abundance, you know, here
Such things are very scarce and dear.
They tell you too, if you are shot,
Your government will let you rot
E'er they your families will give
One [illegible] wherewith to live.
[illegible] *just*, I tell you,
[illegible] has befal you,
[illegible] attention due,
Like those that fought at Tippecanoe.
I love your motives, generous, high,
You come not here to fight for pelf;
[illegible] country's [illegible]
[illegible] you're honor [illegible]
[illegible] *pocket full*,
Would bring you to the through *the mud*.
Your enemies do tell you lies;
[illegible] of the glorious prize
The which your [illegible] your country's praise
[illegible] the eyes of [illegible] days.
[illegible] you [illegible] advises you,
Be brave, and I'll immortalize you.
But *infamy* instead of glory,
Will cover you, in future story,
If, when in *sight* of foes you've come,
You *basely shrink*, and run off home.
SOLDIERS OF EVERY CORPS,
Brave friends,
On you the nation's fame depends.
Its character's disgraced 'tis true,
But it shall be [illegible]
Fight like the sons of Ma[illegible],
And glorious favors shall be [illegible] you
Each one who [illegible] in a strife,
I will make known to a [illegible] nation
But him with *fame* I'll cover,
Who *conquer'd* [illegible]
You've [illegible] to fight a variant foe,
[illegible]ough I told you [illegible]
They were [illegible] and [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[

the disease and prescribe an effective remedy for it. Bloodletting is generally fatal in violent cases.[33]

Again in the edition of January 5, 1813, the editors wrote thus:

> The disease, which it was expected would have disappeared upon the setting in of winter, still continues to rage, but less violent and destructive. The eastern countries are not exempt from its influence. At Plattsburg, at Burlington, and other places on the northern lines, the mortality has been dreadful; 80 have died in one night. The physicians in this quarter, are decidedly of the opinion, that there is no danger, providing the patient has proper treatment in the first few moments of the attack. The mode of treatment adopted by Dr. Ross, of Batavia, has been most successful.[34]

Doctor Ross stated that "bloodletting I believe is rarely if ever proper". However, most physicians disagreed with him on this point, and in a reply to Doctor Ross which was printed in the Gazette, Doctor Usher Parsons stated:

> I am led to disagree with you on the propriety of laying aside bloodletting...
>
> In some patients the pulse after the first bleeding being very low detered me from repeating the operation, although the pain and the difficult respiration returned. These cases terminated fatally, and in reflecting upon them I am pained with the belief, that had the use of the lancet been repeated, as often as the distressing symptons returned, the life of every patient might have been saved.[35]

The usual treatment must have been extremely debilitating, to say the least. Judging by the treatment prescribed by Doctor Tim'y Morely, whose letter was printed

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[33] Buffalo Gazette, December 22, 1812.

[34] Ibid., January 5, 1813.

[35] Ibid.

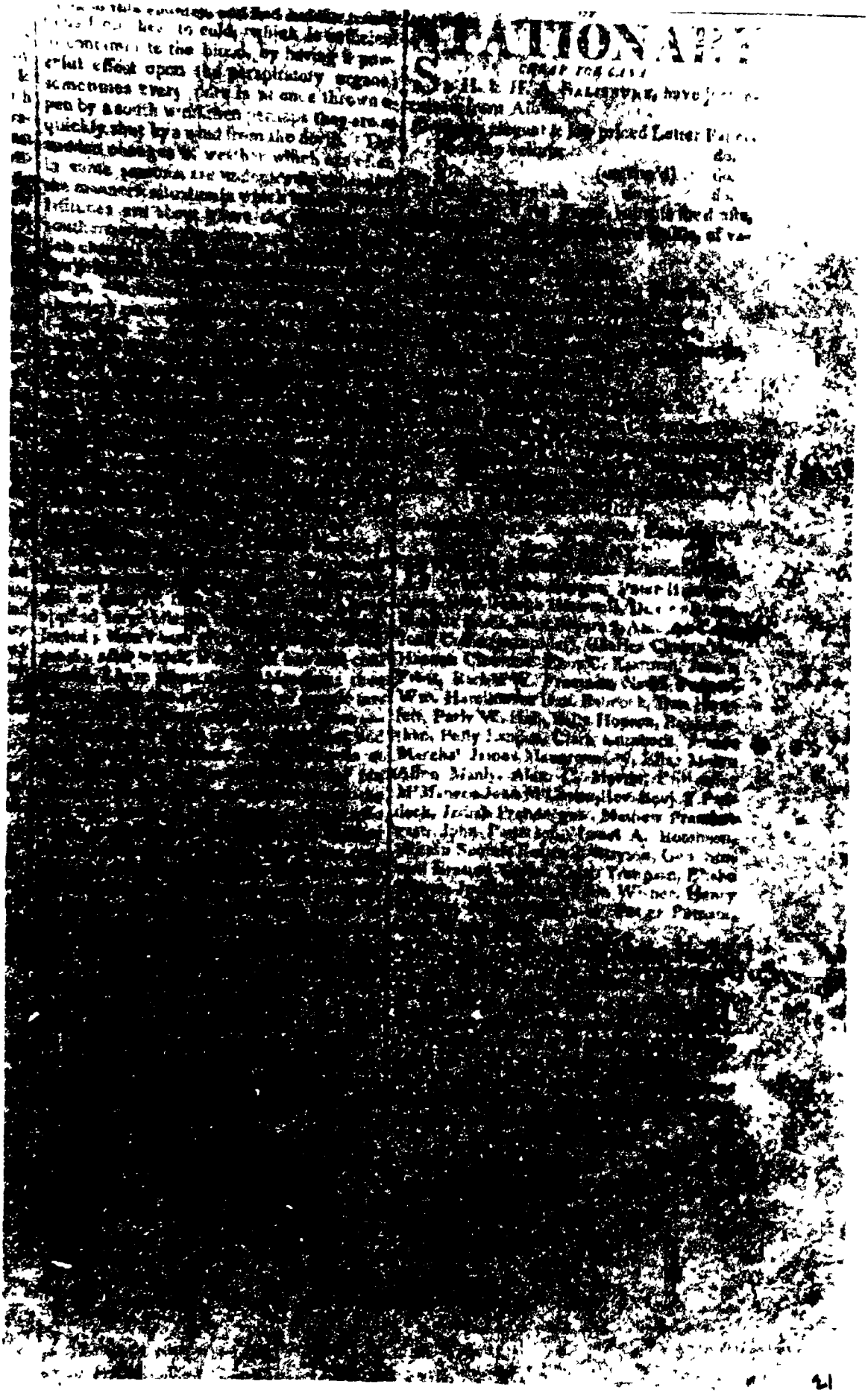
in the February 9th issue and which is reproduced in illustration 21, a victim of"Buffalo Fever", as it was often referred to, had a better chance for recovery if he were spared the ministrations of well meaning medical gentry.

> Respecting the treatment of the present calamity on this frontier, I have but merely this to observe, that in the first stage I have applied large blisters over the part most affected; then I have given a large dose of calomel; after which, if the pain has still continued, I have taken a small bleeding; then I have made use of a solution of emetic tartar, to which I have added a little opium:- this compound given in such quantities, and often enough to produce a little sickness at the stomach, or gentle perspiration for ten or twelve hours, will generally decrease the pain very much, if not entirely throw it off: if not, another small bleeding, and another dose of calomel, may be necessary; then continue the solution and perhaps give diuretics, warm baths, (which I conceive may be made use of from the first attack,) and pukes to young children; then it may be necessary to bleed again, &c. until the inflammatory diathesis has about subsided. Then patients will bear in moderate doses, tonics or stimulants, such as the colomba, acid of vitrol, camphorated spirits, brandy, &c. The best and safest to commence with is the colomba. In the above practice with some necessary variations, I have lost but 5 patients out of nearly 50 cases. However, I claim nothing new.
>
> Tim'y Morley.[36]

By the end of February the epidemic had somewhat subsided.

---

[36] Buffalo Gazette, February 9, 1813.



Health of the Troops

Sir,

To correct an erroneous opinion which has been received by the public, of the fatality of the discase which has prevailed among our troops, I am induced to give you for publication, an abstract of the sick and wounded which have been received into the general hospital at Buffalo, during the months of January and February.

Abstract

Received from			
5	reg. U.S. Infantry		52
13	do.		27
12 & 20	do.		48
23	do.		12
2	reg. Artillery,		3
1	Light do.		9
	Volunteers,		8
			159
Discharged		69	
Died		11 — 80 total.	

Remaining in hospital 79 many of whom are convalescent.

H. Van Hoevenbergh,
Asst. Hospital Surg.[37]

The exploits of our armies in the Western Frontier had been disappointing up to this time. It remained for Perry's victory on Lake Erie to bolster the morale of our local inhabitants. The first notice of Perry to be taken in our local paper was by means of the following inauspicious announcement on March 30, 1812:

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[37] Buffalo Gazette, March 2, 1813. See illustration 22.

GAZETTE.

Buffalo,

Tuesday, March

FROM OFF THE CONSTITUTION

[illegible] Register, Esqr. of Philad[illegible]

[illegible] February 19, [illegible]

Another Splendid Naval Victory.

From the Daily Gazette, Feb. 17.

On Monday evening arrived the fast sailing U. States frigate CONSTITUTION, Commodore BAINBRIDGE. Mr. Hadlow, Purser, came to town, and was the bearer of the following information of another BRILLIANT NAVAL VICTORY.

On the 29th December last, 18, N, S [illegible] W. [illegible] about 200 leagues from [illegible] the Constitution [illegible] CAPTURED, the British [illegible] Java, [illegible] Lawrence, [illegible] This ship [illegible] which [illegible] made a complete wreck [illegible] and suffered so much [illegible]

[illegible] Commodore has [illegible] killed and [illegible] the Java had also been killed, who [illegible] assuming the latter [illegible]

[illegible] mounted 49 [illegible] thirty-two [illegible] over [illegible]

[illegible] and mus[illegible] which would [illegible] Lawrence [illegible] which latter [illegible] unmanageable wreck.

"All the officers and [illegible] taken in the Java, were paroled by Commodore Bainbridge and landed on the 3d of January, at St. Sal

Health of the Troops.

To the Editor of the Buffalo Gazette.

Sir,

To correct an erroneous opinion which has been received by the public of the fatality of the disease which has prevailed among our troops, I am induced to give you for publication, an abstract of the sick & wounded which have been received into the general hospital at Buffalo, during the months of January and February.

ABSTRACT.

Received from		
5 reg. U. S. Infantry		52
13	do.	27*
19 & 20	do.	48
23	do.	12
2 reg.	Artillery,	3
1	Light do.	9
	Volunteers,	8
		159
Discharged	69	
Died	11—	80 total

[died & discharged.

Remaining in hospital 79 many of whom are convalescent.

H. VAN HOEVENBERGH,

Asst. Hospl. Surg.

* 25 of whom were wounded.

[From the above statement of Dr. Hoevenbergh it appears that the sickness among the troops has almost entirely ceased: and from the small number of deaths, it also appears that Dr. H's mode of treatment has been very successful.]

Paris papers have been received at New York to Dec. 20, which place the fact of Bonaparte's arriving at Paris, beyond a doubt. [illegible] of the Senate and Bonaparte's [illegible] will be published next week. N. [illegible] travelled from Munich to Paris [illegible] of more than 1200 miles, within [illegible]

[illegible] a sleigh loaded with [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] and being [illegible] "sovereign," popped over to the [illegible] Whom the *Tea* and *[illegible]* [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

> Last week Capt. Perry, of the U.S. Navy, lately commanding at Newport, R.I. arrived in this village, on his way to Erie, Pa., to superintend the completion and fitting out a naval force at that place. The Captain we understand, will command the American Force on Lake Erie the ensuing summer.[38]

After Perry's arrival at Erie, Pennsylvania, there was an increase in activity at that place as reported in the Gazette for April 13, 1813, which read as follows:

> A number of ship carpenters passed throu' this place some time since for the navy yard at Erie (Presqu' Isle). Last week several sailors also passed this village for the same place. Ship carpenters and sailors recently passed Pittsburg, destined for Erie.
>
> It is stated that a body of 400 to 500 seamen and marines will be collected at Erie in a short time. Several sailors stationed at the Rock, have departed for that place. We understand that the remainder are ordered for Sackett's Harbor.[39]

On July 27, 1813, the following article was carried by the Gazette, pertaining to our Navy:

> Three of our armed schooners have arrived at Fort Niagara, which brought up between 200 and 300 sailors, who passed here on Friday last, to enter on board Commodore Perry's squadron at Erie. It is said that the British fleet have gone to Kingston, and that our fleet is now out. This probably is only a manuevre of the enemy to get our fleet divided, so that they may take it piece meal.[40]

It was very gratifying to read the news of Perry's Naval victory which appeared in the September issue of the

---

[38] Buffalo Gazette, March 30, 1812.

[39] Ibid., April 13, 1813.

[40] Ibid., July 27, 1813.

Naval Victory!

HORRID MURDER.

On Monday last the body of an infant was found buried in a [illegible] in the city of this village. Suspicion fell on a girl by the name of [illegible] who was taken into custody. A jury of inquest was called and after a long examination of evidence, brought in a verdict of wilfull murder, committed by the said Maria. The child was strangled in a shocking manner, its skull and jaw bones were broke, and the right eye [illegible] from its socket; besides several wounds in different parts of the body, apparently given by the spade in [illegible]

On Tuesday afternoon the said Maria was committed to jail to await her trial for the horrid crime of barbarously murdering her own child. She acknowledges the child and the manner of it in the woods, but denies that she murdered it, and says that it was still born. *N. Federalist*

During the present week about 1000 Kentucky Volunteers have passed through this town on their way to the N. Western Army. They are remarkably well [illegible] and in high spirits, and anxious to meet the enemies of their country. In addition to the above, three regiments of our battalion of Ohio militia have been ordered out, which will increase our force to about 12,000 men. *Lib. Hall*

PUBLIC COMMENCEMENTS.

At Bowdoin College (province of Maine) on the 10th instant, six young gentlemen received the degree of bachelor of arts, and five that of master.

At Yale College, New Haven, on the 11th inst. 60 young gentlemen received the degree of bachelor of arts, and 14 that of master.

At Brown University, Providence, R. I. on the 7th inst. 55 young gentlemen received the degree of bachelor of arts, and 10 that of master. The honorary degree of doctor of laws was conferred on James Burrill, jun. Esq. of Providence, and that of doctor of divinity on the Rev. Tillotson Bronson, of the above Univ. and on the Rev. Moses Stewart, biblical professor in the Theological Institution at Andover.

On Wednesday last the [illegible] commencement of Middlebury College. The weather was fine, the audience large, and [illegible] would do honor to any literary institution on the continent.

Twenty-nine young gentlemen received the first honors of [illegible] all of whom [illegible] the ornaments of their country. The trees are now engaged in [illegible] new College, 3 tiers of stone [illegible] in length, and four stories high.

Counterfeiters

At a court of over & terminer and general gaol delivery, held in and for the county of Dutchess, on Tuesday last, at which court his honor Smith Thompson presiding, the following persons were convicted of the crime of passing or having in their possession large sums of counterfeit money on various banks of this state and the United States.

Egbert Van Wagenen late of Mount Pleasant county

Titus Andrews do.

Eph. Pratt, Joseph Pitcher, jr. & Wm. Van Vleck, all of this county

Abram Swan, late of Vermont

Benj. late Boston late of the state of New Hampshire, & another of the [illegible]

On Friday morning they were arraigned at the bar and after an appropriate address from the Judge on the nature of their crimes, each received the following sentence.

William Van Vleck to the state prison at hard labor for [illegible] years.

Titus Andrews to [illegible] years.

Benj. Swan [illegible] years.

Van Wagenen, Pitcher, Swan and Pratt each 21 years.

The above are all men of families.

The remains of the late [illegible] were brought to Poughkeepsie and [illegible] by some members [illegible] Wednesday last.

Gazette (See illustration 23 for the reprint). However, Perry's official account of the battle appeared in the paper dated October 5th. (reproduced in illustration 24 and 24A).

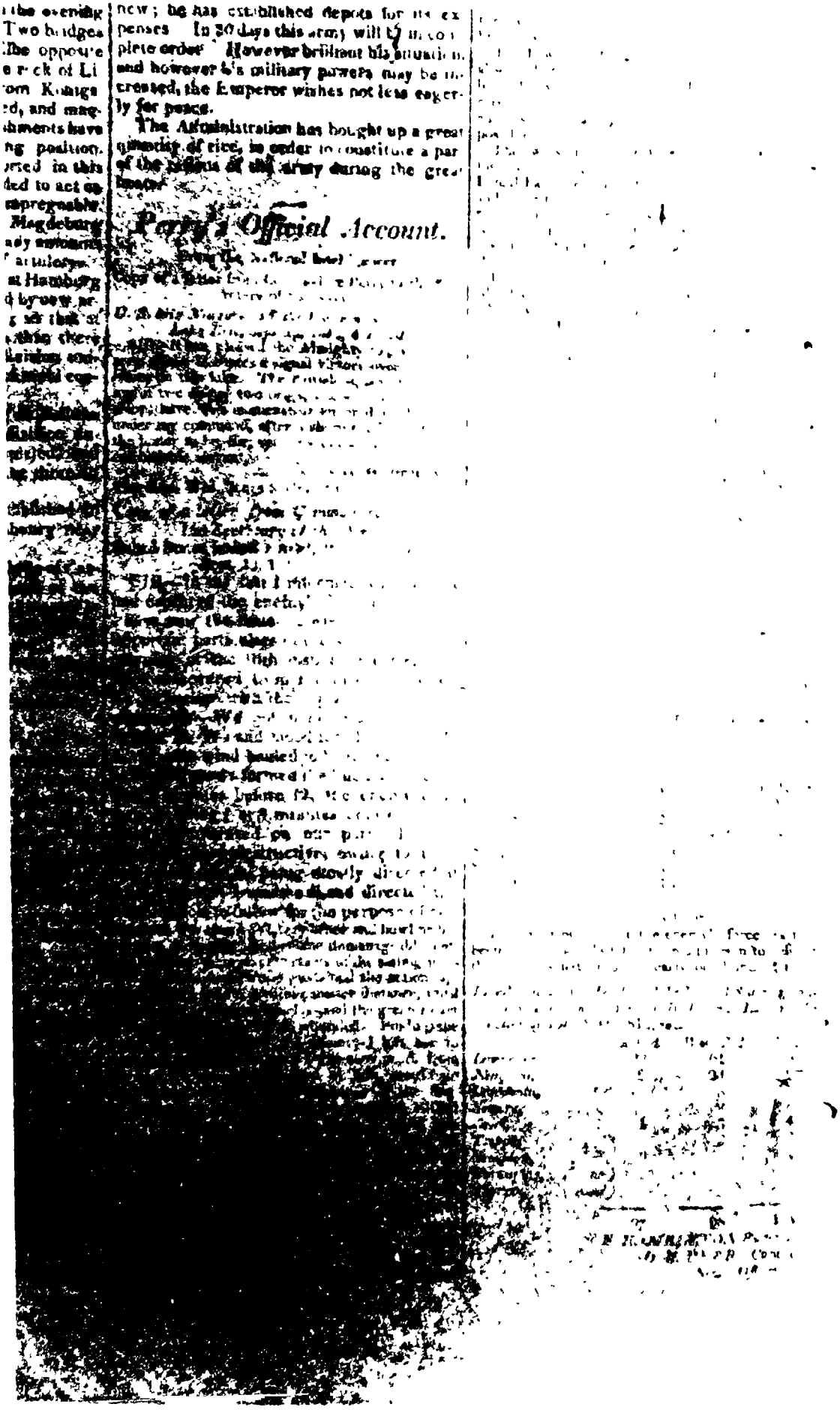
In the meantime, our armies had attained a certain amount of success in Canada. News of the evacuation of Forts George and Erie by the British is shown in Reproductions (25 and 25A). The notice of the evacuation of Fort Erie went as follows:

Evacuation of Fort Erie

> About 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, an express arrived at Fort Erie from the British commander below. It is understood that the express brought orders for all the regulars to march immediately down to join Gen. Vincent on his retreat - and also, for Major Warren (of the militia) to open a fire upon Black Rock and continue the same until the next morning, and then burst his guns blow up the magazines, and dismiss his men. He exceented his orders. The batteries below the fort immediately opened a fire upon Black Rock, which was returned, and continued at intervals, during the night. Early in the morning, the destruction of their military stores commenced; all their magazines, all their barracks, public stores and store houses, from Chippewa to Point Abino, have been blown up or burned.
>
> Not a person was injured at the Rock during the whole cannonade. The barracks and several private buildings received a few shot.
>
> In the evening of Friday, Lt. Col. J.P. Preston, commandant at Black Rock, crossed over with his regiment, and entered Fort Erie. From the humane and salutary measures, adopted by Col. Preston on his entrance into the enemy's territory, in diseriminating between friends and enemies, and securing those well disposed in their persons and property, we anticipate that he will be very favorably received by the inhabitants of Canada.[41]

---

[41] Buffalo Gazette, June 1, 1813.





river above Fort George, to prevent the escape of the enemy, but all had made good their retreat, except a few who had been left to show up the American colors. Two small magazines were blown up a short time after which their principal magazine shared the same fate. Those men left in the Fort were taken and sent to Fort Niagara. Part of the army entered Ft. George, the British flag was taken down and the American flag substituted in its place, amidst the acclamations of thousands.

From an early hour in the morning until the British retreated, Fort Niagara and the batteries opened a most tremendous cannonade upon Fort George and the British batteries and literally demolished them. The two schooners Growler and Ontario, anchored in the mouth of Niagara river and played upon the Fort and batteries with much effect.

The enemy were commanded by Gen. Vincent, their forces were estimated at 5000, regulars and militia. We understand that they retreated to the Beaver Dams for the first night, (about 20 miles from Queenston.) It is reported, that [illegible] with a considerable [illegible] part of the enemy.

The loss on the part of the British is [illegible] reported; we believe, however, it will be not far from 30 killed and dangerously wounded. The enemy's loss was much greater.

The village of Newark was entirely [illegible] the inhabitants. The public [illegible] were reduced to ashes.

[illegible] Gen. Lewis [illegible] ship during the landing.

Three companies of Light Dragoons, under Captains Bird and [illegible] were encamped in this village last [illegible] night, south of Fort Niagara, and crossed the river, on the day of the [illegible].

We do not learn that any private dwellings were destroyed at Newark.

The following [illegible] written on the day of the [illegible] the British [illegible] action we [illegible] Fort George [illegible] the Americans [illegible]

The prisoners mail of the [illegible] that not being in a hurry to leave; but we learn reliably from the mail carrier that before [illegible] left Missouri, he had concluded all [illegible] with Gen. Harrison for his [illegible].

In the early part of last week, two of the enemy's armed ships left the Mouth, and were [illegible] anchored off Erie a day or two, and on Thursday last, made their appearance off Point Abino, 12 miles above Buffalo. They remained there until they ascertained the result of the battle at Newark, when they disappeared beyond the Point and have probably gone to Amherstburg.

[illegible]

[illegible] FOR CANADA.

The Commissioners at Fort Erie, finding [illegible] military measures necessary to enforce the [illegible] deem it necessary to order a [illegible] do declare, that all those who may come forward and enrol their names with and [illegible] the protection of the U. States, shall have their property and persons secured [illegible] All [illegible] who refuse to [illegible] shall [illegible] from the enjoyment of [illegible] and [illegible] them that their property [illegible] Government of the United States [illegible] those who may [illegible] that they are [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] of relations with the enemies of the American [illegible] with [illegible] of the British [illegible]

[illegible] Lt. Col. [illegible] Lt. Col. [illegible]

[illegible] Aug. [illegible]

[illegible] Lieut. [illegible] Regt. [illegible] while bearing a flag [illegible] given, to Col. [illegible] the [illegible] of Mo[illegible] [illegible] night on the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Although the Americans retained possession of Fort George until December, they by no means had undisputed control of the surrounding territory, and frequent skirmishes are mentioned in Buffalo Gazette. The July 20, 1813, issue gives an account of the capture by the British on June 24 of a force of over 500 men under the command of Lt. Col. Bearsteer, together with 44 militia men under Major Cyrenius Chapin. Under the terms of the capilulation, the militia men were to be paroled on condition that they did not resume fighting. This, according to military records of that time, was the usual procedure in dealing with militia captives. However, Major Chapin and his men were detained without parole until they managed to make good their escape on July 12.

The British made their first attempt at the invasion of Black Rock on July 11, 1813, according to the articles reproduced in illustrations 26 and 26A.

In the edition of Tuesday November 23, 1813, was found the following news item:

> Col. Chapin has received a discharge from the services of the United States, agreeably at his request. He was returned from Fort George, with most of the volunteers under his command, who we are informed, will be shortly discharged.[42]

---

[42] Buffalo Gazette, November 23, 1813.

Buffalo Gazette.

TUESDAY, JULY 13, 1813.

Meigs and Mable's will be drawn [illegible] few days. One or the other of [illegible] treves must fall, and that shortly. While we look with considerable anxiety towards the approaching conflict, we [illegible] not for a moment entertain a doubt as to the result. Such troops as those composing the North-Western Army, led on by Harrison, and impelled by an ardent desire to revenge the wrongs their country has sustained, as well as the barbarous conduct of an unprincipled foe must ever [illegible] successful. They regard any thing as equal of numbers. We hope that the reinforcements which are on their way to the frontier will be enabled to reach the place of rendezvous, and to concentrate themselves before the enemy strikes his appointed blow, which when done, they will undoubtedly give a good account of them.

Since the above was in type, we have been politely favored with the following extract of a letter from a gentleman in Fort Meigs, to his brother in this place, dated,

Miami Rapids, June 23, 1813.

"We have just arrived from Detroit, on a Kentucky prisoner, who made his escape from the Indians at Saganaw, and the other a Pennsylvania, report, that the British have received a reinforcement of Indians, together with 4,500 regulars from Fort Niagara, and intend again to attack this fort. Their force, the men say, according to the information received, amounts together to 6,000 men. We have, as I wrote before, the fullest confidence in our ability to maintain our ground, until our reinforcements shall arrive. The officers and men are in high spirits, and every disposition to aid and will [illegible] to give the enemy a handsome reception."

[illegible], June 26.

The [illegible] that brig [illegible] Mary's (eighteen guns) [illegible] with provisions for the Upper Lakes, arrived at Fort Meigs on the 20th inst. within 4 or 5 rods of the Fort the [illegible] boat being prepared, the Indians, in the act of going for it, fired upon the Indians; two of the boats out of three were killed and scalped, and the other missing—their names were Hendrick Long and [illegible]—a party of the Indians [illegible] observing the Indians some distance, but did not come up to them.

[illegible] about 200 of his regiment [illegible] on the 6th inst on an expedition to Mishart, (he believes where the [illegible] was my informant) he would be

---

100 DOLS.

LO[illegible] Red Morocco [illegible] Orders in twenty days), a commission [illegible] city's, and several [illegible] out to the owner [illegible] some worn and [illegible] Book, Lieut. G[illegible] turn the Pocket Book [illegible] where it may be had [illegible] obtain the same, will receive the above reward [illegible] can be left at [illegible] of the Buffalo Gazette.

H. H[illegible]

July 12th, 1813.

JOTHAM [illegible]

ALL persons indebted to JOTHAM [illegible] burgh, deceased, are [illegible] settle the same, on or before [illegible] Aug. next; and those having demands against said estate are [illegible] to call for adjustment.

ASENA [illegible]
SAMUEL [illegible]

Hamburgh, 10th July, 1813.

N.B.—Persons having [illegible] session, delivered to the [illegible] are requested immediately, or suffer [illegible]

IS hereby given that the Executors of the Last will and Testament of Kelsey, deceased, have [illegible] immediately, or as [illegible] shortly.

[illegible]

Buffalo, July [illegible]

In the next issue of the paper under the heading of "The Corrector Corrected", he gives his version of what happened in a skirmish in the vicinity of Fort George in which he had been engaged on October 6th. A few weeks later we find the name of Cyrenius Chapin once more in the news in the following notice:

> A Volunteer Corps is organized in this village, for the purpose of defending it against marauding parties of the enemy; Cyrenius Chapin, Captain, William Hull, First Lieut., John Sackrider, 2nd. Lieut.[43]

The same number of the Gazette, that of Tuesday December 14, 1813, carried the following information:

> Fort George Evacuation and Newark Burnt! .
>
> On Friday last, Gen. McClure evacuated Fort George, blew up the magazines and burnt the fort. The village of Newark was ordered to be burnt and in the evening it was fired, and we understand every house was consumed.
>
> We have no official particulars of the above distressing intelligence; but have our information from gentlemen who witnessed the awful conflagration. Newark was formerly a fine flourishing village, and commanded the most beautiful prospect of any of our western waters; before the war it contained 150 houses.[44]

The Gazette for December 21, 1813, carried the news that Lewiston and Schlosser had been burnt and Fort Niagara taken by the British. It also contained an address to the "Inhabitants of Niagara, Genesee and Chatauque" by Brig.

---

[43] Buffalo Gazette, October 6, 1813.

[44] Ibid., December 14,1813.

Gen. George McClure, in which he appealed for volunteers to aid the regulars in turning back the British (illustration 27). This same paper carried a notice of the removal of the Buffalo Gazette from the village of Buffalo, as well as a letter from members of Gen. McClure's staff, giving the reasons for the abandonment of Fort George and the Burning of Newark.

The next issue of the Buffalo Gazette did not appear until January 18, 1814, and it did not contain an account of the burning of Buffalo. However, the Manlius Times, dated Tuesday January 4, 1814, carried the following account of the horror scene:

Buffalo Burnt!

> This distressing occurance, which had been anticipated ever since Niagara was taken by the enemy, took place last Thursday afternoon. We have seen no official account of this affair, but have conversed with the express rider, Mr. Landen, who passed through the village on Saturday morning last, and also with several gentlemen who had left Williamsville since that time, from whom we have obtained the following particulars: On thursday morning about 1 o'clock it was discovered, that a detachment of the enemy had landed just below the navy yard, about a mile from Black Rock. A skirmish immediately commenced with our Indians and a body of militia who were stationed there as a corps of observation, which lasted several hours. ... Towards day, a body of regulars, from 800 to 1000 with cannon etc., landed at the mouth of the Buffalo Creek directly above the village; where by a signal made, the party below commenced a violent _____. the advance _____. men finding themselves attacked on both flanks immediately retreated, or rather fled through the woods on

...ery gave tenfold ... ...ation, ...from the character of ... ...Americans, who will never shrink ... ...hour of danger, from defending the ... ...soil which has been consecrated by ... ...ashes of their forefathers. Although ... ...are some doubtless whose business ... ...their immediate return to their ... ... The General yet flatters him... ...there are many who will consent to ... ...on this frontier for a fortnight ... ...service; the situation of this garrison ... ...truly glorious. If left to be de... ...by a small force. The General ... ...further co-operation ... ...those whose de... ...of that capital a ... ...relieves the en... ...the protection of ... ...of their estate ... ...SECURITY. ... ...Gen. Commanding

...Soldier of the Buffalo Garrison.

...hoped from several sources th... ...determined oppression of the ... ...Fort George when that post was ... ...and that great quantities of ... ...and ammunition were destroyed, we ... ...it a duty we owe the community, Gen. McClure, to authorize the ... ...and continue them of the men... ...that were procured. The period ... ...which the militia had been drafted ... ...having expired, the General held out ev... ...inducement to his power for them to ... ...that for a short time, he offered ... ...pay, but neither love of country nor ... ...of abandoning him when the ... ...were unavailing could prevail on ... ...to remain: in consequence of which ... ...were left with about sixty effective men ... ...to maintain Fort George. The British ... ...the period when the militia tour ... ...service would expire, availed them... ...selves of that moment to endeavour to re... ...take the fortress, and obtained from Bur... ...Heights. The General called a ... ...council of the commander of his officers, ...when it was unanimously agreed that the ... ...fort was but feeble with the small re... ...maining force. All the public property of ... ...every description that was of any value, ...except those from 16 pounders, which he ... ...had not sufficient physical force to carry ... ...away, (and these were spiked, their car... ...riages burnt, and then buried in the ru... ...ins of the fort) was taken across the ri... ...ver to Fort Niagara—nor was there a ... ...musket left or a cartridge of powder more ... ...than was necessary to blow up the works. ... ...A considerable quantity of property, be... ...longing to individuals friendly to us, was ... ...also taken across; and so near was the ... ...enemy, that 8 or 10 prisoners were taken ... ...in assisting them to get their property ... ...this side.

...An insult subsequent to the burning of the vil... ...lage of Newark, however disagreeable to ... ...the feelings of the General, the act was ... ...not countenanced, but at the same time ... ...he conceived it necessary for the protec... ...tion of our frontier, that the enemy ... ...might not have it in their power to quar... ...rel with their Indian allies in the village ... ...and murder our citizens.

Twelve hours notice was given to the ... ...inhabitants that remained, to secure ... ...their household property, and every ... ...assistance that could be taken to alleviate their ... ...situation was done; three or four hours ... P.

Every man in the province is required to ... ...take up arms, and he must refuse is unan... ...imously determined. What then, fellow-citizens, have you to expect from such an enemy, should they invade your frontier? Think of the consequences; be not lulled into a belief, that because you reside a few miles from the river, that you are secure: No, fellow citizens, the flame is never there is on the breath. Then you will have it in your power to ... ...together them; but should they be suffered to penetrate into the interior with their savages, the scene will be horrid!

If, then, you love your country and are determined to defend its rights—if you love your families, and are determined to protect them—if you value your property, and are determined to preserve it—you will fly to your arms and hasten to meet the enemy, should they dare to set foot upon our shores.

☞ Since the above was prepared, I have received intelligence from a credible inhabitant from Canada, (who has just returned from thence), that the enemy are concentrating all their forces and stores at Fort George, and have fixed upon Tuesday night for attacking Fort Niagara—and should they succeed, they will lay waste our whole frontier. In that event, our supply of arms, which are deposited at Fort Niagara, will be out of the reach. Therefore, all who have arms, ammunition or provisions, will do well to bring them, and all who have horses will press them.

GEO. McCLURE, Brig. Gen. Commanding Niagara Frontier.
Head Quarters, Buffalo,
18 Dec. 1813.

Buffalo Gazette.

Tuesday, December 21, 1813.

LEWISTON AND SCHLOSSER, BURNT!

The British and their savages crossed at Lewiston, on Sunday morning last, and burnt that place and the Tuscarora village, and massacred some Indian women & children. This morning they advanced up the river and burnt Schlosser: in their way they burnt every dwelling. The general derangement of our office, prevents us from giving details.

The patriotic militia of the country are pressing on towards the scene of danger.

FORT NIAGARA TAKEN.

It is reported and generally believed that the British succeeded in taking Fort Niagara on Sunday morning last, by storm.

From the situation of our office it is impossible for us in this paper to give a ... correct details of the very extraordinary events passing on this frontier, but in our next, we will make the painful attempt.

Many articles of intelligence and some other matter are omitted until next week

Albany, Dec. 7.

Com. Bainbridge has been complimented with sumptuous dinners by the citizens of Alexandria and Philadelphia.

Gen. Wilkinson has ... arrived to the town of Malone, 10 miles from the army, where he remains ... indisposed.

Commodore Rodgers put to sea from Newport on Sunday night of last week, and passed the blockading squadron un...

a Treat at

Entertainment,

at Williamsville, at the 11 mile creek, on the great road from Buffalo to Batavia, and that every exertion of theirs shall be freely made to render the traveller's situation agreeable—and expect to merit a share of the public custom. ☞ Good Liquors and Stabling.

N. B. The regular Mail Stage breakfasts at the above tavern on Mondays and Thursdays.

Dec. 17, 1813. 4t9

Horsemen! Attend!

NOTICE is hereby given, to all persons in Gen. Hopkins' brigade, disposed to join and form a Company of Light Horse, to be attached to said brigade, that a Meeting of such persons will be held at Elias Ransom's Inn, on SATURDAY, the 25th inst. at 2 o'clock, p. m.—And should a sufficient number meet, the Company will be organized, the officers nominated, &c

Dec. 14, 1813 3t9

NOTICE!!

THE subscriber, having been duly appointed administrator of the estate of Calvin Tyrrell, late of Cornwall, in the county of Niagara, deceased, (supposed to be intestate), requests all those indebted to the estate to make payment immediately, and all having demands against the estate, are requested to present the same for adjustment.

SILAS CLARK, admr.

Eden, Dec. 17, 1813. 4t10

LOST or STOLEN,

AT the Cross Roads in Chautauque, a POCKET BOOK, containing 3 notes against James Norton, one for 21 dollars, one for $20, and one for $4.88, payable the 1st of March next, and some other papers of no great consequence. Oath has been made that the above notes were lost as above stated, and all persons are forbid purchasing the said notes, and the said Norton above mentioned, is forbid paying any thing on the above notes, without an order from me. A liberal reward will be paid any person finding and delivering them to the subscriber.

ELIZUR TALCOTT.

Chautauque, Dec. 3, 1813. 3t12

Stephen Tullerday's Estate.

ALL persons indebted to the Estate of Stephen Tullerday, late of the town of Pomfret, deceased, are requested to call on Jacob Houghton, Esquire, or the subscriber, and make payment immediately; and those having demands will also present the same for adjustment.

MARTIN EASTWOOD, admr.

Pomfret, (Chautauque Co.)

Dec. 10, 1813. 4w12

Stray Stag.

STRAYED from the subscriber, about the 15th July last, a dark brindle STAG, crop on the left ear, 4 years old last spring. Whoever will deliver him to the subscriber or give information where he may be found, shall be handsomely rewarded, by

DAVID CROUCH.

Pomfret, 10th Dec. 1813. 3w12

STRAY BULL.

IMPOUNDED into the enclosure of the subscriber, about the first of September last, a black BULL, three years old, ... The owner is requested to remove property, pay charges, and take ...

ABNER AMSDILL.

Harmony, Dec. 20th, 1813. 12t

49

the road near Major Miller's. - Here Gen. Hull rallied them, and conducted them towards Buffalo, where they met the enemy and considerable hard dighting took place. But what avail courage or number - our troops were not organized, had no cannon, their muskets could not be depended on, and but few had more than four rounds of ammunition when they took the field. It is said that Gen. Hull continued on the field until he was almost deserted, when he was obliged to retire. The village was then burnt, except a few houses which are probably destroyed by this time. The village of Black Rock is also destroyed. The enemy are said to be in the vicinity of Black Rock. The inhabitants are scattered in every direction. Most of them have come to Williamsville, eleven miles this side of Buffalo, where our forse is assembled. No particulars of loss in this affair have been received; but it is believed to be considerable. Among the slain is Col. Bouten of the Ontario Dragoons.

A gentleman in high standing in the Q.M. Department informs, that the loss of U.States must have sustained in the capture of Niagara cannot be less than two million five hundred thousand dollars. There were in the fort when taken 10,000 stands of arms and 270 tierces sic of clothing.[45]

Col. Cyrenius Chapin, in another one of his controversial letters which frequently appear in the pages of the Gazette, presents the readers with the following communication on June 21, 1814; this gives us an eye witness account of the entry of the British into Buffalo on December 30, 1813:

Col. Chapin to the Public

11

As numerous opinions have been entertained by the public, respecting the object of the flag which I bore to the British on the morning of the 30th of December

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[45] Manlius Times, Vol. VI #33 p.3. Obliterated cannot be read.

1813, at the time they were entering the village of Buffalo, I think proper to state for the information of those who have been wrongly informed, the principal objects of the flag, not with a view to justify my conduct, for no part of it on that day requires it.

Finding that the force under my command at Black Rock was such, that all further resistance on my part would be in vain having only 5 men left with me, the remainder being either killed, wounded or dispersed, and that all attempts to rally them proved abortive, I retreated to Buffalo, where all was confusion and alarm. Women and children running in every direction, to avoid the fury of the British savages, which were rapidly investing the village. About 30 men were collected who manned a 12 pounder at the junction of the Black Rock road with the main road. A few discharges were made from it which very much annoyed the enemy, but the carriage breaking it was rendered useless. A large body of British troops were now within 30 rods of us and the Indians had nearly surrounded the town and were in full pursuit of the distressed inhabitants, who had no means of making a rapid retreat or the least resistance. In this situation, I conceived it my duty to resort to some sort of strategem to save the people from inevitable destruction. I requested some one to meet the enemy with the flag, but no one appearing willing, I went myself, and the moment I was received, I requested the enemy to halt, which was done and while I was attempting a negotiation, all was quiet and the people had time to make their escape from the savages, who had already massacred several inhabitants in their retreat whether armed or unarmed. Altho' I failed in saving the town, still I succeded in securing the retreat of many inhabitants who would otherwise have fallen victims to savage vengeance.

Such was the object of the flag, and such was the success of it.[46]

The remainder of the above communication and Gen. Drummond's reason for taking Cyranius Chapin a prisoner may be found in illustration 28.

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[46] Buffalo Gazette, June 21, 1814.

Weekly Gazette.

Col. Chapin to the Public.

PUBLIC NOTICE.

PUBLIC NOTICE.

Another letter headed "Col. Chapin to the Public" appears in the previous edition (June 14, 1814). In it he indulges in his usual flair for name calling. Doctor Chapin gives his version of the friction which apparently existed between General George McClure of the New York State Militia and him, as well as picturing the events which led to the burning of Buffalo in retaliation. His letter, which was delayed about five months while he was a prisoner of the British, reads as follows:

Col. Chapin to the Public

> The distressing scenes exhibited on the Niagara Frontier last fall and winter, having excited many painful sensations and anxious enquiries for the cause which led to those disgraceful disasters, have induced me to lay before the public, some of the most conspicious actors of those base exploits.
>
> While the American regular force continued at Fort George, nothing occured to affect our security, till that strange, phenomenon, George McClure, appeared. He with much pomp and parade, however, kept out of harms way, by riding up and down the east sides of the straights of Niagara till I had with a small force volunteers, militia and Indians, routed the enemy from his encampment at the four mile creek. Then this mighty man crossed the river with all the wind of a Hull or Smyth, aided by the foetid stench of J.C.S. who burst forth with terror and rage upon the defenseless inhabitants of Canada. These terrible heroes, however very cautiously avoided any engagement with the enemy. They conceived it sufficient for them to war with women and children; to lay waste their dwellings; to "burn the damn'd rascals", was their favorite maxim. Their march from the Beaver Dam to Queenston, will long be remembered by the distressed victims of

that march. In this march property of almost every discription was plundered and buildings burnt under his own view. This, however, was a mere prelude to the tragedy he was afterwards destined to act. The ill fated town of Newark was nurnt under his orders, the right of 10th of December, 1813. Here was exhibited a scene of distress, which language would be inadequate to express: women and children were turned out of doors in a cold stormy night; the cries of the infants, the descreptitude of age, the debility of sickness, had no impression upon the monster in human shape; they were consigned to the great house, whose canopy was the heavens, and whose walls were as boundless as the wide world. In the destruction of this town, the vulcan McClure was aided by the most active exertions of Joseph Willcocks, that perjured villian, and had been patronized far beyond his merits: and at a time when it became his duty as a man of justice and as a subject of his majesty, whose govern't he had so often sworn to protect and defend, he like a cowardly sycophont, deserted the cause of his country, and actually led a bandith through the town on that fatal night, setting fire to his neighbors dwellings, and damning every American, applying the epithet of Tory to all who disapproved of this flagrant act of barbarity. It will be recollected that this town was burnt at a time when British forces were not in any considerable force within the distance of 30 miles.

The General next selected the American side of the Niagara for the theatre of his future operations. He took up his quarters at Buffalo. A small force of about 200 regulars was called from Canadaigua, which we should have supposed ought to have been sent to the protection of Fort Niagara, as that place was menaced by the enemy. Instead of this the General ordered them to remain at Buffalo. Fort Niagara was taken on the morning of the 19th of December, 1813. The day previous, the General was informed by a citizen, who had made his escape from Canada, that an attack would be made on Fort Niagara at the time that it was. Here then is something very remarkable in the conduct of the General, instead of dispatching an express with this very important intellegence immediately, he ommitted it, if not altogether till it was too late for the express to ride these...[47]

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[47] Buffalo Gazette, June 14, 1814.



The balance of the letters may be found in illustration 29. That page of the Gazette carried sworn statements by prominent local citizens to the effect that General McClure and members of his staff were indifferent to, or not even desirous of the burning of Buffalo. The statement of Asa Ransom is of particular interest and reads, in part, as follows:

> In a conversation with Erastus Granger, Esq. this deponent heard Gen. McClure publicly declare, that he would take away the regulars and was going away himself. Judge Granger asked him if he meant to take away the ammunition -- Gen. McClure answered, that he did; Judge Granger observed, for God's sake don't do that, for we shall all be destroyed - Buffalo will be burned and we shall have nothing to defend ourselves with. Gen. McClure, then said, I will stay and defend you if the inhabitants will arrest and bind that demned rascal, (Chapin) and bring him to me, if they will not do that, they may all be destroyed, and I don't care how soon. And this deponent further saith, that he had understood that McClure and Chapin had quarreled violently about the burning of Newark...[48]

The Gazette dated January 25, 1814, carried "Interesting particulars of the fall of Fort Niagara", and also announcements of the Gazette's reestablishment at Harris' Tavern, near Williamsville:

> The Fort was attacked or rather entered by the enemy about 4 o'clock on the morning of the 19th ult. So silently was this done that the garrison was not alarmed when the enemy entered the gates of the Fort. On their entering some firing took place between the guard

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[48] Buffalo Gazette, June 14, 1814. See illustration 30 and 30A.

Buffalo Gazette.

Tuesday, January [illegible], 1814.

Interesting Particulars of the fall of Fort Niagara.

[Robert Lee, Esq. late of Fort Niagara, has just returned from the Province of Upper Canada, where he had been detained as a prisoner, on the surrender of Fort Niagara. Not having seen any thing like a correct account of the loss of our Fort, and the slaughter of our gallant soldiers, and the correct number of those that were killed, wounded and taken prisoners, we have requested Mr. Lee to furnish us with the particulars of that dreadful affair, which he has done in the following manner. We have also received a communication from Fort Niagara, dated the 20th inst. which we have published in connection with Mr. Lee's statement. Editor.]

[illegible] the enemy [illegible] o'clock on the morning of the 19th inst. No alarm was given that the garrison was [illegible] when the enemy entered the [illegible] of the Fort. On their entering [illegible] firing took place between the guard at the north east Block House, and the [illegible] in the bell barracks, on the part of the Americans and the enemy that had [illegible] entering the gate. The whole American force in the Fort at that time, was at least 600, including men of all descriptions, 300 of those were able and willing to defend the Fort to the last extremity. In the way the ingenuity and contrivance were able to do, to wit; firing on the enemy from the block house, barracks, &c. The principal and in fact the only resistance the enemy met with, was from the sick in the bell barracks, and the guard at the south east block house. From the order of capitulation that was issued by the enemy the same morning it appeared as if at least 65 in killed, and 83 wounded; the wounded as the orders did were by the bayonet; but this order was issued some days after they had got possession of the Fort, and did not include 12 of our poor fellows that were afterwards found in the cellars of the houses. Our whole number killed was at least 80. The British force during their possession was about 500, commanded by Col. Murray, who was wounded in the arm, in entering the gate—the command then devolved upon Col. Hamilton. The private property in the Fort was given up to plunder. He does not believe that any individual saved any thing, except the clothes he had on.—Gen. Chandler and, the American commander, was at his house about two miles distant from the Fort, and hearing the attack, rode towards the Fort, and was made prisoner and kept in close confinement two days and a half, how much longer the informant does not know. A [illegible] commissioned officer and about 20 [illegible] their escape [illegible] of the [illegible] by sealing the pickets— [illegible] were kept 4 days in close

[illegible] principal part of their clothing, stores, &c. and then a [illegible] the river. After the information was published to cease, an application [illegible] some kind of protection from the British commander for their parties of Indians and others, scouring on the American side of the river; but was answered he could have none—he and the rest must make the best of their way to the American line.

BATTLE AT BLACK ROCK.

There has as yet been no official account published of this action. In our next paper we hope to be able to give some account of that unfortunate affair: as also a list of the sufferers on this frontier, with a statement of their probable loss.

The following persons have been identified among those that fell on the morning of the 20th December, and the 1st lay in the woods upon Black Rock and Buffalo:

Col. S. Boughton.—*Avon.* Maj. Wm. C. Dudley, Calvin Cory, Peter Hoffman. *Lima.* Adjutant Joshua Tuttman, Canadian volunteer, Aaron Neals, *Hamburgh.* Dennis Brackett, Esq. *Clarence.* —— Smith, near Chautauque lake, Job Hemingway, John Roop, Sam'l Hetman, H. D. Kelly, John Trisket, Jas. Neabit, Robt. Franklin, (a man of color,) —— Myers, *Buffalo.* Robt. Hull, Adam Lawfer, *Black Rock.* Sherman Baker, Parley Moffat, Wm. Cheesman, *Hamburgh.* Jacob Van Ingen, jun. Moses Penn, *Clarence.* —— Reed, *Willink.* —— Lindsley, *Livonia.* —— Wilson, *Bloomfield.* Bethel Martin, a trantient person.

PRISONERS.

List of American Prisoners taken at Black Rock, Dec. 30, 1813.

Allen H. M'Ward Aid to Gen. Hopkins, [illegible] Gardner, wounded in the thigh, Ensign P. Stewart, Reuben Pierce, Eli Shattuck, Jonathan Putnam, Silvanus Fowler, John Amsden, Jonathan Alger—*Bloomfield.*

Capt. J. Rooker, Lieut. John Funk, Hezekiah Parmely—*Avon.*

Lieutenant Church, William Miller (wounded in the cheek,) Wheeler, Abner Whitney or Halsey, John Cornell, Samuel Clark, Seth Chapel, Aaron Simmons, Reuben Morey, Thomas Frost (wounded in the shoulder,)—*Avon.*

Mr. Jonathan Cummel, Asa Woodford, Archibald Hamilton, Jonathan Richardson, Septimus Smith (wounded in the body,) Benjamin Barrett, (wounded in the body)—*Livonia.*

Capt. R. M'Key, Levi Stoughton, William Watkins, Samuel Sturgeon, Stephen Peabody, (wounded in the head) Thomas Gates, (wounded in the thigh and body,) Chester Nearmore—*Pittsford.*

Lieut. Fitzhugh, Willis Buell, William G. Hathaway—*Le Roy.*

William Hutchinson, Baldan Allen—*Black Rock.* Daniel Johnson, Oliver Bierson—*Chautauque.* Thomas William Morrison—*Ellicott.* Hyman, Wilcox—*Buffalo.* William Hicks—*Col. C. Lemon*—*Cattaraugus.* Daniel C. Cargill, Daniel S. Coles—*Pittsford.* George Rose, Thos. Dyer—*Buffalo.* James Egan, Joel Allen, Sylvester Blodget, Apollos Bardman, Levi Wright, David Palmer, Aaron Bridgman—*Cattaraugus.* Lieut. Jacob Jackson (wounded in both thighs)—*Allegany.* Ludowick Champion, Matthew Peck, Reuben Stone, Henry Dennis, Daniel Peck—*Hartford.* John Harris—*Clarkson.* James Warner, (wounded in the thigh) Amos Thompson, William Brownell, (wounded in the arm)—*Phelps.* John Smith (wounded in the thigh)—*Bristol.* William Lyon—*Albany.*

Col. C. Chapin, John Ley, Charles C. Wells, William Wilkes, Elisha Satterlee, Joseph B. Hoyt, Robert Easton, Timothy Strong, Benjamin Hodge, Jun. Daniel Barton, Capt. S. Hayman—*Buffalo.*

Wm. Smith, Samuel Perkins, Samuel Giffen, Henry Purdy, Orrin Turner, Luther Stanley—*Perry.*

PEACE.

We received by the last mail a message from the President communicating to Congress copies of three, one from Lord Castlereagh, Britis[illegible] minister in Russia, one from [illegible] Gen. [illegible], British foreign

[illegible] informs his friends and the public that the Gazette is now established, [illegible] lovers, near Williamsville; all letters, papers, communications, &c. may be directed "Williamsville, Niagara county, New-York."

[illegible] who are indebted to the establishment will be under the necessity of calling on them for immediate payment.

Subscribers who have changed their residence since the change of affairs on the frontier, and who may wish to continue the Gazette, will please give information where their papers are to be sent.

The EDITOR assures the public that every exertion [illegible] be made to render his paper worthy [illegible] patronage; he solicits the patronage of [illegible] who have not paid him; to remit [illegible] may be due for the price of [illegible] paper is [illegible] per year; and [illegible] will be strictly [illegible] person. Letters [illegible] directed to the subscriber) that [illegible] in advance for the term he [illegible] the paper will [illegible]

Agents who have heretofore procured subscribers for the Gazette are respectfully requested to continue their exertions.

Subscribers may receive their papers in packets, (except in the [illegible] vicinity) will call for the same at the office, Williamsville.

Jan. 25, 1814.

SETH GROSVENOR

HAS removed his establishment from the former flourishing village of Buffalo to Harris' tavern, where he is now opening a handsome assortment of

Dry Goods,
Groceries,
Hard Ware,

together with a constant supply of

Pittsburgh Tobacco,
Segars,
Old Whiskey,
Gin, &c. &c.

for which he will receive produce.

Clarence, Jan 4, 1814.

H. B. POTTER,

OF BUFFALO.

HAS opened his office at Harris' tavern. All communications to him may be directed to Williamsville, Niagara county.

Jan. 24, 1814. 13tf

NOTICE.

SUBSEQUENT to the destruction of Buffalo and Black Rock by the enemy, property to a considerable amount, and of various kinds, fell into the unfortunate sufferers, was taken away by many of the [illegible] citizens of Niagara county, (no doubt with the honest intention of securing it to the owners) all persons in said county, having in their possession any property not their own, are therefore respectfully requested to deliver the same, or give information to the following persons, viz.—Zenas Barker, Richard Smith, and Vincent Grant, Hamburgh—John Twining, Eden—Joseph Hanchett, Concord—Elias Osborne, and John McKee, Willink—Frederick Miller, Buffalo—t

at the south east Block House, and the sick in the red barracks, on the part of the Americans and the enemy that had, and were entering the gate. The whole 400. including men of all descriptions, 350 of those were able and willing to defend the Fort to the last extremity in the way the impotent and convalescent were able to do, to wit: firing on the enemy from the block house, barracks, &c. The principal and in fact the only resistance the enemy met with, was from the sick in the red barracks, and the guard at the south east block house. From the order of congratulation that was issued by the enemy the same morning, it appeared we had lost 65 in killed, and 45 wounded; the wounds as the order said were by the bayonet; but this order was issued very soon after they had got possession of the Fort, and did not include 15 of our poor fellows that were afterwards bayonetted in the cellars of the houses. Our whole number killed was at least 80. The British force that took possession was about 400, commanded by Col. Murray, who was wounded in the arm, in entering the gate - the command then devolved upon Col. Hamilton. The private property in the Fort was given up to plunder. He does not believe that any individual saved anything, except the clothes he had on. - Capt. Leonard, the American commander, was at his house about two miles distant from the Fort, and hearing the attack, rode towards the Fort, and was made prisoner and kept in close confinement two days and a half, how much longer the informant does not know. A non-commissioned officer and about 20 privates made their escape about the time of the attack, by sealing the pickets. -- Our soldiers were kept 2 days in close and miserable confinement in the Fort, without the use of provisions, and with a very scanty supply of wood and water, at the expiration of which, both the citizens and soldiers were crossed over the river and lodged in a part of what had been the British magazine, at Fort George and in open plank and board huts; in either situation it was impossible to lay down. The magazine was so filthy that many of the prisoners became infested with vermin. They remained there 7 days, the citizens were then removed to a brick building near Queenston, where they were so much crowded that it was impossible to take any kind of comfort, either by day or night. The supply of provisions was not only scanty, but of the worst kind.

American force in the fort at the time, was at least 400, including men of all descriptions, 350 of those were able and willing to defend the Fort to the last extremity. In the way our impotent and convalescent were able to do, to with firing on the enemy from the block house, barracks, &c. The principal and in fact the only resistance the enemy met with, was from the sick in the red barracks, and the guard at the south east block house. From the order of congratulation that was issued by the enemy the same morning, it appeared we had lost 65 in killed, and 45 wounded: the wounds by the ordnance ball were by the bayonet; but this order was issued very soon after they had got possession of the Fort, and did not include 13 of our poor fellows that were afterwards bayonetted in the cellars of the houses. Our whole number killed was at least 80. The British force that took possession was about 800, commanded by Col. Murray, who was wounded in the arm, in entering the gate—he command then devolved upon Col. Hamilton. The private property in the Fort was given up to plunder. He does not believe that any individual saved any thing, except the clothes he had on.—Capt. Leonard, the American commander, was at his house about two miles distant from the Fort, and hearing the attack, rode towards the Fort, and was made prisoner and kept in close confinement two days and a half, how much longer the informant does not know. A non-commissioned officer and about 20 privates made their escape about the time of the attack, by sealing the pickets.—Our soldiers were kept 2 days in clothes and miserable confinement in the Fort, without the use of provisions, and with a very scanty supply of wood and water, at which time they were marched, both the citizens and soldiers were sent over the river and lodged in a part of what had been the British magazine at Fort George [illegible] and heard him; in either case that person is to lay down. The magazine was so filthy that some of the prisoners became infected with vermin. They remained there 2 days. The citizens were then sent into a brick building near Queenston where there was so much crowded as to render it impossible to take any kind of comfort either by day or night. The supply of provisions was not only scanty, but of the worst kind. Most of the most inferior and repulsive quality and cured that cannot be described, both at this place and at the magazine, viz. What were the prisoners used they had to purchase. The informant believes that through the influence of a good old resident in Upper Canada, [illegible] with 10 other citizens were sent over to cross to the United States, [illegible] with the residue of the citizens to the amount of about 70, were on the 25th marched under a strong guard to Burlington Heights and from thence it was said and believed they would be sent to Kingston. It was a matter of frequent conversation and exultation between the British [illegible] commissioned officers and the privates while the [illegible] was upon the guard that the Americans cried out and begged for quarters, but that they bayonetted, or rather in their language skivered them, or with a scalping [illegible] the women and

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Meat of the most inferior and repulsive quality and bread that cannot be described, both at this place and at the magazine, &C. What water the prisoners used they had to purchase. The informant believes that through the influence of a gentleman resident in Upper Canada, himself together with 10 othercitizrns were permitted to cross to the United States. On the 13th inst. the residue of the citizens to the amount of a about 70, were on the 12th marched under a strong guard of Burlington Heights and from thence it was sold and believed they would be sent to Kingston. It was a matter of frequent conversation and exaltation between the British non-commissioned officers & their privates while the informat was a prisoner under guard that the Americans cried out and beggad for quarters, but that they bayoneted or rather in their language skivered them, notwithstanding...[49]

In the edition of Tuesday, April 5, 1814, we read:

Buffalo Village, which once adorned the shores of Erie, and was prostrated by the enemy, is now rising again - several buildings are already raised and made habitable - contracts for 20 or 30 more are made, and many of them in considerable forwardness. A Brick Company has been organized, and an association of the most enterpresing and public spirited citizens, with a sufficient capital, for the purpose of rendering the price of brick so reasonable that the principal streets may be built of that article. All that is required to re-establish Buffalo in its former prosperity, are ample remunerations from the Government, and peace, if not obtained by negotiation, must be obtained by a vigorous and successful prosecution of the War.

Buffalo has its charms - the situation, the prospect and the general health of the inhabitants, to which we add, the activity and enterprice of the trade, the public spirit of the citizens and state of society, all conspire to render a chose spot, for the man of business or of pleasure.[50]

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[49] Buffalo Gazette, January 25, 1814.

[50] Ibid., April 5, 1814.

A force of regulars and volunteers was organized in this vicinity under the command of Major General Jacob Brown of the regular army, who had arrived in Williamsville on April 11, 1814. On July 2nd he announced that he was authorized to attack the enemy in Canada. This announcement, together with the account of the capture of Fort Erie on July 3rd, appears in the July 5, 1814, Gazette (illustration 31).

However, the British were still in possession of Fort George and what had been the American Fort Niagara. In fact, immediately below the account of the capture of Fort Erie we find the following:

> On Thursday last, a party of British regulars and Indians between 200 and 300 strong made their appearance at Lewiston, and drove away many of the inhabitants, some of which they took. We learn, that they proseede a few miles on the Ridge Road, burnt the militia barracks at Hardserabble and plundered horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, etc. A branch of the same party as we understand, came up to Schlosser...[51]

The Gazette of July 12, 1814, reports a victory of Brig. Gen. Scott's forces over the British in a battle near Chippewa on July 5th. The issue of August 9th reports skirmishes at Black Rock and in Canada in the vicinity of Fort Erie, and the previous week's paper gives an account of the Battle at Bridgewater near Niagara Falls, which took place on the 25th and 26th of July (illustration 32).

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[51] Buffalo Gazette, July 5, 1814.

Buffalo Gazette.

Tuesday, July 9, 1819.

Buffalo, Tuesday, August 2, 1814.

BATTLE at BRIDGEWATER, near *Niagara Falls*

the 25th inst. the army under command of Major General [illegible], encamped above Chippewa, near the battle ground of the [illegible]. At 4, P. M. information was received that the enemy had [illegible] a body of troops across the Niagara, at the 3 Mile Meadows; but our commanding General was not diverted by this movement; the 1st brigade, under Brig. General Scott, moved past Chippewa, and halted at Bridgewater, a mile below Chippewa, and [illegible] the Falls of Niagara:—Soon it learnt that the British force, under Maj. General Riall, was approaching him: battle was [illegible] given the enemy, (gen. Gen. Wilkins,) at half past 5, P. M. [illegible] their advance were pleased and pay reinforce this position, [illegible] confidence. The enemy's superior force was much superior to Gen. Scott's; his line was far extended, and he showed an [illegible] to flank: in order to [illegible] these views of Gen. Riall, he was fought in [illegible] formed in column; Gen. [illegible] at the head of his [illegible] charge. Capt. [illegible] Tipp com., with his [illegible] in front's battalion, [illegible] kept up his fire with great [illegible] nothing [illegible] could stand the ground [illegible] and the Volunteer [illegible] Gen. Porter, [illegible] brought into action. The ground was [illegible] part of which, in [illegible] crossing; when, Gen. Porter [illegible] the enemy's artillery [illegible] the bravery: Col. [illegible], the Sons of Niagara, [illegible] this enterprise: he [illegible] this [illegible] fire within [illegible] and delivered [illegible] what other [illegible] for three [illegible] disposed to the [illegible] place was [illegible] and our army [illegible] and bringing up [illegible]

[illegible] having received [illegible] troops were [illegible] the gallant Amer[illegible] [illegible] of 20 m[illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] from the ground, [illegible] to their encampm[illegible] [illegible], our forces [illegible] the enemy near [illegible] miles, and [illegible] encamped [illegible] and posted [illegible] the stump to that [illegible]

The enemy's [illegible] nearly 5000—our [illegible] and taken [illegible] with one of [illegible] the pass of [illegible] Gen. Burn[illegible] was [illegible]

It would be [illegible] with on paper. Considering the [illegible] wars will scarcely produce a [illegible] this nation will [illegible] those who fought, [illegible] who fell—to their grateful [illegible] [illegible] to that brilliant [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible]; and this battle [illegible] [illegible] extraordinary [illegible] with the enemy [illegible] of Bunker Hill and Saratoga. The glory of [illegible] will never become dim, while his country are considered [illegible] of the men, who led them on to conquest, on the [illegible] of Chippewa, or who braved the hunter's dreadful rage, on [illegible] [illegible] fields!

[illegible] was severely wounded in the thigh, (neither a surgeon or [illegible] of the field, but continued in command until the enemy [illegible] Gen. Scott, and other officers wounded by a grape shot [illegible] [illegible] Lieut. Worth, of the 21st, [illegible] Lieut. Worth, Aid to Gen. Scott, and

On August 15, the British under the command of Lt. Gen. Drummond stormed Fort Erie, which was commanded by the American, Brig. Gen. Gaines. After a bitterly contested struggle, the British were driven off with heavy losses. Brig. Gen. Gaines' letter to Gen. Armstrong, Secretary of War, concerning the battle, along with President Madison's Proclamation issued on the invasion of Washington by the British, appeared in the September 30, 1814, issue of the Gazette (illustration 33).

On September 17, Major Gen. Brown sallied from Fort Erie and attacked the enemy's batteries near the fort in order to forestall another attack by the British. A copy of a letter from "a gentleman who was in Fort Erie, and witnessed the action" was printed in the Gazette of September 20 (illustration 34). On the same page we find the report of a naval victory on Lake Chaplain and the General orders of Brig. Gen. Peter B. Porter of the militia. Apparently the morale of our troops had increased since the arrival of Major. Gen. Brown, Brig. Gen. Scott, and the subsequent successer of our army in Canada, for we find Gen. Porter congratulating the "militia and volunteers assembled under his command, on the patriotic spirit, and return of national feeling and unanimity, which have so promptly drawn to the point of danger, so respectable a force".

Buffalo Gazette.

VOL. III NO. 49] TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER [illegible] 1814

BATTLE OF FORT ERIE

Copies of letters from Brig. Gen. Gaines to the Secretary of War, dated

H. Q. Fort Erie, U. C.
August 18, 1814.

SIR—Loss of sleep and repeated exposure to the weather in the vicinity of the enemy's camp for many days upon a subject with which has put it out of my power to do any thing more than the duties of the moment have rendered indispensable. [illegible] throws my apology for addressing you this day my report of the battle of the 15th inst.

Gen. Brown [illegible] on the morning of the 14th, [illegible] Fort Erie, [illegible] Gen. Brown [illegible] Major Trimble, with [illegible] Major Wood, engineer, [illegible] Major Hindman, with [illegible] Major Jesup, quartermaster general

Buffalo Gazette.

Tuesday, Sept. 6, 1814.

BRILLIANT ACTION,

at the Batteries near Fort Erie

Copy of a letter from a gentleman who was in Fort Erie, and witnessed the scenes to the Editor, dated

Buffalo, Sept. 10.

[illegible] Gen. Brown left [illegible] friendly [illegible] Chippewa for Black Rock, [illegible] Fort Erie, [illegible] a small [illegible] part of his force, in the afternoon of the 17th inst. The [illegible] [illegible] three o'clock, and [illegible] the news that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

That the lack of full co-operation between the army and navy is not new in the annals of American history is attested by two letters which are printed in the Gazette of October 4, 1814. The first is dated Queenston, July 13, 1814, and is addressed to Commodore Chauncey, who commanded the Ontario Fleet, by Major Gen. Brown. General Brown wrote in part as follows:

> All accounts agree that the force of the enemy in Kingston is very light meet me on the lake shore north of Fort George with your fleet, and we will be able, I have no doubt to settle a plan of operation that will break down the power of the enemy in Upper Canada, and that in the course of a short time. At all events let me hear from you: I have looked for your fleet with the greatest anciety since the 10th. I do not doubt my ability to meet the enemy in the field and to march in any direction over his country; your fleet carrying for me the necessary supplies. We can threaten Forts George and Niagara, and carry Burlington Heights and York, and proceed direct to Kingston and carry that place. For God's sake let me see you; Sir James will not fight, two of his vessals are now in the Niagara River...[52]

Commodore Chauncey's reply is dated August 10th, and shows a complete lack of enthusiasm for joint action with the army of General Brown. He writes:

> You well know, sir, that the fleet could not have rendered you the least service during your late incursion upon Upper Canada. You have not been able to approach Lake Ontario on any point nearer than Queenston, and the enemy were in possession of all the intermediate country between that place and the

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[52] Buffalo Gazette, July 13, 1814.

shore of Ontario and that I could not even communicate with you without making a circuit of 70 or 80 miles...

That you might find the fleet somewhat of a convenience in the transportation of provicions and stores for the use of the army, and an agreeable appendage to attend its marches and countermarches, I am ready to believe; but sir, the secretary of the navy has honored us with a higher destiny - we are intended to seek and to fight the enemy's fleet - and I shall not be diverted in my efforts to effectuate it by any sinister attempt to render us subordinate to or an appendage of the army...[53]

The full text of both letters is shown in illustration 35. The same issue has a communication from "An officer of the Left Division" commenting on Commedore Chauncey's letter to the Secretary of the Navy, which he quotes in part. The officer says:

It is a fact, that the left division of United States Army, under the command of Major Gen. Brown, did "penetrate" on the Queenston road, 5 miles below that village; and that the "intermedcate country", was completely in our possession![54]

The Americans withdrew from Canada again in the fall of 1814. An extract from a letter, dated Buffalo, November 5, 1814, appeared in the Gazette of the 8th, and read as follows:

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53 Buffalo Gazette, August 10, 1814.

54 Ibid., October 4, 1814.

Buffalo Gazette.

Buffalo Gazette,

PUBLISHED AND EDITED BY

S. H & H. A. SALISBURY

CONDITIONS.

The terms of the Gazette are as follows:

When delivered in the town or the post office in the county, 3 dollars and 50 cents. When sent by mail or delivered at the office, 3 dollars and a quarter, if paid in advance; 3 dollars and 50 cents if paid within six months; and 4 dollars if payment is delayed beyond that time. No subscription discontinued by an agent. No weekly subscription by mail will be received for less than three months.

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TUESDAY OCTOBER

[illegible]

[illegible] that with the [illegible] I would [illegible] counteract [illegible] that the force of the enemy in Kingston is very light—meet me on the lake shore north of Fort George with your fleet and we will beat them, no doubt, to settle a plan of operations that will break down the power of the enemy in Upper Canada, and that in the course of a short time. At all events let me hear from you. I have looked for your fleet with the greatest anxiety since the 10th. I do not doubt my ability to meet the enemy in the field and to march in any direction over his country, if your fleet carrying for me the necessary supplies. We can threaten Penn's troops at Niagara, & carry Burlington Heights and York, and proceed direct to Kingston and carry that place. For God's sake, let me hear from you. James will not fight, two of his vessels are now in Niagara river.

If you could but to meet me at the head of the Lake and then immediately after be prudence to bring the guns and troops which I have ordered from Fort Niagara, have the [illegible] I can to expect from the fleet of Lake Ontario.

There is not a doubt resting in my mind, but that we have it in our power, by the command of the water on Upper Canada within two months. If we have a prompt and zealous co-operation and a vigorous application of the means, now in our power to [illegible] may easily be greatly reinforced.

Yours truly

(Signed) JACOB BROWN

Com. Chauncey

[illegible] letter from [illegible] to us [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

> This morning the works at Fort Erie were blown up. It was not worth having. The country is miserably poor. They could not free us from it, thank heaven. Nothing of the army is left on that side of the Niagara...[55]

The glad tidings pertaining to the Treaty of Ghent did not appear in the Gazette for almost two months after the signing of the treaty. In the meantime, although there was little vigorous fighting going on in this area, our inhabitants were still plagued with the burdens of war. In the paper issued on December 27, 1814, we read:

> In regard to this portion of the frontier, the occupation of Fort Niagara by the enemy can be of little advantage to him, except the same neglect on the part of the national and state governments, which characterized the close of the Campaign of 1813, should be experienced this winter- then, indeed, we may expect the Frontier Tragedy acted over again. The circumstances of war, may call away part of the regular troops from this frontier, which ought to be seen and calculated upon, and their places promptly supplied by militia or volunteers; the enemy has learned to respect the militia of New York, in their participation in the battles on the Niagara, and at Plattsburg.[56]

The news of peace with England and the victory at New Orleans appeared in the February 21, 1815, edition of the Buffalo Gazette (illustration 36). The following week there appeared an editorial which, with its message of hope and confidence in the destiny of the Niagara Frontier,

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55 Buffalo Gazette, November 5, 1815.

56 Ibid., December 27, 1814.

WILLIAMS' NEWS
Tuesday, Feb

PEACE with ENGLAND
VICTORY at ORLEANS

The great and glorious triumph over the enemy at Orleans, by Gen. Jackson, we had the gratification of announcing to our readers from about on Wednesday morning last. Our paper is crowded at this time with the most fortunate and important [illegible] victory.

The exhilarating and cheering intelligence, stated below, we also gave to our readers, in an extra on Saturday evening. We look for the confirmation of the Treaty by our government, although an account of considerable [illegible] appear in Ghent [illegible] that [illegible] the President had made [illegible] proved of the Treaty, and that there was [illegible] the ratification.

We also learn, that an officer has proceeded to the British head quarters, on the Niagara, giving notice of the cessation of hostilities.

A salute was fired at Black Rock on Friday last, in honor of the triumph of our Army at Orleans.

We learn that officers Lieutenant and 4 or 5 men, were taken at Lewiston last week, by Lieut. Gleed and a few men of the rifle corps. The enemy were driven across the river, by one of St. Vincent's party, who appeared on the bank of the river, which followed the enemy so closely that the men wished to desert—so, they assisted a boat to take across the Courier, and got safely themselves.

Albany, Feb. 16.

PEACE CONCLUDED
and Ratified by Great Britain.

Gov. Tompkins has this moment received a [illegible] express from Joseph Barker Esq. of New-York, announcing the glorious intelligence, that a TREATY OF PEACE was signed at Ghent on the 24th December—was ratified by the Prince Regent on the 28th—and left England on the 3d January. Mr. Carrol, a Secretary of the American Legation, has arrived at New York with one copy in the British sloop of war Favorite—Mr. Baker, a British messenger, has also arrived with another copy. A Mr Hughes, also a secretary of Legation, was to sail from Bordeaux with a third copy, and left Ghent the day before Mr Carrol. Illuminations are to ensue upon the ratification of the Treaty by the American government. *Argus.*

The dispatches received at New York [illegible] and the express [illegible]

[illegible] Dec 31

[illegible] says that the prize [illegible] Hornet was [illegible] of 20 guns, 20 [illegible] 132 men, 20 [illegible] 132 men, [illegible] Macedonian.

Mr Gallatin, a Secretary [illegible] the American Legation, arrived from [illegible] on Thursday morning with the Treaty of Peace between this country and the United States, and proceeded immediately to Petersburgh, to embark on board a frigate for America.

On the news of peace with America being signed arrived at Hamburgh, the greatest joy was expressed throughout the town. More guns of rejoicing were fired, and more bonfires lighted in Hamburgh than [illegible] known, since the [illegible] Hamburgh.

Sir George Prevost [illegible] by a court-martial, on charges preferred by Sir J. Yeo.

American prisoners [illegible] in the Indian war and under [illegible] An embargo was [illegible] in the Clyde.

ST MARY'S EVACUATED.

An official dispatch arrived from this morning to the Navy, which announces the evacuation of St Mary's by the British. Peace on Tuesday last, after hauling this down to and hoisting up the flag of the United States, and [illegible] to the British [illegible] to the amicable their stripes.

Amelia Island, Jan. 15

We have [illegible] a proclamation has been issued by Admiral Cochrane, dated the 30th ult from Mr Hammond's [illegible] Island consisting of fifty men, and the Island entirely have joined the [illegible] and [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] who were on the Island [illegible] and killing cattle.

Amelia Island, Jan. 15

Dear Sir—In haste I drop a few lines to you. You will have heard, of course, of the [illegible] of St. Mary's and [illegible] by the British. They still remain there with about two thousand [illegible] regulars, Admiral Cochrane [illegible] St. Mary's plantation, on the [illegible] Lord Hill's [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

forms a fitting close to this chapter. It reads:

> Peace has given a different complexion to affairs on this frontier: Many contracts for building in the village of Buffalo, have already been made, and several frames of buildings actually commenced. Brickmakers, store masons, house carpenters, and joiners and almost every other mechanic employed in building, will find constant employment and generous wages.
>
> Also, sawed timber, scantling, planks, boards, lath, shingle, stone and stone lime, will find a ready market and liberal price.
>
> The exhorbetant price, which all descriptions of lumber have heretofore brot, will, we are well assured, not be paid by those persons who culculate upon building extensively. A just price, regulated by worth of other property, will be cheerfully paid.
>
> With the blessing of peace, Buffalo, Black Rock, Schlosser, Lewiston, and in fact, the whole line of our frontier will again flourish: The advantage which the merchant and the mechanic on the frontier passess over those of the interior, need not be mentioned; and the pleasant, delightful village of Buffalo must certainly invite capitalists from the interior to embellish with their fortunes, the finest situation in the western country.[57]

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[57] Buffalo Gazette, February 21, 1815.

APPENDIX B

EXCERPTS OF WILLIAM HODGE JR'S PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF THE HAPPENING'S ALONG THE NIAGARA FRONTIER BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER THE WAR OF 1812

My father came from the town of Exeter, Oswego County, State of New York to Buffalo in the year 1805. He had heard of the Holland purchase but knew nothing about the land or country, other than the land could be bought cheap, and on credit. He was poor and had no prospect of bettering his condition where he was. He determined to try his fortune in this then western country. Buffalo was than considered the extreme west of civilization, the jumping off place. This was before Canals, Telegraphs, Rail Roads, or even passable wagon roads were in existance, in this part of the country. My father with his then small family embarked in an open row boat at Utica with a Mr. Rudd Lyman Jackson and their families, some twenty persons in all. They went up the Mohawk River into Wood Creek, through Oneida Lake, where he was beached and wind bound for three days. Came

---

Portions of William Hodge Jr's unpublished letters, notes, etc., which are found in the archives of the Buffalo Historical Society. Also inserted are numerous photostats of his actual writings over a period of years, in particular the period before, during and after the War of 1812.

Mrs Lodge
8

The log house I lived in

I was born in the town of Exeter Otsego County in the State of New York on the twentieth day of Dec. 1804. when I was but five months old my parents left Exeter and moved to Buffalo. They came by water from Utica in an open row boat with two other families by the names of Rudd and Jackson. They went to some place near where Sherburne now is then to Wood Creek through Oneida lake down the Oswego river to the mouth of Niagara river to Buffalo.

My first remembrance was of living in a double log house on farm lot No 35 where my parents resided untill I was eight years of age when we moved on to the hill into our new brick house on lot No 57. this was in December 1812. In the month of June the same year war had been declared against Great Britain by the United States. The day the news came here I had been spending the day a strawberrying with Lester & Eatton at his fathers on the plains, Samuel Ward Batt was with us, a cousin of Lesters, Wards fa parents lived on lot No 55. My father had kept a public house or tav from my earliest remembrance untill I was about twenty six years of age. In my early childhood and youth I was sent to our district school which was usually kept three or four months in summer and about the same time or a little longer in winter ~~but four or five months in the year~~. Women teachers in the summer who were paid from one dollar fifty cents to two dollars per week, Men teachers for the winter months was usually paid from twelve to fifteen dollars per month, the teachers usually boarded around with the different families who sent their children to school. After I was eleven or twelve years of age, I attended school only in the winter term. All of my school education I received was in our school dist No 3 in the old town of Buffalo near Cold Spring.

I helped to work the farm and also on the nursery besides attending to travelers when they called. I have helped to clear up and split and hauled rails to fence more than

down Oswego Falls where they hired some black men to run the boat, while the three families walked around the falls. The household goods were carried by land around the falls. Finally they came to Lake Ontario, and then up the lake to Lewiston, where the boat was taken out of the river and carried round Niagara Falls. This was probably done by our old friend James L. Barton who commenced in the carrying business that year under the name and firm of Portor Barton & Company. Put afloat at Schlosser, remained over night the boat tied to a tree. The next day rowed up Niagara River to Buffalo.

This was as stated before in the year 1805 the year before the great eclipse, they rowed into Buffalo Creek on the sixteenth day of June. At this time there was a small frame house near the corner Main Street and Terrace occupied by Cald Gillet as store keeper. Immediately back of this store and adjoining was a log house tavern facing the terrace kept by Judge Barker. Captain Pratt kept a store in a frame building near where the Mansion house now stands. My father and family left the boat, and went to Judge Barkers tavern. Mr. Rudd and Mr. Jackson with their families the next day proceded with the boat up to Presquile, now Erie, Pennsylvania. My father engaged Major Perry who lived on what is now the Granger property adjoining Conjocketa's Creek, to come in with his oxen and cart to carry his

effects out of his place. The first time the family came past our now present home, father carried my sister Sarah in his arms, also his gun and a wooden bottle in his hand. My mother carried her then only son a few months old. Thus they walked from Judge Barkers to Major Perrys at the creek. They moved into the log house at the Perry saw mill (now Granger Mill) stayed there until in the fall, then moved into a log house on what we call our brick yard lor, (lot No.35). We remained there until the next June when my grandfather B. Hodge came on from Oswego he had bought the article of this lot of Thomas Forth we had to leave it and moved down to Cold Spring, into a log house called the Kettle house (Mr. Kettle married a daughter of a Mr. Stailey who lived on the lot that Benjamin Hodge now occupies, lot No.58). My father after looking round Buffalo, concluded that it would be best for him to go into the country and take up a farm. He, therefore went up into the town of Eden and took up a farm at what is called Tubs Hallow procuring tools necessary for building, which consisted of an axe, handsaw, hammer, and an auguer he went to work and put up a log house on the farm. Came down to Buffalo intending to move his family up there, and make that his home. But making an exchange with Grandfather B. Hodge Senior for the Forth or Brick yard lot he remained in this neighborhood

and moved again into the log house on the lot No. 35. Hodge Senior started to move up to the place in Eden. He got as far as the Barker place some eight miles from Buffalo on the lake shore with part of his household effects. He got discouraged, for the road was so bad and turned about and came back and bought of Mr. Burger lot No.34 the place that he occupied until his death which occured in the year February 23rd 1837. My father having to entertain so many travelers about this time, concluded to put up a singboard and keep a public house, which he did in the year 1807 which he continued for more than twenty years. The first time we moved into our brick house on the hill on lot No.57 in December 1812. We had occupied it nearly one year, when it was burnt by the British and after repairing it we moved into it on New Years Day, 1815. Mr. Russell commenced keeping a tavern, the first kept at the Cold Spring in the year 1808.

When my father first settled in this place he wanted to get lot No.57, the one we now occupy, it was owned by a Mr. Joseph Husten who lived down in the village, he refused to sell it, had sowed apple seeds and got a nursery of apple trees growing on the place some time after this Mr. Husten had got his chingles on the ground, and we getting out timber for a house to put up on the place,

when meeting my father one day in the road near the place told him he would let him have the lot for his health was poor, and had concluded to return to the east, they closed a bargain on the spot, went into the woods and stopped the men from work who was getting out timber for a house. My father was to give him three hundred dollars to a Mr. Hunt, (the first owner of the article of the lot) a deed of ten acres of the west end, to take the nursery on shares, to hoe and cultivate it at his own expence, and to pay over to Mr. Husten one half the amount of the receipts for the trees when sold, which my father continued to do for several years, but finally bought Mr. Husten's interest in the nursery. At the time my father bought this lot, there was standing on the place a log house a little south of where my father built the brick house that was burnt by the enemy about two hundred and fifty feet south of Utica Street. There was also a log barn west of the house. Mr. Hunt built a log house on the rear or west end of the lot and lived there for some time, and afterwards left and went to Canada. My father began to build his brick house in the year 1811, the first that I can remember about the building of this house, the walls were about four or five feet high. Mr. Nathan Toles who lived on and occupied, lot No.33 made the bricks on our lot No.35, those were the first brick made

there. The lumber for the house father procured by sawing nights at Mr. Erastus Granger's saw mill, he had one fourth he sawed, could get no chance to saw on shares only nights, some of the neighbors thought father very presumptious in undertaking to built such a house as he did, with his very limited means. The house was 40x30 two stories with attic and kitchen 1½ story - very few aspired to build brick houses in those days in this western wild, this house was known and remembered both far and near as the "brick tavern on the hill".

At the time this house was building we lived in the log house on lot No.35, this noble mansion consisted of two rooms on the lower floor with a wide hall between them, the north room was used for parlor, sitting and diningroom, the south one was the more public room, you could not mistake it as you entered the wide hall by the front door, at the right hand your eyes would be attracted by the large black letters on the unpainted door which told you "Walk In" the latch string, hanging on the outside of the door. This room contained the bar which was partitioned off from one corner of the room. The whiskey and cider barrels standing under the shelves while on the shelves were the kegs of brandy, rum, gin, and some one of two kinds of wine - say madaria and port, and maybe a keg of shrub or peppermint

cordial, and occasionally a keg of methinglin- sometimes a barrel of spruce beer homemade of course as also the methiglin no larger in those early times and the whiskey more pure, and consequently less killing than it is now. The sugae box and money drawer were made to slide under the front counter board - in those early times we had no white sugar but that which came in those long sugar loaf cakes, done up in coarse brown or black paper - we see a few of them yet in the stores - the liquors sold at the bar, were always measured out on the wine glass, gill cup, or whatever quantity was called for was measured - cider by the pint or quart with ginger or red peppers in it, set upon some coals and embers to heat or the flip iren standing in the corner ready for use. The chambers were used for sleeping, several beds in each room. There was also an addition put to this on the east side of the bar for a kitchen, a low sloping roof, a fire place without jambs, the fire places in the bar room and dining room were the same, built without jambs with stick chimneys, resting on one of the beams, the hearths was laid with stone from the commons or the fields, the flatest and smoothest that could be found, but there was not much smoothness or form about them.

I must give a more full description of the fire place, in the dining room, the chimney as I have said one side rested on the beam in front of the fire place, each side over where the jambs should be, was a crooked stick, one end resting on one of the logs composing the end of the house, about five feet up from the hearth, the other end resting on the beam over the hearth, on these and the beam comenced the stick chimney, the sticks laid on three sides, the back side was built up with stone, some eight feet wide and eight feet high, then the logs of the house composed the back untill near the peak of the roof, when the sticks commenced on the fourth side, and carried up above the roof, the stick chimneys were laid in morter made of clay and straw, and plastered with the same on both sides, the tramel pole was placed across paralell, and about on a level with the beam, from this pole hung the tramel with hooks to hang on the pots and kettles over the fire in cooking and then the large And-Irons or fire dogs in front of the big back log, and under a large forestick to correspond, and wood piled up over all, about a quarter of a cord, and well burning, you would have a comfortable, and they used to think a convenient place to warm in cold weather and to do the cooking for the family whether small or large - the logs which constituted the end of the building exposed to the smoke and sparks from the fire, would

frequently catch fire, but was easily put out by dashing up water from a tin cup or dipper.

This house was covered with oak shingles, split about three feet long and laid laping each other as each course was laid - and fastened on by poles laying across them, this was quite an improvement upon the custom of some of the earlier settlers who shingled their houses and barns with bark from the trees of the forrest or "mit straw". In early times when necessity ruled that log houses were fashionable those naked beams, were very convenient for fastening hooks to hang your gun, powder horn and shot pouch on, also almost indispensible in putting up your pumpkin poles - for where else could they dry their pumpkins, apples, they had none in those early times to dry, and then the tin lantern and boot jack, there was no place so convenient and handy to hang it on a nail drove in to one of the beams over head, and how convenient it was to nail up a board under the beams for a shelf, to put your augers, chisels, and many other things, they would be so handy to come at.

The cooking utensils consisted of a long handled frying pan, a large cast iron pot, dish kettle, bake kettle with heavy cast iron cover, grid iron, spider and skillet, the short cakes were baked in the spider set up before the

with the flatiron against it,- and what a good fire place this was to roast a spareribs, or a fat goose, (turkey had not emigrated here then, only in their wild state and they were not often caught) a good strong tow string made from grandmothers tow fastened to a nail drove in to the beam over the hearth and the rib dangling at the lower end before the blazing hot fire. There was no.modern aparatus for roasting spareribs equal to the old way practiced by the pioneers. The large driping pan underneath containing the big iron spoon to baste it with occasionally, and then the big frying pan was used often to fry those good old fashioned flapjacks,- and what a nack there was in baking them, to flip them over in the frying pan without letting them fall out on the hearth. It has been said (but I dont give it much credit as being a fact) that there were some experts that would flip them up and out of the top of those spacious stick chimneys, and run out the door and catch them in the long handled pan as they came down.

The journey, or what is more comonly called the johnny cake board was an old established institution, placed between the andirons - with four or five cakes at a time on the board bolstered up by one or two flatirons and didnt' grandma's cakes taste good though when I was a boy they did

not spoil them as they frequintly do now by putting in too much salaeratus. The well near the house was dug and stoned up by my father and my uncle L. in the year 1806, it was about fourteen feet in depth they dug, stoned and finished it in two days time, it was, and is now 1868 one of the best wells of water in the neighborhood.

While we lived in this log house, I recollect I think it was in the fall of the year 1812 the Pennsylvania troops encamped on the hills in front of our house, on lots number 56-58 and 59 owned by Mr. Staley and Mr. DeShay. They remained only a few weeks in their encampment on those lots, burnt all the fence rails near them. I think our government never paid the owners for those rails.

I have often heard my father say, he made money very fast about this time in keeping his tavern, they kept the five pail kettle over the fire much of the time boiling meat - were thronged with soldiers, wanting besides their liquor, what they called "cold hark" or a "cold cut" cold meals twenty five cents, whiskey twelve and a half cents a gill, brandy, gin, wine, and other liquors twenty five cents a gill, horses at hay one dollar a span, oats from one to two dollars a bushel, all the time of the war, and for some time after, hay and grain sold for a high price. I have heard my father remark that he had bought more oats

at a dollar per buchel than he ever had for less. In these war times hay was selling for from twenty to thirty dollars per ton.

There was at one time, soon after the war closed, no flour to be had in the place. Father heard of a wagon load coming in from the east, on the Batavia or Williams Ville road, he sent a man (Jedediah Jackson) out to meet and buy it, which he did at Fifteen dollars per barrel.

At this time, and after, until the year 1825 or say 1826 (the canal was finished in the fall of 1825) there used to be the big five six, and seven horse teams, large Pennsylvania covered wagons with wide tire traveling on this road transporting goods from the City of Albany to Buffalo. Robert or Bob Hunter was one - a Mr. Gilbert was another who made it their business in hauling goods for our Buffalo merchants from the City of Albany - Daniel Cotton also was in the same business for some time. The price paid for transportation was six dollars per hundred pounds.

In those days the road from the Cold Spring to near Conjockety's or Grangers Creek consisted of a log way or corseway. I have seen much of this road many times in the spring and fall of the year flooded with water. The road also from waldens hill (High Street) to the Village was many times impassible for loaded teams.

There was in these early times a slough hole where Chippawa Street crosses Main Street, that was the natural course for the water to run from the wet and swampy woods adjoining on the east side of the road from where Chippawa Market is.

I have stated before that my father commenced building the brick house in the year before the war was declared that is, in 1811 he finished and moved into it about the first of January 1813. He knew and felt there was some risk in building here so near the frontier, but did not aprehend very great danger until our men burnt Queenstown. Then the enemy declared they would be revenged by burning Buffalo and Black Rock. They were expected to make the effort, and our people made calculation accordingly, some of the merchants moved their goods and groceries out of the Village and stored them in my fathers cellar which was filled with goods, groceries, and liquors brought out.- They thought they would be more safe here than in the Village. They were all consumed when the house was burnt.

My first rememberance was of living in a double log house on farm lot No.35 where my parents resided until I was eight years of age when we moved on to the hill into our new brick house on lot No.57 this was in December 1812. In the month of June the same year war had been declared

of forty years of age. My recollection goes back to the time we lived in the double log house with the hall between with stairs from the hall to the chambers where I used to go to get corn to pop and while living there I used to hunt after geese eggs and look after the goslins and drive the flock of geese up to the house and catch them for moth to pick. ~~After we removed into the brick house my mother died~~

The first year we lived in the new brick house on the hill my work was about the house attending to the fires in cold weather and waiting on travelers and customers when they called. My great object I had in view was to accumulate lead which I did by geting bullets and melting them and running them into little bars. In the course of the year I had collected the lead and made quite a number of little bars. I would hear the people talk about the British coming over and we should all have to go away. And as I did not want to loose my little bars of lead. I procured a little ~~square~~ box about six or eight inches square it had been used for venetian red lead or paint, it had a slide cover. I put all my bars of lead into this box and buried it in the garden. and when we did have to go away that box of lead bars remained safe. I dug it up the next spring. We moved or rather the family left the house the morning of the 30th of December 1813 leaving most of the things in the house, which was burnt by the enemy on the 1st day of January 1814 two days after. On the same day Richard Keep one of our neighbors was killed, also Col. Totman an officer of the army. Mr Totmans body was carried out to Harris Hill Tavern where we were by a horseman the day the body laying across the horse. I remember of seeing the body laying on the bar room table that evening. The family were absent from home just one week we came back and lived in a small frame house which had been used as a joiner shop father put up an addition to it and lived there about one year until he rebuilt the brick house. In the fall of this year one of my

The first school I think was taught by Luther Bradish afterwards. The Rev Mr Whiting of Episcopal Church taught School a short time and officiated as a Minister. The first Election I have any recollection of was held one day at the House of the Eighteen Mile Creek. One day in Buffalo and one [the last day] at Schoolcraft. Some persons came from Batavia to assist or to see that the Elections were held.

The next year 1801 Capt Pratt removed his family and Dan'l Rees also came as Indian Blacksmith and Silas Stow began to improve as far as then thought most convenient. The emigration to the Western Reserve & the Mississippi was generally marked. From old Connecticut born & to rise, Commenced with great spirit and doubtless contributed very much to bring the place into notice.

Vessels. The Sloop [Canada] Contractor belonging to Porter Barton & the Sloop Clark belonging to Dr Cyrenus Chapin. The Sloop Nancy Capt. Orcutt built by Government at Onondaga & bought by Porter Barton & Co. The Sch Polly [Capt] owned partly by Port Barton & and Sch Sally Capt Atkins were all the vessels having ports this side of Lake. The Adelia 60 Tons owned by the late Capt David Beard late of Detroit [Sch] Salina ~~Erie~~ the Good Intent Capt Burgess Capt Daniel Dobbins lost under Point Abino [Capt] Capt. Dobbins missing remains of him was saved all lost. Brig Caledonia of Norfolk Co [illegible]

against Great Britain by the United States. The day the news came here I had been spending the day strawbeerying with Lester F. Cotton at his fathers on the plains, Samuel Ward Cotton was with us, a cousin of Lester Ward's parents lived on lot No.55. My father had kept a public house or tavern from my earliest rememberance until I was about twenty six years of age. In my early childhood and youth I was sent to our district school which was usually kept three or four months in summer and about the same time or a little longer in winter. Women teachers in the summer who were paid from one dollar fifty cents to two dollars per week. Men teachers for the winter months was usaully paid from twelve to fifteen dollars per month, the teachers usually boarded around with the different families who sent their children to school. After I was eleven or twelve years of age, I attended school only in the winter term. All of my school education I received was in our school district No.3 in the old town of Buffalo near Cold Spring .

The only branches studied were the "three R's Reading, Writing and Arithmitic together with spelling and a little geography. I never studied grammar, infact very few did when I went to school. The closing excercise or lesson of each day was spelling when all the older pupils would stand up and words to spell were given to each in



turn and anyone missing would go down one place, at the close of the lesson the one at the head would have the previlege of wearing home a silver dollar suspended by a blue ribbon and at the end of the term the pupil who had worn this the greatest number of times was entitled to keep it. This part of the school exercise I greatly enjoyed and was indeed a good speller, and was only prevented from winning the dollar by a girl named Calista Sewis who had worn it home a few times more than I had. The dollar had been presented by our teacher for this purpose .

I must say that with this exception I did not like going to. I did not then know and appriciate the benefit of an education. I would much rather have been out in the woods with my gun after game especially pigeons when they were plentiful - and we sometimes did, teacher and all spend the forenoon having a grand pigeon hunt. They would pass over in immense flocks so large and thick that they would hide the sun from us like a cloud. In studying arithmetic Dabold's and Pike's books were used and a pupil was considered to have done very well if he went as far as the "Rule of Three" - A few went further but only a few. The girls were about on a par with the boys or perhaps I should say young ladies and young men for at least one half of those who attended in winter were grown men and women.

School books were not always to be procured, the only book store in the Village not always having either the number or the variety of books and when they were to be had many parents were not able to buy them, therefore, one book had to do for two or more pupils. I used to stand up on our writing desk seat and read out of the same book with my Uncle Benjamin. We suffered many inconveniences on this account as well as from lack of space as there was not room enough at the writing desk for us all to write at the same time, and stire another trouble from the fact that it was impossible to keep warm in our old log school house in cold weather. The fireplace was without jawbs and although on a cold day it was piled four or five feet high with good wood cut five feet long the teacher would be compelled to let us take turns, six or eight at a time, to stand before the blazing fire in order to get even somewhat warm. Many times during the winter this was repeated. The older boys of the school were required by the teacher to take turns in building the fire in the morning.

One cold winter day a boy, Asahee Bill by name, whose turn it was, was told by the teacher to be sure and have a good fire, in answer he said that he would make a "snorter". Early that morning he went down and built the fire and then returned to get his breakfast. Going back the

old log school house was in flames and past recovery. He had in fact built the fire so high that the flames had caught the flooring of the chamber above. His "snorter" was too much for the dry boards and logs and the result was their entire distruction.

I helped to work the farm and also in the nursery besides attending to travelers when they called. I have helped to clear up and spiit and hauled rails to fance more than one hundred acres of the land in this neighborhood consisting of farm lots No.57-33 and 35. I staid at home with my parents until I was upwards of forty years of age. My recollection goes back to the time we lived in the double log house.

The first traveled road coming into Buffalo from the east, as traveled prior to about 1804 commenced at the old "Homestead" or Atkins's tavern about five miles from the port of Buffalo Creek. From thence bearing little to the left keeping on the limestone ridge about one mile then bearing to the right and crossing the present main road on "Flint Hill" before you cross the present "Park Way" following the rockey ridge or nearly so until you strike the Conjorkety Creek at the old fording place in the "Forest Lawn Cemetery" you came down a steep bank of some twenty feet and immediately turn to the right and cross the creek.

The old road track continuing about where Delaware Street is near Utica Street bearing a little east and after crossing the street continued about paralell to Delaware crossing lot 57 and 58 thence across 55 or "Cotton Lot" then bearing a little west across 54 and 53 to the old guideboard road now North Street thence on North Street to where York Street now is, from this point it diverged off and took the course of York Street to the river, (the guide board or North Street continuing on north westerly to Black Rock ferry which lay at the foot of the hill back of the street car barns). You continued on the back of the river to the mouth of big Buffalo Creek and then up the north bank of this creek to little Buffalo Creek which entered big Buffalo Creek at the foot of Commercial Street on the left or east side thence up little Buffalo Creek to Main Street.

Cold Spring is a place of some note on account of the large spring of cold and pure water from which it takes its name, situated in the public highway.

It was a benevolent and wise act in Joseph Ellicott as agent and surveyor for the Holland Land Company's land in laying out and establishing a road running east and west crossing the main road so as to bring this large and noble spring into a public highway for the benefit of the

Cold Spring is a place of some note on account of the large spring of cold and pure water – from which it took its name, situated in the public highway

there are many things connected with its location as Cold Spring which may be mentioned – First – there has been a public house or tavern kept at that place since sometime in the year 1808 – It was a benevolent and wise act in Joseph Ellicott as agent and surveyor for the Holland Land Company's land in laying out and establishing a road running east and west crossing the main road so as to bring this large and noble Spring in to a public highway for the benefit of the public. Who is there now living that has ever traveled the old Batavia road since the year 1808 or has lived in the vicinity of Buffalo that has not heard and known of the "Cold Spring Tavern"

And in the war of 1812-15 this was quite a centre point on this frontier, where many of the officers of our army made it their stopping place –

There was a duel fought in the time of that war with pistols at the foot of the lot at the little run near the corner of Ferry and Jefferson streets; in the expert belly of a duelist saw fit

public. There are many things connected with its location as Cold Spring which may be mentioned. First there has been a public house or tavern kept at that place since sometime in the year 1808. Who is there now living that has ever traveled the old Batavia road since the year 1808 or has lived in the vicinity of Buffalo that has not heard and known of the "Cold Spring Tavern". And in the war of 1812-15 this was quite a centre point on this frontier, where many of the officers of our army made it their stopping place.

There was a duel fought in the time of the war with pistols at the foot of the cold spring lot at the little run near the corner of Ferry Jefferson Streets by two of our army officers. An ecpert bully of a duelist saw fit to challenge an inexperienced officer, inexperienced at least with pistols for the sake and with the intention of getting him out of his way. The challenge was accepted of course. No honorable man could refuse to fight a duel when challenged in those times, he the challenged expected to be killed and therefore the position he chose to stand and fight was to stand side by side, each to take hold of the same handkerchief with the left hand, their loaded pistols in their right, and when the word was given

to challenge an inexperienced officer - inexperienced at least with pistols - for the sake - and with the intention of getting him out of his way

The challenge was accepted of course - no honorable man could refuse to fight a duel when challenged. In those times, the challenged expected to be killed, and therefore the position he chose to stand and fight was to stand side by side, each to take hold of the same handkerchief with the left hand, their loaded pistols in their right, and when the word was given "ready, fire" to fire. The experienced duelist presenting the narrowest part of himself to his antagonist received the ball of his opponent's pistol in his side and fell and died immediately. The other not thinking of the policy of exposing the smallest possible front to his enemy, stood square and facing his antagonist and received the ball in front, which passed through his breast and not touching any vital part, he survived the wound, and lived many years afterwards.

Before the Erie Canal was finished and came into use, which was in the fall of 1825 [illegible] was also the starting place of the big five six and seven horse teams with their wide six and eight wheel

"ready fire" to fire. The experinced duelist presenting the narrowist part of himself to his antagonist received the ball of his opponent's pistol in his side and fell and died immediately. The other not thinking of the policy of exposing the smallest possible front to his enemy, stood square and facing his antagonist received the ball in front, which passed through his breast, and not touching any vital part. He survived the wound, and lived many years afterwards.

Before the Erie Canal was finished and came into use which was in the fall of 1825, this "Cold Spring Tavern" was also the stopping place of the big five six and seven horse teams, with their wide six and eight inch tire.

My first attendence of religious meetings and impressions and recollection of the same, are that it was in what is now our old court house, it must have been before it was seated for my recollections on that the people sat upon board seats and benches without backs, and that the women and children sat together on one side of the large room and the men on the other. Some time after this many of the families that were able procured or made themselves benches or seats with backs to them of planed boards or plank and then the family all sat together in their own seat those that were able had their seats painted many were not, cushions were not considered necessary,

My first attendence of religious meetings and impressions and recollections of the same are that it was in what is now our old court house, it must have been before it was seated for my recollections are that the people sat upon board seats and benches without backs, and that the women and children sat together on one side of the large room and the men on the other. Some time after this many of the families that were procured or made themselves benches or seats with backs to them of planed boards a plank and then the families all sat together in their own seat then they were not, and this were not considered necessary, afterwards when some began to cushion their seats they were thought by others to be very extravagant and somewhat stuck up. The minister was Miles P. Squier the [illegible] was led by Mr Pratt I dont remember the year [illegible] went to meeting at the court house until we built a big frame meeting house on the ground where the old first church now stands

I attended meeting in the frame building which was moved some fifty or thirty rods down on the west side of Niagara st when the old brick church was finished. The frame meeting house was moved down on the west side of Niagara st some fifteen or thirty rods where we occupied it until the brick church was finished my father furnished about one half of the bricks for the church R.B. Heacock furnished the ballance Theodore Coburn done the mason work Mr [illegible] the carpenter and joiner work Hamon A Potter was one of the chief superintendants when finished the pews was sold at auction my father bought number #10 side I worked in the brickyard and helped make the brick

Neither had they pioneering as we have now. I remember one family, relatives of ours, who lived on the lake shore in the town of Hamlin, telling me that in the year 1812 they were obliged to go to Niagara falls to get their grain ground. The quist Mill at that place being the easiest to get to at that time.

They took their grain in a "dug-out". It required several days time to go and return.

The few families who were here in those early times were thankful and glad to get the most common necessaries of life, and was obliged and willing to work for them too.

But after a life of struggle, toil, privations and hardships, incident to a frontier life, those early pioneers have mostly passed away; but few are now living of the class I speak of.

Some of their children are yet here among the living who toiled and labored with their parents, some are in tolerable circumstances of life, while others are poor and needy, but worthy, yes worthy of more of the comforts & necessaries of life than their lot has meted to them. All having struggled with poverty in their early years of their

[illegible] grew bigger as it were, took, took 6

afterwards when some began to cushion their seats they were thought to be very extravagant and somewhat stuck up. One minister was Miles P. Squier, the quire was led by Mr. Pratt I don't remember the year. We went to meetings at the court house until we built a large frame meeting house on the ground where the old first church now stands.

I remember one family, relatives of ours who lived on the lake shore in the town of Hamburg, telling me that in the year 1812 they were obliged to go to Niagara Falls to get their grain ground. They took their grain in a "dug-out". It required several days time to go and return.

The few families who were here in those early times were thankful and glad to get the most common necessaries of life, and were obliged and willing to work for them too. But after a life of strugle, toil, privations and hardships, incident to a frontier life, those early pioneers have mostly passed away; but few are now living of the class I speak of. Some of their children are yet here among the living who toiled and labored with their parents, some are in tolerable circumstances of life, while others are poor and needy, but worthy. All having struggled with poverty in the early years of their life. Those who yet linger as it were, look back to those early times of their childhood, with something of a pleasing consiousness and satisfaction, in having in the station which God's

Some of their children are yet here among the living who toiled and labored with their parents, some are in tolerable comfortable circumstances of life while others are poor and needy but worthy

All having struggled with poverty, many years of their life. Those who yet linger as it were look back to those early times of their childhood with rather a pleasing consciousness and satisfaction in having in the station which God's providence allotted them upon the stage of life helped in their humble way by their hard labor, toil, and privations, in this then western wild to lay the foundation of a large and growing city on this Niagara frontier.

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A trucker asked my father to make him an offer in cash for his load of pork, father offered him two dollars fifty cents per hundred, he accepted his offer and was very thankful to get cash for his pork, even at that low price.

Good beef was worth by the quarter, from two to three dollars per hundred, butter from six to twelve cents per pound, oats fifteen to twenty cents per bushel, potatoes and turnips the same, good milk cows were worth from twelve to sixteen dollars each, but no cash, only in exchange, or in barter. A yoke of oxen was considered worth from forty to fifty five dollars, a very fine yoke might fetch sixty horses from forty to sixty five dollars.

Many families in this vicinity raised flax and manufactured linen cloth for their own use. I have helped to raise flax, pull and spread it out to rot, and when it was ready, we would have a man who made it his business to break and dress flax, came and dress it for us. The spinning and preparing it for the loom, was done by the women folks of the family.

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Many families in the town ~~also~~ kept flocks of sheep, the wool of which would be manufactured in the family, and made in to flanned, and fulled cloth, and yarn for stockings, mittens, and other things, most of which would be used in the family, sometimes a part of it might be exchanged

for other goods at the stores. Cotton cloth was very dear, it was worth from 5 to 7 and a half cents, to sixty two and a half cents per yard.

Most of those living here, were unable to buy much cotton cloth, and very few could afford to wear "Store cloth."

Those times and customs, have long since passed from this vicinity, and with the habits of the people, have greatly changed. We no more hear of the healthy, and hearty girls, and young women boasting of their exploits in getting up before day light and working at their spinning, and getting their days work done by twelve o'clock at noon. No more are we charmed with the ringing hum of the big wheel, as they walked the floor to and fro, nor are our ears attracted by the continual buzzing, and clicking noise, of the little wheel, as we were in olden time.

We have but the relics of those early times which consist of the instruments themselves, in the shape of the big wooden wheel, wheel boy, reel, and swifts, and the little wheel, distaff, and hetchel, and the few of those once very useful articles that remain among us have been laid aside quite idle and still for more than forty years except, as may be occasionally in the latter years,

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On the morning of the 30th of December 1813, the British crossed Niagara River below Conjaguada Creek, and were first discovered by a patrol of this company, they brought the news about three o'clock in the morning that the British were over the river. All in the house were

[illegible] Niagara River [illegible] Hal[illegible] and [illegible] at two o'clock [illegible] five hundred regular [illegible] several hundred Indians. It was thought [illegible] would [illegible] Australaya [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] They [illegible] in open ground, [illegible] required to meet them [illegible] when they came up, which would have been after dayl[illegible] The Indians would have been but little use to them [illegible] they are allways great cowards unless they can fight in the [illegible] There were some few shells fired when the enemy were [illegible] first discovered, which was a great distance below Squaw Island. [illegible] then marched up the river, crossed the Niagara at Lewistown (Niagara Street) Creek, in at that place was met by some few of our enemy [illegible]

roused up, Mr. Hodge Sr. supposed our army stationed down in the village would drive the enemy back, he had made no provision for moving the family away, in case of their defeat.

The battle was fought about day break that morning our army scattered and fled. The fields and highways were soon filled with our soldiers, running to save their lives. The inhabitants, men women and children following after, some in wagons, but the most of them on foot. Mr. Hodge Sr. began to realize the necissity of moving the family away, he directed his hired man to yoke the oxen and hitch to the cart and drive up to the door instead of bringing the team as directed, he ran off with the rest of the fleeting multitude. After most of the people had fled, Mr Hodge finally engaged an army baggage wagon to drive up to the door, some bedding and clothing was flug in, and the family were carried out some twelve miles to Harris Hill tavern, some three miles east of Williams Ville.

After the family had gone, Mr. Hodge Sr. was soon left entirely alone, he was anxious to save more of his property, he yoked the oxen, and hitched them to the cart, and drove up to the door, and himself flung in to the cart, some bedding and a baking of bread and some few other articles and then drove off. He saw the smoke of the burning houses in the village rising high in the air, as

he was leaving his own house. He expected that he would be obliged to leave his ox team and run for his life, as the British Indians were seen at the edge of the woods some sixty rods west of the house before he left, but was not molested in his flight. He drove his team out to the Harris Hill tavern, where he found his family all safe. The next day he came back to his house with his team, and found everything pretty much as he had left it he understood the enemy had gone over the river, he again returned to his family, without taking anything from the house, as he thought he should move his family back to their home in a day or two. The following day which was January 1st 1814, he again returned, when he had arrived within sight of, and about one and a half miles from his house he discovered the enemy were there, and the house on fire he stoped in the road until a company of our horsemen over took and passed him near Grangers Creek. When he came within eighty rods of his house he found one of his neighbors Mr. Richard Keep a blacksmith lying dead, by the side of the road having been shot by the enemy, he helped to carry the body into a house and picked up Mr. Keep's rifle, and went on up on to the hill to his own house which was then in flames. He was quite alone and could save nothing from the burning building, as the roof was then falling in, with rifle in hand he crossed the

road to his barn hoping to meet some of the enemy, he felt that he wanted to take vengance, or that his life might as well go with his property. He returned that evening to his family and remained with them at Harris Hill untill the next Thursday, when with the few things they had saved they moved back, and lived in a small fram house on the premises which the enemy did not burn. It was a winter of constant fear and alarm our while frontier left almost entirely unprotected, and a report that the enemy were over almost every night, they packed up and moved off, two or three times in the course of the winter and spring. The enemy did come over the river two different times, and were driven back by a few soldiers with the assistance of some of the few inhabitants that were here that winter and spring. The new families that were here through the winter and spring after the burning could procure no provisions except from the commissary of the army. And in that time but little else than salt provisions were furnished, the soldiers would have fresh meat even if it was poor. They stole the only cow Mr. Hodge Sr. possessed and killed her for beef, and stole everything else they could find that was eatable during that winter and spring.

About this time Mr. Hodge Sr. was drafted in to the army. He hired a substitute to take his place, who was accepted, he paid him thirty dollars bounty, and was to pay in addition ten dollars per month, monthly, but he was never called on for the monthly payments it was supposed the fellow deserted.

The spring opened with more hope to the few families that were here. Troops were sent on to protect this frontier. Many of the inhabitants returned to the burnt village and began to build again. The buildings they built many were of the most primitive and cheap do-for-the-present kind. In the spring of 1814 Mr. Hodge Sr. began to rebuild his brick house, and in the ensuing fall moved into it again. He continued tavern keeping he also continued the nursery business, and did some considerable farming, making use of most of the produce in his public house. He increased his fanning mill business and manufacturing of rolling screens for gristmills, wire seives and riddles. Also for some two years kept a store of goods in the brick tavern house, as in those times a store of goods contained all the different varieties, such as dry goods, crockery, hardware, liquors, coffee, tea, sugars etc. Business was good for a year or two after the war and then began to decline. Many became embarrassed financially, and

Mr. Hodge among the rest, struggled along for several years sold out the goods remaining on hand, but continued his other business in a smaller way, his embarrassment became such that he was obliged to call on a friend living in the interior of this state to step forward and help him or he would have lost every piece of property he possessed.

On Friday December 31, 1813, Buffalo was quite deserted by both waring parties. Saturday January 1, 1814 a small force of the enemy came over burnt the few remaining buildings and took some thirty or forty citizens prisioners who had gone in to the village to see the smoking ruins, among them were Benjamin Hodge Jr. also a Mr. Eddy from the town of Hamburg, when about being marched to Black Rock, they were asked by the Commanding Officer if any one knew of any public property near by that could be destroyed Mr. Eddy said he did, being asked where, directed them to my fathers house on the main road just above Cold Spring. He was ordered to mount behind one of the horseman to show them the way to it. Eight horsemen came out, they were directed if they met with any opposition to shoot and return. Benjamin Hodge Jr. and a Mr. Keep were in the Barroom at the time they came in sight, they both ran out down the hill, Mr. Keep was young and active, one of the horseman gave chase, called for them to stop Mr. Hodge stoped, the British

horseman passed by him at the foot of the hill continued after Keep who continued to run when he shot him down with his carbine or short musket, he then wheeled about returned to our house with Mr. Hodge, the officer ordered Mr. Hodge to show him the way to the cellar, in going he ordered him to take an axe that stood in the corner, after arriving at the cellar and seeing it filled with merchandise he steped back to the head of the stairs and ordered his men to fire the house. Then ordered Mr Hodge to knock open several boxes of candled, keggs of nails, casks of liquor hoping to find specie, he was assured there was no specie there nor public property, it was all private property (the cellar was stored full of merchandise by the merchants in the village) after knocking in the heads of several casks of liquor, they came to one of old Jamaca the officer entied his canteen of whiskey and filled it from the cask. About this time his men from above called out "the yankees were coming" he rapidly steped up and out the outer cellar stairs telling Mr. Hodge to follow him, who thought he would not be in too great a hurry, lagged behind without repeating his order, or looking back he went out, mounted his horse, and rode off with his men. The yankees that were coming were a company of our horsemen under the command of Col. Totman, who had stoped at Atkins tavern "Old Homestead" on the Plains when the

company of horses came up near our house, they were scattered along the road. Col. Totman some distance ahead of his Company, he rode on past the house, up to the side of a British horseman who shot him down. He fell on the west side of the road in the ditch opposite Riley Street, it was supposed he mistook the British horseman for our own. His horse ran back to our barn the British horseman after it, our horseman coming up the enemy turned and retreated, as our horseman came near the burning building they saw a British Indian, or rather he was a half blood, going across the road with a brand of fire to set fire to the barn, he flug away his brand of fire and ran, they over hauled and took him prisioner. He was taken out towards Batavia it was reported by some he was ugly and tried to get away, and was shot, others said he was killed without any just reason of provocation by (Doct.) Turtlelot.

Mr. Hodge remained in the cellar but a moment after the British Officer left him he then came up the inside stairs, looked out of the window the British horseman had just started off, he saw the house was set on fire in two places, in what was called the front room, and also the bar room, the cupboards were cut to pieces with their swards, and fires kindled in them. He ran across the road

to the well with a pail for water, the pump was frozen could get no water, a few pails of water would have put out the fire, he thought it was no use to look any farther for water, if the house was not burnt then it would be soon as he thought the British had possession here and therefore gave it up. About this time several Indians came into the Cold Spring tavern house by the back door, a woman by the name of Mrs. Martin who lived in the family of Major Frederick Miller the owner of the place had remained at the house, they were about to fire the house, Mrs. Martin managed to divert them from it for some time by furnishing them food, knowing that the company of horsemen would be there in a short time, when they came, the Indians ran out the back door across the field. There were some Indians cut down by our horsemen.

I remember well the battle of "Lundy's Lane" it was a fine pleasant summer day, the latter part of the afternoon, my father was standing in the garden on the south side of our house, conversing with a neighbor (I was standing by) we heard firing of small arms in the direction of Niagara Falls, they remarked there was a battle, for some few minutes there was nothing heard but the firing of muskets, very soon cannon began to roar, and fired so fast as to allmost drown the report of the muskets.

The battle continued untill after dark, I think sometime in the evening. When our army had possession of Fort Erie there was constant firing by both parties for forty days and nights, The enemy firing cannon balls bumbs and rockets from their batteries in to the fort, and our men returning the compliment in like manner. Our men would freequently sally out of the fort with such as would volunteer for the occasion and drive the enemy from their batteries and spike their cannon, and then retreat back to the fort. Many a small battle and skirmish took place within the forty days we held possession of the fort. The British determined to drive our men from, and get possession of the fort. Which they undertook on the night of September 17, 1814, they did get possession so far as to drive our men from the main battery, and turn the guns upon them, as our men were retreating from the fort, under the fire of those cannon, the magazine that was under the battery blew up with a tremendaous noise, and great distruction of life and limb of the enemy, several hundred who were on the battery were blown up, this caused a reaction in the scene, the enemy who survived retreated, most of them were made prisioners and our men regained possession of the fort. When the battle had ceased on the blowing up of the magazine, the people on this side of the river were in great anxiety to

hear the result. The great noise made by the explosion of the magazine, they could not account for and which party had gained the victory they could not tell, they were in great suspence untill word was brought across the river. They felt great relief when they learned that our men had gained the day, had we lost the day the enemy would have been over here the next day before night. I remember well of seeing a number of wagon loads of those miserable distressed and blackened human beings, as they were brought along and stoped at our house the next day, we lived then in what we called the shop house. They were in great pain and agony, beged for whiskey or liquor to drown their suffering and pain, they were awful objects to behold, some with their eyesight gone, their faces blackened and disfigured, they were taken I think to Williams Ville, and finaly those that recovered to Greebush opposite Albany, the other prisioners that were not wounded or mained were marched on foot. As they were halted in front of the shop house and seeing the brick house being repaired, declared they would burn it again before one year passed by.

I remember the time Col. Schuyler was killed I think this was before our people had possession of Fort Erie. He was killed by a cannon ball shot across the river, he was on his horse going from or near the ferry down to

one of our batteries in the evening on the beach of the river, with a lantern and candle in his hand, when a cannon ball struck him in the shoulder. There was a great deal of connonading across the river both ways in time of the war, our main battery was on the high bank a few rods below where Niagara Street strikes the bank of the river and turns down the same, and some thirty or forty rods above the little stream or ravine near Albany Street. Black Rock ferry was under the hill just at the head of the main battery, and at this ferry was Black Rock which consisted of some half dozen wooden buildings built on the rocks near the edge of the river. Black Rock took its name from the color of the stone or rocks at this place.

I also remember the time when Comodore Perry and his gallant men came down to Buffalo immediately after his victory on the Lake Erie. I think it was the first night after they came here, some of them crossed over with row boats boarded and took possession of two British vessels that lay at anker under the guns of Fort Erie they boarded them and overpowered the guards on the decks and prevented those in the cabin or hold from coming up, they cut the cables and let them drift. They also crossed over the river just for fun and frollick, and took the enemy's batteries and as the song says "spiked up all their cannon before the break of day". They came out to my

fathers, one day they would drink their grog, fire off their pistols, the way they loaded their pistols made me think they were not afraid of powder, they would from their powder horns pour in to their pistols until they judged they had loaded enough, and some times they would be filled half full, then ram in the wadding and bang her off, the reports would be as load as a heavy loaded musket.

Where are those who penetrated the wilderness, felled the forests, and prepared the way for the improvements, and the privileges, which we enjoy. They are dropping off one after another, and but few remaind to tell the tale of their early trials and hardships. It is a tribute which we owe to the worth and memory of the departed men- it is due to the country to whose prosperity their toils have contributed it is due to truth and history - it is due also to their children and to their childrens children, that the lives of these hardy pioneers should be known and recorded, that the generations to came, may understand how God guided their fathers into this wilderness, and preserved and prospered them in the midst of danger and difficulties.

Mr. Hodge acquired the confidence of the community now increased in number after the desolation of the war. But we are not to look for any striking and remarkable

incidents. Though he cherished in his memory many interesting facts in relation to the history of the place, and the dosasters of the war, and often resolved to commit them to writing, the rememberance of these events has now perished. No record or memorial remains.

APPENDIX C

LIST OF SUFFERERS ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER FROM FORT NIAGARA TO THE "TONEWANTA" CREEK AND FROM LEWISTON ON THE RIDGE ROAD TO THE WIDOW FORSYTHE'S

YOUNGSTOWN

Mrs. Agnes Greensitt. Her husband died last summer, leaving her and six or seven children; her house and furniture destroyed by the enemy on the 19th of December last; supposed to be with her children in Ontario County; presumed to be in want.

Elijah Hatheway. Lost a small log house and stable; residence unknown; presumed not to be in want.

John Mc Bride. On the river road towards Lewiston; house and firniture destroyed; wife and two or three children; supposed to be in Ontario County and probably in want; himself a prisoner with the enemy.

Isaac Swain. House etc. destroyed; himself and family in Genesee County; not in want.

Jabez Hull. Hired house burnt; furniture, etc. destroyed; family in Ontario (County); himself a prisoner; from circumstances presumed not to be in present want.

William Arbuthnot, William Mc Bride, Alexander Mc Bride. The two former prisoners, the latter with his

family in Niagara County. They were tanners; their home, barn and tannery at first not burnt, since reported to have been; not in want.

Alexander Millar. Farmer; house, barn, etc., burnt; himself taken prisoner, since liberated and son still a prisoner; himself and family in Ontario; rich - large funds in different banks, besides abundant other property.

LEWISTON

Benjamin Barton. House and office at Lewiston burnt, large barn on farm; not in want.

Hugh Howel. Innkeeper; hired house burnt; presumed not to have lost much; not in want; in Ontario.

John R. Smith. Innkeeper; house, shed, etc. burnt; hemself and family said to be at large in Canada where he formely lived.

Joshua Fairbanks. Merchant. House, etc. in Lewiston burnt; farm house and barn, with a large quantity of wheat, together with still house and still on the road to Axhlosser all destroyed; not in want.

Townsend Bronson & Co. Merchants; storehouse, farm house and barn burnt; not in want.

Mrs. Mariamne Alvord. House and barn burnt; husband killed; herself with four small children in Ontario with Aaron Vanorman, her brother-in-law; worthy woman and must be in urgent want.

Jonas Harrison. House and barn burnt; not in want.

Thomas Slayton. Hired house burnt; supposed not to have lost anything.

Dr. William Smith. Office, etc., destroyed; not in want.

Thomas Hustler. Innkeeper; house, barn and shed burnt; not in want.

Solomon Gillet. House etc. burnt; himself a prisoner; two sons killed; helpless wife with three small children, now between Batavia and Ridge road; in distress; objects of prudent charity.

Mrs. Lewis. Husband, Reuben Lewis, killed; herself with four small children supposed to be near Aurora in Cayuga and as poor as can be conceived; objects of prudent charity.

FROM THE TOP OF THE MOUNTAIN TO MANCHESTER (NOW NIAGARA FALLS, N.Y.)

Abiather Buck. Himself a prisoner; wife and child on the road for Ontario; no property; objects of prudent charity.

Joseph Hewitt. House and barn burnt; not in want.

Mrs. March. Hired House burnt; husband killed; herself and family on the way to Ontario; poor; pbjects of prudent charity.

Isaac Colt. Innkeeper; house, shed and barn burnt; not in want.

Henry Brother. Himself absent; family in Ontario and in want.

Benjamin Hopkins. Hired house burnt and with it his whole property destroyed; himself and wife in a bad state of health; two small children; in Senaca County, in urgent want.

Silas Hopkins. House and barn burnt; not in want.

Ephraim Hopkins. Hired house burnt; supposed to have lost nothing; not in want.

Dr. Park. Elderly infirm man; large family; house and barn burnt; himself and family now in Newton; cupposed to be in urgent want.

James Murray. Hired house burnt; wife and small family in Utica, himself in Niagara County; supposed to be in want.

Jacob Hovey. Small family; house, etc. burnt; carpenter and also (incomplete).

Ebenezer Hovey. House etc. burnt; also carpenter; both with their families supposed to be in Canandaigua; present cirsumstances not actually known; worthy men.

Gad Pierce. House etc. burnt; large family in Genesee County; not in want.

Mrs Armington. House burnt; husband died about a year since; in Ontario; presumed to be in want.

_____ Raymond. Blacksmith; lived in part of a hired house; had been there but a short time, could not have lost much; present circumstances and residence unknown; family, himself and wife.

John Davids. Wheelwright; hired house etc. burnt; circumstances as to residence etc. much the same as Raymond's.

Ralph Coffin. Lost everything or nearly so; respectable family, five children; moved two or three times in consequence of the war; now near Batavia; people that have seen better times; presumed to be in urgent want.

Joshua Fairchild. Innkeeper; house etc. burnt; residence unknown; an object of prudent charity.

Oliver Udall. Hired house burnt; saved all his property - so much so as to be supposed not to have lost a dollar's worth; in Ontario County.

Parkhurst Whitney. Hired house burnt; small family persumed to be in want; residence Cayuga or Seneca County.

John W. Stoughton. House, taylor's-shop, fullig mill carding machine burnt; lost his all; a worthy man, presumed to be in want; residence Batavia.

John Sims. Hired house burnt; poor and presumed to be in want; residence in Genesee County.

Augustus Porter. A great sufferer.

William Chapman. Rope-maker; house burnt, lost his all; worthy man, formerly of New York; present residence of himself and family unknown.

SCHLOSSER

Asa Fuller. Innkeeper; hired house, etc., burnt; small family; presumed not to be in want.

Warren Sadler. Loss unknown; presumed not to be in want.

Mrs. Evingham. Lost her husband about a year since; house and barn burnt; three children; presumed to be in want.

James Field. Innkeeper; house and barn burnt; a large family, presumed to be in want; residence Genesee County.

Jacob Gilbert. House etc. burnt; not in want.

_____ Hayford, _____ Rogers. Loss unknown wants and residence unknown; had lately came from Canada.

George Burgar. House etc. burnt; presumed to be in want.

_____ Vanslyck. At Tonnewanta Bridge; log house etc., destroyed.

FROM HUSTLER'S AT LEWISTON TO WIDOW FORSYTHE'S
NOW WARREN'S ON THE RIDGE ROAD.

Mrs. Gardner. House and barn burnt, husband killed; saved some of her property, but presumed to be in want; herself with three of four small children in Ontario.

John Beach. House and barn burnt; not in want; family in Ontario.

Lemuel Cook. House etc. burnt; not in want; at Geneseo.

Lothrop Cook. Lived in the house with his father; had been some time sick and had his leg amputated; not well when the Indians came over; wife out of health; they have three small children; very poor; now at Geneseo, Ontario Co.

Ezra St. John. House burnt and all his property destroyed; himself and family taken prisoners; since returned without anything; now in Semphronius, Cayuga Co.; in want.

Hugh A Wilson. House burnt and all his property destroyed; now in Ontario; in want.

John Groves. Hired house burnt; all his property destroyed; now in Ontario County; in want.

William Miller. Log house burnt; not in want.

_____ Pitcher. Hired house burnt; family taken prisoners; not in want; in Onondaga County.

James Latta and son, John Latta. House and shop burnt. Now in Geneva; not in want.

William Molyneux. Barn burnt some property destroyed; family in Genesee County, not in want.

Rev. Andrew Grey. House burnt, family in Geneseo; not in want.

John Robinson. House burnt, together with the destruction of all his property; himself and large young family Geneseo, in want.

Rufus Spalding. House burnt. property destroyed, but not in want.

Mrs. Totten. House burnt; in Niagara County; not in want.

_____ Southard. All his property plundered and destroyed; himself and family now in Avon, Ontatio Co. in low state of poverty.

William Bartholomew. Loss very trifling; not in want.

Ray Marsh. Loss not great, but now poor; in Genesee County, presumed to be in want.

_____ Omstead. House burnt; family in Genesee; poor and in want.

Charles Redman. Hired house burnt, property all destroyed; family on the Ridge road, in want.

Solomon Guold. House burnt; presumed to be in want; in Bloomflied.

David Jones. Lost some property; not in want.

Aaron Childs. House burnt; family in Ontario; not in want.

Cyshman Smith. Presumed rather to have gained than lost; not in want.

Ely Harris. Loss nothing; not in want.

Jonathan Fasset. One of the speculators; not in want.

Solomon Hersey. Loss trifling; not in want.

Polly Hopkins. Widow, since married, loss trifling; not in want.

Elijah Newton. Speculator; not in want, as presumed.

Lewis Hawley. Speculator, not in want, as presumed.

_____ Glines. Speculator; presumed not to be in want.

_____ Warren. House burnt, property all destroyed; family in Ontario, presumed to be in want.

Akish Pool. House burned; family in Ontario; presumed to be in want.

Daniel Howel. Loss nothing; not in want.

Isaac B. Tyler. Speculator; presumed to be not in want.

Job Layton. Speculator; presumed not to be in want.

James Clark. Loss nothing; now with his family in Ontario Co.; poor and presumed to be in want.

_____ Babcock. Loss trifling; self and family in Ontario; poor and presumed to be in want.

Levi Howel. Loss trifling; self and family in Ontario; poor and presumed to be in want.

Loring Doney. Black smith; loss trifling; self and family now in Ontario Co. poor and presumed to be in want.

William Howel. Loss considerable; not in want.

Elnathan Holmes. Speculator, presumed not to be in want.

Aaron Beach. Speculator; presumed not in want.

_____ Neil. Loss nothing; remained the whole time at home, without the limits assigned to themselves by the enemy.

Alex Allen. Loss nothing but poor and presumed to be in want; residence unknown.

Jesse Beach. Loss trifling; circumstances and residence unknown.

Johns Jones. Lost nothing; not in want.

Poash Taylor. Loss trifling; present circumstances unknown; now in Canadaigua.

Amaziah Stoughton. Loss trifling, not in want.

Garrick Stoughton. Loss trifling, not in need.

Ezra Warren. (Where what was called Widow Forsythe's). Loss considerable by our own people; not in want.

APPENDIX D

PETER B. PORTER

This young general, to whom Buffalo and the Niagara Frontier owes a deep debt of gratitude was the younger brother by fourteen years of Judge August Porter of Niagara Falls. Peter B. Porter graduated from Yale in 1791. The two engaged in law practice with Judge Reeves of Litchfield, Connecticut. Judge Reeves was the brother-in-law of Aaron Burr.

The young barrister later came to Canandaigua and continued his court work. In 1799, he was made clerk of Ontario County. In 1802, he was made clerk of Ontario, and was appointed to the legislature of New York State as Assemblyman. In 1810, he filled the post of chairman of the House Committee on Foreign relations. It was he who on November 1811 reported the resolutions authorizing immediate preparations for war.

When war opened on the Niagara Frontier, we find the young legislator, the foremost Buffalonian and indeed of the state, a gentleman of fine bearing and courtly manners, organizing a militia. This first group was organized at what is now Niagara and Pearl Streets. However, he had not received all the military help which he needed. On July 3, the day

Fort Erie was captured and the Canadian invasion was begun, Porter's Brigade had not received a rifle, bayonet, saber, or blanket, and but a small number of tents. Undaunted, the youthful General continued his patriotic efforts and finally succeeded in organizing a stalwart band. General Braun, in a letter to Governor Tompkins states a fact when he said of Porter: "In the midst of the greatest danger, I have found him cool and collected and his judgement to be relied upon. He was always obedient to superiors and freely exposed his life to gain victory. He led his troops with skill and trepidity". His value was recognized by Congress for that august body offered him the Commandership-in-General of the national forces, and had a medal struck in his honor. New York City gave him the key of the city and New York State voted him a sword.

The shock of his death at Niagara Falls, March 10, 1844, at the age of seventy-one, brought to a close the inspring life of the champion of the Niagara Frontier.

Peter B. Porter has been deemed worthy of recognition in this thesis because he served the Niagara Frontier in 1812-1814 with noble and generous spirit. In the face of grave difficulties, he achieved marked success during the War of 1812. These achievements were later duly recognized by his Country and State.

APPENDIX E

BIOGRAPHY OF DR. CYRENIUS CHAPIN

Dr. Cyrenius Chapin was born on February 7, 1769 in Oneida County. He paid a visit to Buffalo in 1801 and having seen many opportunities in the small village decided to settle here. He returned with his wife in 1803. Because no suitable place to live could be had at that time, he lived for a brief period in Fort Erie. He had an international practice.

When the War of 1812-14 arrived on the Frontier, Dr. Chapin immediately volunteered his services. He advanced rapidly in rank and finally held the title of Major General. During the war, members of his family became refugees. They suffered severely during the conflict. Dr. Chapin did not fail during the campaign to lend encouragement to those who faced hardship. This he did often at the risk of his life.

Dr. Cyrenius Chapin figured very dramatically in the burning of Buffalo village. He realized the determination of the enemy to destroy the village, and in order to allow many citizens time to escape, he marched with a flag of truce to the enemy lines and parlayed until nearly every citizen had departed safely. The enemy no longer willing to be detained marched through the village and set fire to the buildings.

Dr. Cyrenius Chapin had a brother, Dr. Daniel Chapin, who came in 1807 and labored faithfully for the inhabitants during and after the campaign.

The history of Buffalo could not be told without including the excellent contributions rendered by Dr.Cyrenius Chapin. He died February 20, 1838.

Doctor Cyrenius Chapin was selected as worthy of recognition in this thesis because of his outstanding medical ability, patriotism and devotion to the inhabitants of the Niagara Frontier during the War of 1812-1814.

APPENDIX F

SONGS

PATRIOTIC POEM

Chorus
Sound the trumpet, Fife and Drum
To Arms! To Arms! To Arms! we come
Death and Danger we defy
In the cause of Liberty

Stanza 2
Behold, round our banners stand
In silvered years, a veteran band,
The men who did our Freedom gain,
Behold they draw the sword again.
Resolving in the front to join
The awful glittering battle line.
And prove that true Americans
Are soldiers and citizens.
Let those who can be cowards, flee
We go, we go for Liberty.

Chorus
Sound the Trumpet, Sound the drum
See the Patriot warriors come
They will conquer, they will die
In defense of Liberty.

Stanza 4
For our children, for our sires,
For religious sacred spires,
For our sweethearts, for our wives
For our Fortunes, for our lives.
For our nations chartered rights.
'Tis for these the hero fights;
Inspired by these, he meets the foe,
And lays the savages warrior low.

M. Martin.

During the war period of 1812, soldiers were frequent visitors to the village taverns. After they had imbibed freely, songs were soon in progress. A typical bar-room song, common among soldiers, was the following concerning Van Rensselaer:

1. When S. Van Rensselaer crossed the stream
Just at the break of day
Distressing dreams and restless thoughts
Disturbed him where he lay

2. But when the terrors of the night
Did quickly flee away
The light, his opening eyes beheld
And hailed the newborn day.

3. But soon murderous cannons roar,
Thunder and lighten round
On every tawny foe strike dead,
And sweep them to the ground.

4. The cannons voice, the muskets flash
Put blood in all our veins;
Columbias son's have trod the shore,
Where the proud Briton reigns.

5. The Tomahawk and scalping knife
On men did try their skill.
Some, wounded struggling for their lives,
Did red barbarians kill.

6. While rode the proud insultor, Brock,
The pomp and splendor great
Our valiant heroes he despised,
And dared the power of fate.

7. Said "Here's a mark for Yankee boys,
So, shoot me if you can,
His eyes, a Yankee ball soon closed,
Death found him but a man.

8. Our heroes brave stood well their ground
Till their last bullet flew
Then all were prisoners, forced to yield
What could our General do?