

GUY ST-DENIS

HIGH UPON HIS PEDESTAL

Sir Isaac Brock's Enduring Popularity

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UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press

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GUY ST-DENIS

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To the memory of
Thomas Henry Morrison
1889–1969
A wealthy old cowboy/great-uncle from Alberta
who tied my mother's front parlour sheers like a horse's tail in winter
got away with it
and still rides high upon his own pedestal

History is the joint product of myth and fact.

—Arthur R. M. Lower

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Preface

Hailed for his spirited defence of what is now Ontario at the outset of the War of 1812, Major General Isaac Brock was widely mourned after his valiant death only four months into that conflict. His daring deeds brought a posthumous knighthood and popular recognition as "The Hero of Upper Canada." There was also a lasting positive effect on the collective memory of British North Americans, with the patriotism generated by Brock's heroic legacy frequently manipulated and exploited to promote a strong attachment to Great Britain (meaning the United Kingdom). During much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Brock's name was a watchword for all those Canadians who wished to preserve and strengthen their connection to the British Empire. And when increasingly nationalistic attitudes began to displace the imperial emphasis, Brock's reputation was revised in keeping with his new role as the military saviour whose wartime initiatives against American aggression preserved the Canadian colonies for their eventual confederation in 1867. The appeal of a larger-than-life hero was advantageous in promoting the aims of both imperial and national schools of thought, as most Canadians accepted Brock's iconic status without question. Mythologized over time, he became ever more famous, and his enduring popularity was assumed to have derived naturally through extraordinary military achievement. But in revealing hidden connections between man and myth, the research presented here exposes a phenomenon that was largely manufactured.

This crucial insight resulted from an exhaustive study that combined military, political, and social history in an investigation covering two hundred years' worth of Canadian history between 1812 and 2012. A

central theme was the Militia Myth, or the traditional story that originated with the War of 1812 and exaggerated the role of Upper Canada's civilian military force in defending the province and colony. Effectively a national creation myth, it also provided the rudiments of a belief system whose adherents were inspired by a reverence for Brock as the personification of their national identity. By a further survey of the many and varied Ontario-centric commemorations dedicated to his memory, as well as the collaboration of the Ontario Department of Education and the Canadian publishing industry in shaping impressionable young minds, Brock's enduring popularity is shown to have been largely the result of an early form of social engineering, a type of mass influence that in its patriotic dimension was meant to affirm public attitudes toward the making of a thoroughly British nation.

The book presented here began with doctoral research in the Department of History at the University of Western Ontario, where I benefited greatly from the guidance and support of Jonathan F. Vance, my supervisor, and Nancy Rhoden, my second reader. I also enjoyed the helpful advice of Keith Fleming, Francine McKenzie, William J. Turkel, and Robert A. Wardhaugh. As well, much constructive criticism was provided by my dissertation examiners, including David Bentley, Department of English and Writing Studies, University of Western Ontario; Jane Errington, Department of History, Queen's University; and Alan MacEachern and Nancy Rhoden, both of the Department of History, University of Western Ontario. I am no less indebted to the staff of Western's History Department, especially for the assistance of Heidi Van Galen, department manager; Kara Brown, graduate program coordinator; Rebecca Northcott, undergraduate program adviser; and Lauren Newman, administrative assistant. Equally deserving of my appreciation is Elizabeth Mantz of the D. B. Weldon Library at the University of Western Ontario. As the collections and content strategies librarian responsible for history acquisitions, Liz was always receptive to my purchase requests for materials in support of my research. The staff of the library's interlibrary loan service has been similarly indulgent, and I am particularly obliged to the now retired Mary Stucin for working wonders whenever I placed a challenging order for some obscure title.

Beyond the University of Western Ontario, countless archivists, librarians, and curators rallied to my cause. Much of my research was facilitated by institutions such as the National Archives of the United

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Guy St-Denis
London, Ontario

Introduction

On a warm October afternoon in 2012, large crowds gathered on the escarpment above Queenston, Ontario, to watch an elaborate re-enactment of the famous battle in which Major General Sir Isaac Brock had been killed two hundred years earlier. In the evening, fireworks illuminated Brock's towering monument to the strains of Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture*, and the next day a mock funeral was held for the long-dead British general.[1]

While these bicentenary festivities were great crowd-pleasers, they were also rather questionable affairs—and not merely because they tended to be overly theatrical. Far more problematic was the false impression they gave of Brock as the victor of Queenston Heights. That honour rightfully belonged to Major General Roger Hale Sheaffe, as Brock was killed while leading an abortive charge during the opening phase of the battle. But such fine distinctions were lost on audience members, who came to be entertained rather than enlightened. To most of the people attending these events, there was no question that Brock was worthy of all the adoration. Yet, and although hardly an appropriate venue for airing critical appraisals, one of Sheaffe's collateral descendants used the commemoration at Brock's Monument as an opportunity to set the record straight.[2] Unfortunately for the message he tried to convey, it was quickly lost to the crowd's overwhelming preference for hero worship. Farther afield, however, beyond the popularizing hype of historical re-enactments, Brock's role in the Battle of Queenston Heights was coming under increasing scrutiny. Professional historians (typically university professors) were becoming especially active in this regard, and one of their number had already focused his attention on a tantalizing clue he found in some recently published literature—a clue that seemed to suggest a new line of inquiry.

In reviewing the two publisher-commissioned biographies of Brock that had been timed to coincide with the bicentenary, Phillip Buckner, a Canadian historian at the University of London, expressed satisfaction with what he judged to be "these fine studies," while at the same time making it perfectly clear that enough was enough.[3] After all, scores of books and articles had already been devoted to Brock, who achieved fame for his bold capture of Detroit early in the War of 1812 and immortality for his heroic death at Queenston Heights. The latest contributions varied little from the same old story, although one of the authors managed to pique Buckner's curiosity by explaining the rationale behind his choice of a book title. Wesley B. Turner, a retired history professor from Brock University at St. Catharines, Ontario, found it astonishing that Brock participated in the war for only a short time, won just a single battle, and yet became the best-known of its British heroes.[4] Hence, Turner's title: *The Astonishing General*. Sensing that Turner might be on to something, Buckner characterized the anomaly of Brock's fame as evidence of his "enduring popularity in the English-Canadian historical memory."[5] To emphasize the importance of this new perspective, Buckner concluded his review by suggesting a further study of the question. "Indeed," he observed, "that seems to me the book that has yet to be written about Brock."[6]

Buckner raised a valid point. If Brock was not quite the seasoned soldier we have been led to believe, and if he was not alone in saving Canada from American domination, why do Canadians continue to hold him in such high regard? What accounts for his enduring popularity? As this book contends, besides having been fostered by a widespread appreciation for his heroic sacrifice, Brock's enduring popularity was encouraged through a top-down system of recognitions and rewards designed to achieve a heightened sense of national identity among the colonial population. During Upper Canada's long evolution following the War of 1812, from a colony of the British Empire to a province in an independent North American state, this process of nationalism was perpetuated through a complex interplay of patriotism and myth. The effectiveness of this combination, however, was always contingent upon the heroism and sacrifice of an inspirational leader.

Brock's early military career offered little indication of the hero he would become in the last year of his life. In 1785, when he was just fifteen years old, Brock entered the British Army with the purchase of an

ensign's commission in the 8th (or King's) Regiment of Foot. At that time, there was no national military academy, and presumably Brock derived much of his military education from the officers' mess.[7] Five years later, in 1790, he used the purchase method once again, this time to become a lieutenant. When the opportunity to raise an independent company presented itself soon after, Brock was rewarded with a captain's rank on half-pay (or semi-retirement). It was also in 1790 that he returned to full service by exchanging into the 49th Regiment of Foot, which he joined the following year in Barbados. After a nearly fatal illness there in 1793, Brock resumed his military career by recruiting in England. A majority was purchased in 1795, as was a lieutenant colonelcy two years later. In 1808, three years after a promotion to full colonel in 1805, he was appointed a brigadier general on the staff of Sir James H. Craig at Quebec City.[8] Toward the end of 1811, during a return to the command of Upper Canada, and having been promoted major general, Brock was designated to administer the government of that province in the absence of Francis Gore, the lieutenant-governor. He was still acting in that capacity when news of the American declaration of war reached him in June of 1812.

As news of the impending conflict spread across Upper Canada, it was met by an increasingly defeatist attitude from the inhabitants, which threatened to undermine Brock's ability to defend the province. War with the United States had long been dreaded, and Upper Canadians feared that Britain's remaining territories in North America would make for an easy conquest. With much of the British Army countering Napoleon's designs on the Iberian Peninsula, it was generally held that American forces would quickly overwhelm the weakly defended and remote garrisons of Upper Canada. The potential for such a crisis might have debilitated a lesser general, but the odds against success invigorated Brock. True, the army under his command was small and widely dispersed, but it was also well trained and highly disciplined. A far greater concern to Brock was the level of support he could expect from the provincial militia, the populace of Upper Canada, and Britain's Indigenous allies. However, there soon came an opportunity to win over these disparate groups.

On 12 July, the American commander at Detroit launched a half-hearted invasion of the southwestern extremity of Upper Canada, and it was not long afterwards that Brock was apprised of the enemy's offensive. Although he was preoccupied with a less than compliant provincial parliament and restrained by a superior officer trying to prevent an

escalation of the war, Brock began preparations to oust the invaders. A month later, after an arduous rowboat expedition along the north shore of Lake Erie, he landed at Amherstburg, near the mouth of the Detroit River. Finding that Brigadier General William Hull had withdrawn to his own territory, Brock consolidated his forces across the river from Fort Detroit and demanded its surrender. At first, Hull refused. But then came a heavy British bombardment. With his garrison isolated and practically surrounded by hostile Indigenous warriors, the American commander became increasingly disconcerted.

In the short time it took Brock and his Shawnee ally Tecumseh to make landfall and advance upon Detroit, the American commander lost his nerve and capitulated—thus exemplifying a lesser general debilitated by crisis. Brock, for his part, had won a stunning victory. And by demonstrating that Upper Canada could well and truly be defended, he encouraged much of the population to take up the cause while intimidating the rest into a silent submission.[9] No one in the colony could deny that this outcome was a direct result of Brock's initiative; after all, it was Brock who had saved the day at Detroit, and it was Brock who would continue to do so (provided he stayed out of harm's way, which he steadfastly refused to do). The decision to attack Hull was a calculated risk that worked in Brock's favour, but a similar gamble the following autumn backfired with deadly consequences.

Early in the morning of 13 October 1812, cannonading was heard at Fort George, on the outskirts of Niagara—or what is now known as Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario. The Americans had launched an invasion across the Niagara River ten kilometres upstream at Queenston, with the intention of seizing the heights and securing a foothold in Upper Canada. In responding to the threat, Brock rode to the scene of action and was soon observing the situation from the redan battery—a gun (or cannon) emplacement located below the crest of the escarpment. While it appeared that the Americans were pinned down below the riverbank, a detachment had secretly scaled the heights and were preparing to descend upon the battery when Brock arrived there. Shortly thereafter, Brock, along with the gun crew, was compelled to make a hasty retreat down the slopes to Queenston.

Somewhat later, without awaiting the militia reinforcements he passed on his way from Fort George, Brock remounted and led his small force on a determined mission to retake the enemy-held battery. Arriving

at a stone wall in a field adjacent to the village, Brock took cover while his troops grouped around him. Then, clambering over the top, he drew his sword and began running toward the enemy's lines. This display of heroism was soon met with a musket shot to the chest. Within a few minutes, Brock was dead and carried off the field. While a further attempt to dislodge the Americans also failed, an additional reinforcement of regular troops eventually arrived on the scene and, under the leadership of Major General Roger Hale Sheaffe, managed to turn the tide. Sheaffe wore the hero's garland until the following spring of 1813, when he inadvertently alienated the Upper Canadian elite by his evacuation of York (now Toronto) during an American attack. With this severe blow to Sheaffe's reputation, and despite the effectiveness of his command at Queenston Heights, it was Brock whose name came to be associated with that British victory.

Thanks to his brilliant success at Detroit, Brock was hailed as the Hero of Upper Canada—the man who saved Canada for the British Empire. It was a solid reputation, and by the time of his early death, Brock's had become a household name among the king's subjects in Upper Canada. In the immediate aftermath of his sad demise, these colonists expressed a spontaneous and genuine outburst of grief for their fallen hero. Brock's memory was cherished and commemorated in various ways, both public and private. Along with all the hero worship, there also came an insidious form of exploitation masquerading as patriotism. Brock's heroic legacy became an effective means of influencing Upper Canadians and manipulating their support for the ruling elites' societal goals—namely, a continuation of the conservative loyalism that formerly existed in Britain's North American colonies prior to the American Revolution. While these intense imperialistic attitudes would come to be moderated over time, toward a more autonomous form of imperial relationship, the strong attachment to Britain remained inviolable well into the twentieth century.

After the Second World War, however, an increasingly independent attitude of successive federal governments began to complicate Canada's close relationship with Britain. During this same period of postwar economic expansion, the recommendations of a Royal Commission—one that was tasked with instilling the idea of nationalism through arts and culture—also served to maintain the historical continuity associated with the Militia Myth, a national creation myth that was decidedly

Upper Canadian, Loyalist, and pro-British. With the implementation of multiculturalism as official policy in the early 1970s, the importance previously assigned to the British imperial aspect of Canada's origin was greatly diminished. The same modernizing pressures overturned established norms for the teaching of history, with a bottom-up approach that emphasized the masses over their leaders. Under this new system of education, great men tended to be relegated, and Brock was no exception. But despite this ongoing marginalization, Brock remains one of the country's leading historical figures.

Of all the means by which Brock's enduring popularity was perpetuated over the course of two hundred years, literature was by far the most important. Until relatively recently, however, much of the literary output on Brock has been hagiographic and juvenile in nature. Despite the increasing professionalization of historical research and publishing in Canada, beginning at the turn of the twentieth century, this academic trend all but ignored Brock and the patriotic significance associated with his memory by most segments of Canadian society. While professional historians, particularly older ones in English-speaking regions, had a tendency to hold Brock in the highest regard, his colonial associations failed to meet the evolving nationalist criteria of those few career-conscious academics still willing to engage in great man biography—an outdated method of historical inquiry that was shunned by younger and more progressive scholars, whose preferences inclined toward the collective lives of ordinary people. The elite were generally regarded with contempt and aversion, especially elite men with military reputations. The consequence was a nearly complete disregard for Brock that prevailed for the better part of a century, and to within several decades of the bicentenary commemorating his death in 2012. Apart from a small number of antiquarians, the literature dedicated to Brock was mainly that of popular writers who targeted a wide general audience, including children and young adults.

With the exception of occasional newspaper and journal or magazine articles, much of this non-academic literary output took the form of short book-length biographical treatments. The earliest example was that of an admiring nephew, whose documentary-style memoir from the mid-1840s became the standard work on Brock's life. It was not until the 1890s that additional biographies began to appear, and while only marginally less hagiographic, they carried strong patriotic and moral overtones for the

benefit of a younger demographic. Intended as a manual for good citizenship, Brock's biography was promoted as supplemental reading material for educational purposes. It was an innovative and lucrative publishing business model, and one that set the stage for additional children's literature featuring Brock's heroic life. By the end of the 1920s, however, there was a lull in the demand for books that used famous biographies to blend patriotic indoctrination and educational publishing, and frequent reprints of the more popular Brock titles also caused something of an oversupply—a glut that finally gave way to the financial constraints arising from the Great Depression and Second World War. The detrimental effects of these economic shocks effectively blocked the publication of new heroic biographies until late in the 1950s, well after the return of peace and prosperity. Only then did Brock once again become a subject of interest for children's book publishers, although not to the same extent as before.

Another notable difference of the postwar period was the brief flourish of academic interest in writing about Brock's life, something that coincided with the approaching sesquicentenary of his death. A general apathy had long been the professional norm, and what transpired in the early 1960s was limited to popular publishing intended for either light reading or a youthful audience. Still, this brief departure from the norm was noteworthy—if only as a gauge of Brock's enduring popularity among these groups. Otherwise, most of the scholarly attention afforded Brock was limited to passages in academic books and journals dealing directly or indirectly with the War of 1812. The overall output of Brock literature continued in this meagre fashion, despite the rise of Canadian military history as a recognized academic discipline. However, the void left by these and other professional historians was filled by popular writers and children's authors, whose lightweight productions continued to make an appearance—albeit without the same frequency of Brock's earlier biographies, when his life served as a role model for the patriotic and nationalist indoctrination of Canadian schoolchildren. But in the decade or so preceding the bicentenary of Brock's death, there was another upsurge in activity among academic or academically inclined authors, who now wrote about Brock with a nuanced understanding of his military career and mainly for a mature audience. Since 2012, however, there has been a return to the academic indifference that existed for most of the preceding century. But of all the many professional historians who chose to pursue

subjects other than Brock during that long and relatively unbroken period of Canadian historiography, a project undertaken by Arthur R. M. Lower proved highly significant to this study. It had to do with the importance he assigned to myth, and the new dimension it brought to the study of Brock's enduring popularity.

Lower's major treatise on myth dated to 1975, when the University of British Columbia Press published a collection of his articles titled *History and Myth: Arthur Lower and the Making of Canadian Nationalism*.[10] Significantly, his observations regarding the connections between myth and nationalism suggested a similar relationship between Brock and his enduring popularity—one in which the dead hero's fame was used to foster a sense of national community among like-minded loyal and patriotic British subjects. While Lower couched his ideas in abstract concepts of nationhood, he could well have had Upper Canada in mind when he wrote about groups of people united through common interests and aspirations and how myths gave "colouring and force to the group's conception of its own destiny."[11] Viewed from the Upper Canadian perspective, Lower's mythological insights provided important clues to understanding Brock's enduring popularity, and his essay on history and myth offered an interpretive grounding for further study that helped to situate the evidence as it came to light. It proved especially useful in understanding how Upper Canada's own national creation myth originated, and also how it was perpetuated. As Lower well understood, such myths provide "an account of the origins of the group, makes this account acceptable as actual fact, and buttresses it with piety."[12] So it was with the Militia Myth, or the misbegotten belief that Upper Canada's militia played a vital role in the colony's defence during the War of 1812, thus ensuring the Canadian nation's subsequent rise.

Like the founding stories of Christianity, which Lower used to illustrate his argument, the Militia Myth similarly acquired "all the hardness of actual fact: all the verisimilitude, all the picturesque and local detail, the minute detail, of what might be assumed to have actually happened. It supplies words for speakers and works them out in logical relationship to their circumstances. The imaginative mind of man allows no detail to escape."[13] Over time, such a myth became so fortified as to be "capable of withstanding the heaviest assaults; one of its main bastions, adding to its accepted authenticity, is its emotional colouring. It becomes impiety to doubt the myth. Those who question are disloyal, heretical, outcast."[14]

Thus, Lower unwittingly explained how the Militia Myth had come to be so thoroughly accepted.[15] Moreover, his study of history and myth inspired a further examination of heroism and nationalism that ultimately led to the author's finding of social engineering, with Brock at its core. The idea that such broad societal influences were at play suggests connivance on such a grand scale that it challenges the very foundations of our strongly preconceived notions regarding Brock's heroism. Yet, by following the interconnections between his military exploits and the Militia Myth they fostered, the centrality of Brock's enduring popularity to a succession of patriotic ideologies—ranging from British imperialism to Canadian nationalism—becomes manifest. It also becomes evident that Brock's enduring popularity was largely the result of a highly favourable impression, one that was endorsed for patriotic purposes over a long period of time. In other words, Brock's enduring popularity had more to do with societal aims than his own heroic legacy.

Having examined the influence of a national creation myth (meaning that associated with the Upper Canadian Militia), it was possible to discern the reasons for Brock's enduring popularity. Early public sentiment toward his heroism was shaped by a strong sense of British patriotism, along with a psychological manipulation that melded Brock's enduring popularity with the Militia Myth. An additional finding was that the government of Upper Canada, as well as a majority of the British North American population, both adhered to and proselytized this Militia Myth belief system. These revelations altered the original concept behind this book from a fairly focused attempt to gain a better understanding of Brock's generalship, or the skill by which he exercised command, into something considerably more expansive in terms of both political and social history. It was during this shift away from a pure form of military history that an unnerving realization began to take shape: Brock's enduring popularity was largely manufactured through social engineering in order to promote the evolving interests of the rising Canadian nation-state. No less disconcerting was the pervasiveness of the Militia Myth in shaping favourable attitudes toward the maintenance of close ties with Britain, and the lengths to which Brock's heroic legacy was cultivated to perpetuate a British world view in Canada. These intriguing insights have added new dimensions to Canadian history, across a broad expanse of time and over the course of this book's six core chapters.

The first of these chapters examines the origins of Brock's fame as Upper Canada's hero-cum-saviour during the War of 1812, and how ephemeral, oral, and newsprint remembrances were enhanced by the colonial government's sponsorship of a monument to commemorate his death and enshrine his remains. A long construction period provided frequent reminders of Brock's worth, all of which were further reinforced by the monument's significance in terms of tourism along the Niagara River. However, it was the widespread belief that Upper Canada's civilian troops played a vital role in the colony's defence (the Militia Myth), together with an overriding and romanticized devotion to the British Crown (the Loyalist tradition), that ensured Brock's enduring popularity well into the next century.

Chapter 2 continues with the perpetuating nature of Brock's Monument as a tangible reminder of its namesake and a powerful rallying point for staunch adherents of the Militia Myth and Loyalist tradition, most notably after a terrorist bombing in 1840 forced its replacement with a more magnificent iteration in the mid- to late 1850s. Despite the passage of nearly twenty years and the decline of conservative political domination, Brock remained firmly entrenched as the personification of early Ontario's increasingly nationalist outlook, and his memory was glorified with all the reverence of a patron saint. As increasing numbers of aged militiamen died off, their myth continued to be championed by younger comrades who perpetuated the key component of an evolving ideology—namely, the defensive utility of a colonial militia.

The considerable influence of the United Empire Loyalists' Association is explored in chapter 3, with particular regard to the promotion of a conservative, Ontario-centric world view based on an anti-American, pro-British belief system. Espousing romanticized concepts of their ancestral past, influential Loyalist descendants joined forces with leading provincial educationists in presenting Brock as a role model for Canadian schoolchildren. By utilizing curricular activities and educational publishing, these groups ensured that Brock's enduring popularity was firmly entrenched. With 1912 and the centenary of Brock's death, these same indoctrinating influences had become increasingly militaristic and alarming to the country's pacifists. Just a few years later, with the Militia Myth still holding sway over Canadian attitudes toward national defence, Brock's effectiveness in grooming future recruits to fight in defence of the British Empire became painfully obvious.

In chapter 4, Brock's importance as a role model for young Canadians is examined within the context of rising anti-militarist sentiments before, during, and after the two world wars. Following the First World War, after a period of unrestrained hero worship and the publication of several biographies of Brock, there was a rising reaction against war and militarism. But despite the determined efforts of pacifists to eliminate these perceived evils from every aspect of public education and Canadian society, however, Brock's popularity remained relatively unaffected as it was deemed a patriotic adjunct to good citizenship, a status it enjoyed through the Great Depression and the Second World War. In the postwar period, Brock's image remained positive and was utilized for educational publishing during the rise of a more independent type of nationalism.

A discussion of Brock's enduring popularity during the historiographically contentious 1960s and '70s is explored in chapter 5. Apart from the surprising amount of enthusiasm that greeted the 1962 sesquicentenary of his death at the Battle of Queenston Heights, educational compliance with multicultural and other societal pressures diminished Brock's standing as Canada's premier hero. A further complication was the growing appeal of foreign heroes, particularly those from the United States, and the indifference toward Brock exhibited by Canada's professional historians, who rejected the study of great men as elitist, militaristic, and antiquarian. Along with the decline of the Militia Myth and Loyalist tradition, Brock's heroic biography appeared destined to remain a fixture of children's literature—except that it continued to find a wide popular following among adult readers.

Chapter 6 takes in the period between the late 1970s and the bicentenary of Brock's death in 2012, a curious span of time in which his reputation maintained an equilibrium between positive and negative interpretations of his worth. Although Brock's generalship was coming under increasing scrutiny, especially by military historians, most professional historians and popular writers continued to express their approval of his zealous conduct, despite serious allegations regarding his tactical decisions at Queenston Heights. Ultimately, the generally favourable impression of Brock proved impervious to all manner of negative opinion, the loss of his role-model status, as well as the near eradication of the Militia Myth along with the Loyalist tradition. Bolstered by various publications, documentaries, contests, and considerable federal funding of

the War of 1812 bicentenary, Brock's popularity was all but guaranteed to persist deep into the twenty-first century.

As this book concludes, Brock's appeal was not sustained over two centuries by the lingering effect of his victory at Detroit or the tragic death he suffered at Queenston; it had more to do with colonial ambition and political expediency. By exploiting and manipulating Brock's fame, Upper Canadian elites promoted and perpetuated the Militia Myth—a national creation myth that blurred reality to foster the conservative and monarchical society they envisioned for British North America. As an extension of the Loyalist tradition, there was a strong imperial aspect to the Militia Myth—something to which Brock's heroic legacy was well adapted. Immortalized as a British military genius, his zealous leadership and love of humanity also made him an important symbol of Upper Canadian nationalism. It was a peculiar form of social engineering, one that both encouraged and promoted Brock's enduring popularity.

* * *

Some of the more esoteric terminology used in this book requires clarification, so that the reader can better relate to the discussion. The phrase "social engineering," while now frequently used to describe a type of cyber deception, formerly referred to various control mechanisms, and particularly those utilized by industrialists in the early twentieth century to regulate the lives of their workers and families. There is also a broader meaning to this concept of control (the meaning intended here), evidence of which extends far back into the distant past and across the entirety of human governance.[16] In these instances, social engineering means the centralized management of a society's development and behaviour. Governments have long used social engineering to exert influence over their citizens, and legislation remains the most common means of doing so. But beyond the laws they enact, governing bodies have also employed more subtle strategies to effect desired outcomes, including policies designed to encourage certain types of patriotism. In Upper Canada, much of what passed for a natural outpouring of patriotic feeling toward Brock—and by extension the militia he commanded—was actually an early and long unrecognized form of social engineering that reinforced the colonial government's agenda for a pro-British society. As militiamen of all classes eagerly forged a collective association with Brock's heroic qualities and achievements, the rest of Upper Canadian society accepted

the Militia Myth as an accurate reflection of their wartime experiences. It was a thorough job, and so convincing that the contrived connection between Brock's enduring popularity and the colony's political evolution went undetected.[17]

Like social engineering, the notion of military genius carries built-in assumptions and requires elaboration. However, a basic definition is not easily come by; nor was it any better understood in Brock's time, when a British military lexicographer began a long-winded description of the concept with an apt preface that framed it as "a natural talent or disposition to every kind of warlike employment."[18] Although modern interpretations tend to emphasize the importance attached to strategy and tactics, or the ability of a commander to visualize and implement battle plans, a military genius in Brock's time also possessed other important characteristics of leadership, including those outlined by the Prussian military theorist Carl von Clausewitz. According to his interpretation, a military genius possessed the right temperament for war, and not merely a thorough understanding of it attained through study or experience. Beyond strategic and tactical abilities, other inherent qualities were necessary as well. Courage was the most important, especially in the face of danger, where it inspired subordinates. However, courage also required presence of mind in order to command an army unaffected by mishaps or reversals. A *coup d'oeil* (glance), or strategic intuition, allowed the military genius to grasp a battlefield situation and predict how the terrain would affect its outcome. Stubbornness and obstinacy verging on egotism were to be avoided, while a firm grasp of government policy impacting military operations was encouraged.[19] Although victorious more often than not, a military genius was still susceptible to the unpredictable nature of war. It was for this reason that the Russian writer Count Leo Tolstoy rejected the concept of military genius, which he rather famously did in the pages of his epic historical novel *War and Peace*.[20] Despite Tolstoy's emphasis on the attainment of victory, however, military genius in the early nineteenth century was predicated on the entirety of a commander's aptitude for war, and not solely his rate of success on the battlefield.

"Heroism," although its meaning might seem obvious, is another word in need of clarification. As the celebrated British historian and philosopher Thomas Carlyle demonstrated in 1840, at a time that was still within living memory of Brock and the War of 1812, there are different

kinds of heroism, and so a brief consideration of that exhibited by Brock is not without merit. During a series of lectures, Carlyle distinguished between six distinct types of heroes: divinities, prophets, poets, priests, scholars, and kings. It was the last of these heroic classifications that could be said to encompass Brock, as Carlyle likened kingship to the command of men. For British North Americans, Brock's civil and military authority over Upper Canada would have placed him squarely in the same league as Oliver Cromwell and Napoleon Bonaparte, both of whom met Carlyle's kingship criteria based on their leadership qualities as generals and statesmen, as well as for the subordination and loyalty they expected. Followers who accepted this manner of heroism, and found a patriotic benefit in doing so, developed a high regard for the type of hero that Carlyle "reckoned the most important of great men."[21] There was little recognition in the mid-nineteenth century that women could be similarly classed as heroines, even those like Joan of Arc who took on the role of an illustrious warrior in defence of a noble cause. So, while Laura Secord received accolades late in her life for warning the British at Beaver Dams of an impending American attack during the War of 1812, she could never quite achieve the same ideal of warrior heroism.[22] But to Brock's admiring multitudes in Upper Canada, he epitomized this exclusive class of hero: a competent colonial administrator, a military genius on the battlefield, and a gallant leader in their cause. Much of the impetus behind Brock's heroic image, however, was derived from an over-inflated sense of nationalism—the final word in need of some careful attention.

In its purest form, the term "nationalism" denotes a particular group identity wherein the members of a like-minded community share a common language, ethnicity, history, and culture.[23] Nationalism is also a word that can be used in conjunction with an existing nation-state, or one in the making. As it relates to the dominant Anglo-Canadian experience, however, nationalism—as it pertains to a group identity with aspirations for political self-determination—tends to be excluded from historical discussions of the pre-Confederation period, as if Canada's rise to nationhood was somehow achieved independently of its colonial past. Admittedly, Upper Canadians were generally British and imperial in their national attitudes, just as they had been since the influx of Loyalist settlement into what is now southern Ontario during the American Revolution. Yet, having survived all the privations associated with the War of 1812, they also developed a unique sense of themselves and the

future course of their colony. It was not a craving for independent nationhood as such, but rather a tinge toward nationalism within the protective confines of the British Empire. In effect, the war's long-term impact on the self-awareness of Upper Canadians served to bolster an earlier concept of pro-British nationalism—an idea that evolved and shaped the implementation of Confederation as well as the subsequent rise of Canada as a nation-state.[24] Given these considerations and the different meanings that can be assigned to nationalism, it is a word that must be treated with due regard for time, place, and circumstance.

Finally, although the Militia Myth and the Loyalist tradition are explained elsewhere in the text, it is important for the reader to note that these concepts were not in common use for most of the period covered by this book. So, for example, even if Upper Canadians had recognized the effects of the Militia Myth and the Loyalist tradition, they could not have referred to them with such collective and concise labels.

1

Paying Respects

Three days after the battle in which Major General Isaac Brock and Lieutenant Colonel John Macdonell were killed, their coffins were carried out of an imposing residence in Niagara, placed on makeshift funeral cars, and ceremoniously conveyed to nearby Fort George.[1] As one of the pallbearers later related, it was the "grandest [and] most solemn" burial ever witnessed in Upper Canada.[2] It was also the closest thing to a state funeral that circumstances allowed, and Brock, as the colony's civil and military leader, warranted all the posthumous honours bestowed upon him.

Brock's funeral, however, was far more distressing than it would have been had he died at the head of a frontier society during peacetime. Because he was killed in battle while defending the province against an American invasion, the people of Upper Canada felt a heightened sense of loss. One old Niagara Loyalist, Isaac Swayze, never forgot the distress caused by Brock's death. As captain of the car (or wagon) brigade, a detachment of the Provincial Artillery Drivers, Swayze was responsible for transporting the general's corpse back to Niagara after the Battle of Queenston Heights. Word of the devastating blow preceded Swayze, and with his arrival in the village, a crush of women, "weeping boisterously," begged to see the body. Obligingly, it was uncovered "and immediately the air was filled with their cries."[3] Such an outpouring of grief might seem melodramatic in this day and age, but to the loyal inhabitants of Upper Canada, Brock's death was nothing short of calamitous: Without his leadership, their situation seemed desperate—just as it had during the early days of the War of 1812. At that time, however, Brock's overwhelming victory against the Americans at Detroit eliminated the imminent threat of invasion from the west, and most Upper Canadians justifiably regarded him as a veritable godsend during their time of extreme crisis.

It is hardly surprising that Brock's memory was held in such high regard at the time of his sudden and unexpected death. Only three months had passed since his triumphant return from Detroit, and his conquest of that American post countered an equally dangerous threat from within the colony. Despite the resolute determination of older and more fully established Loyalist communities to remain British, disaffection was rife in much of Upper Canada. It was especially prevalent among the nascent frontier settlements in the western regions of the province. In these remote interior communities, treasonable oaths had a tendency to be vocalized with little fear of reprisal. Disloyal sentiments emanated from American immigrants as well as British subjects, and two of the most notable offenders from the latter category were Andrew Westbrook and Simon Zelotes Watson.[4] Motivated by grievances against local authorities and the colonial government, these malcontents became enemy agents for Brigadier General William Hull at Detroit. By settling old scores and intimidating former neighbours, their treasonable activities served to heighten the sense of defeatism that pervaded every level of Upper Canadian society. Matters took a turn for the worse when Hull invaded the colony and issued the proclamation by which he intended to subjugate the British non-combatants, whom the fortunes of war had placed under his control. After Brock issued his own proclamation, a patriotic rebuttal of everything the American commander professed, he promptly organized an expedition to relieve Amherstburg. Before the British force could arrive on the scene, however, Hull abandoned his foothold in Upper Canada and took refuge in Fort Detroit. Unperturbed, Brock prepared to lay siege, and after a severe bombardment, followed by the threat of an Indigenous-led massacre, Hull was unnerved into surrendering his garrison and the entire Michigan Territory.

The taking of Detroit had a profound impact on the morale of loyal Upper Canadians, and "Brock returned amidst the acclamations of an almost idolizing public."[5] The magnitude of his accomplishment became especially apparent upon his arrival at Fort George toward the end of August, where news of his victory had preceded him by several days and prompted a delegation of the principal inhabitants of Niagara and vicinity to ride out "in carriages and on horseback" to present their returning hero with a congratulatory address.[6] It was a testimony to their "sense of the important services he had rendered to the province and his recent brilliant achievement at Detroit," and while the substance of this

document appears to have gone unrecorded, no one disputed the impact Brock's success had on the populace of Upper Canada.[7] The surrender of Detroit was "so unexpected, that it produced an almost electrical effect throughout the Canadas: it was the first enterprise in which the militia had been engaged, and its success not only imparted confidence to that body, but it inspired the timid, fixed the wavering, and awed the disaffected."[8] To the Loyalists among them, Brock's resolve meant that they were spared the "the ignominy of submitting to a conqueror," and it was well remembered

> that in the short space of nineteen days he had not only met the legislature and settled the public business of the province under the most trying circumstances that a commander could encounter, but, with means incredibly limited, he had gone nearly 300 miles [483 kilometres] in pursuit of an invading enemy of double his own force and compelled him to surrender; thus, without bloodshed, extending the British dominion over an extent of country almost equal to Upper Canada.[9]

Brock was the man of the hour, and the fame he garnered from his daring exploits made him a larger-than-life figure upon whom a grateful people conferred a singular distinction: "The Hero of Upper Canada." Having become the colony's saviour, Brock was also expected to provide further safeguards against American threats to the province and its inhabitants by additional demonstrations of his military skill. Unfortunately for Brock and all those depending on him, the next opportunity to prove his mettle—which came the following October at Queenston—resulted in his death. Little or no blame was publicly attached to Brock for the manner in which he conducted himself on that occasion; it was another matter in private, however, where Brock's conduct was more likely to be censured than praised. It would appear that many people at the time thought Brock's behaviour to be prodigal, by which they meant unnecessarily reckless. Captains James Dennis and John Williams of the 49th Regiment of Foot, who were with Brock at Queenston that fateful day, both agreed that he "threw away his life."[10] Judge William Dummer Powell of York thought he acted that day with the "rashness of a grenadier."[11] Brock's brigade major, Thomas Evans of the 8th Regiment, blamed an "impetuosity of disposition."[12] James Raye, paymaster of the

41st Regiment of Foot, was convinced that "poor Genl Brock lost his life by his usual impatience," while Gustavus Nicolls of the Royal Artillery recalled a "hastiness of temper."[13] But Anne Prevost, whose father was governor-in-chief of the Canadas and Brock's superior officer, perhaps summed it up best when she confided to her diary that "a general ought sometimes to recollect how valuable his life is."[14]

Despite the frequently questioned rationale behind Brock's decision to launch a headlong charge against a heavily defended American position, with himself conspicuously leading the way, the aura of military genius was not denied him, at least not in polite society. And when rumours of prodigality were detected by a contributor to the *Kingston Gazette*, they were promptly countered with the following reproof: "if General Brock was hurried by his ardent spirit, beyond the marked duties of a leader, to expose himself to certain destruction, we must admire and regret, but not condemn. The sacrifice was for us."[15] This positive spin, besides making the loss less pointless, helped to clear the way for hero worship on a grand scale. But unlike the great pantheon of British heroism, there was really only room enough in Upper Canada for one dominant hero, and that hero was Brock. As the Kingston contributor tellingly observed,

> although the glorious event [meaning the Battle of Queenston Heights], has consummated the character of his successor [Sheaffe], as a military leader, uniting a cool head with exalted courage, yet the memory of our lamented president [Brock] and of his chosen and faithful companion, Lieut. Col. M'Donell [*sic*], the pride of our youth, and the example of our men, who fell in the same glorious struggle, and is united to his general in the same grave, must live [endeared] to every feeling mind as long as the recall of their fate subsists, and we continue to enjoy the purest constitution, for the preservation of which they were [self-devoted].[16]

While Macdonell died a hero in his own right, he had not attained the same level of leadership as Brock, and so the loss—while tragic—was not as profound. Sheaffe, had he died a similarly selfless death at the Battle of York in April of 1813, might have been viewed as Brock's equal, and perhaps the two of them would have become the joint Heroes of Upper Canada. As it was, Sheaffe was given short shrift because of his perceived

lack of zeal in defending the provincial capital.[17] And Brock's heroic death was a hard act to follow. Yet, Sheaffe and the other commanders who followed him in prosecuting the war can hardly be faulted for having subscribed to a less extreme, if not suicidal, sense of duty. Brock's more bounding approach to leadership practically ensured a sudden death in the thick of battle, and having died at the height of his fame, his reputation seemed likely to remain forever undiminished. For Upper Canadians badly in need of a saviour, Brock was the perfect knight, and they lavished his memory with the most profound respect and gratitude.

Of course, not everyone was enthralled with the name of Brock or its imperial connection.[18] The degree to which these contrarians proliferated in the Upper Canadian landscape is unknown, but they seem to have represented a small minority of the population. Moreover, any semblance of negativity on their part appears to have been cancelled out by a prevalence of popular opinion in favour of Brock, as one of his brothers discovered in 1817. During a tour of the Canadas, Savery Brock encountered a common refrain: "To your brother, sir, we are indebted for the preservation of this province."[19] It was a generalization, of course, but one that was repeated so often that mere flattery seemed out of the question. It would have been difficult to believe otherwise, given the emotional reactions Savery encountered during his travels. At a tavern on the lower Niagara River, the landlord and former militiaman tearfully told him that his brother "was a friend and a father to me. I was close to him when he was shot."[20] Having uttered these words, and "unable from his feelings to add more, he walked away quickly up his orchard."[21] This tendency for weepiness became all the more pronounced at York, the colonial capital and a bastion of British loyalty. "On paying my respects to Mrs. [Anne] Powell," Savery wrote to another brother, "the lady of the present chief justice [William Dummer Powell], and to Mrs. [Catherine, wife of William] Claus, they were greatly affected, and shed tears; and [the former chief justice] Mr. [Thomas] Scott, on whom I called yesterday, was equally so. Every one here is most kind—Isaac truly lived in their hearts: from one end of Canada to the other, he is beloved to a degree you can scarcely imagine—his memory will long live among them."[22] While this and other heartfelt expressions were deeply appreciated, they also served as painful reminders of a close bereavement. Still, Savery Brock could not help but feel gratified, especially as his brother's name was venerated while those of his fellow generals who commanded during the war were

"spoken of with much indifference."[23] A similar preference for Brock found frequent expression in Upper Canada's several newspapers, and served to establish an unimpeachable reputation for the man who saved the colony.

In the days and weeks following Brock's victory at Detroit, his place in the collective memory of Upper Canadians was permanently fixed and actively disseminated through the medium of newsprint. With printing presses in operation at Niagara, York, and Kingston, the province was well supplied with accounts of Brock's expedition. Of course, the content was always rather dated by the time printers had a chance to set up their type.[24] And because newspapers of the time tended to be given over in large part to proclamations and advertising, there was limited space in the four-page folio formats for general and local items. But with the American declaration of war in June of 1812, battle reports and other such news about the conflict came to dominate the newspapers of Upper Canada. Consequently, these "papers" became important sources of information. As such, they warranted all the trouble of a supplement, the most notable of which was the *York Gazette*'s "Glorious News!!!" broadside, which announced the surrender of Detroit in August of 1812.[25] Like this supplement, much of the available newspaper copy about the war was contributed and generally consisted of either official or private correspondence. A good deal of it originated locally.

A prime example of the type of official correspondence published in Upper Canadian newspapers during the War of 1812 appeared in the Niagara *Bee*, which reported Detroit's capitulation based on a communication addressed to Lieutenant Colonel Christopher Myers at Fort George.[26] No less important was private correspondence and particularly the first-hand accounts of various engagements, including a young militiaman's description of the Battle of Queenston Heights—the opening phase of which ended Brock's run of good luck, as well as his valuable life.[27] And whether the source was public or private, word of Brock's death invited communal grief throughout the Canadas. There was an especially strong reaction to it in the upper province, where traumatized colonists found solace in elegiac poems. Lamenting Brock's fall while at the same time glorifying his heroism, these mournful lines were anonymous and of questionable artistic merit, such as those "To General Brock, a Garland," which appeared in the *York Gazette* a few days after his death and offered readers a rhyming tribute to Brock's victory at Detroit.[28]

Though frequently overly maudlin, the verse inspired by Brock's death was nevertheless pure of sentiment. Such poetry was a typical coping mechanism for anguished populations in the early nineteenth century, and the newspaper publication of any such composition—regardless of poetic quality—served a useful purpose in making Brock's heroic reputation known to a wider audience. Nor was the reach of this early form of broadcasting limited to subscribers and their immediate households.

Taking a newspaper in Upper Canada was an expensive proposition, and so they were not generally discarded after only one reading. Instead, they were shared, in some cases even before they were delivered.[29] As a subscriber to the *Colonial Advocate* complained about the issues he received in 1825, "by their appearance they must have made the tour of Brockville half a dozen times."[30] Upon receipt by its rightful owner, a newspaper might then go the rounds of family and servants, and perhaps even those of other households, before being discarded or sent for reuse in some more public setting such as a tavern.[31] And while the amenities offered by such establishments varied considerably from one end of the province to the other, they all shared a common purpose beyond the consumption of alcoholic beverages—namely, as places to exchange information.[32] It was in taverns that news of the war was read silently or recounted aloud, and also where Brock's heroism was first glorified in a community's public sphere. Much of the tavern talk regarding his victory and death was likely based on information derived from newspapers. But as the well-thumbed issues containing these reports became increasing scarce, any such discussions must have become increasingly vague and unreliable.

This lack of reference material created the perfect environment for storytellers, who filled the void by sharing questionable Brock anecdotes with their barroom audiences.[33] Many of their tales originated in Upper Canadian households, particularly those in which male members had seen military service during the War of 1812. As William Kirby of Niagara recalled, such narratives could become quite animated. Kirby, a literary-minded English immigrant who came to Upper Canada in 1839, developed a deep fascination with the Loyalists and listened in rapt attention to the stories from their past. When these recitals turned to war, as they invariably did, "their proud recollections ascended to the beamed ceilings, and carried through the rooms."[34] A similarly exuberant retelling, this time complete with improvised props, occurred during

Edward T. Coke's tour of the Canadas in 1832. A lieutenant in the British Army, Coke went on to publish an account of his travels, including the exploits of an old soldier from Brock's regiment who he chanced to meet in Lower Canada, today's province of Quebec:

> He was a true Corporal Trim [or enthusiast of past battles]: in the first instance, he fought the battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, for my edification, upon the white hearth-stone with a piece of charcoal, but, finding my undivided attention was bent upon something more substantial, he transferred the scene of action to the breakfast table, where he most gallantly carried the heights of Queenston upon the top of the loaf of bread, and stormed Fort Erie through the spout of a tea-pot.[35]

Whether told in a pioneer's humble abode or the fine home of a provincial squire, reminiscences about the War of 1812 and Brock's heroics found receptive audiences. There were many such opportunities, especially during long winter evenings around a blazing fireplace. While frequently the preserve of male actors, these stories were not exclusively confined to the experiences of a family's menfolk. Women and even children could also figure in famous associations with Brock, two of which were themed around his sword.

As an old farmer from the Niagara Peninsula recited for the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario in 1898, his mother encountered Brock while he was spurring his horse toward the Battle of Queenston Heights. Although it was early morning and still dark, Sarah Otway-Page noticed that Brock had forgotten his sword and hastened to point out the oversight.[36] Brock, however, made light of his carelessness by predicting that his next battle would be the last, "which subsequently proved only too true."[37] Unfortunately for the Otway-Page descendants, their dubious claim to fame was contradicted by the memoirs of Major Thomas Merritt, which included an affecting story about his young daughter. On the morning of the Battle of Queenston Heights, Susan Merritt had the distinct honour of assisting Brock to buckle on his sword. By some quirk, it would appear that this was the same sword he was supposed to have forgotten.[38] Obviously, both the Otway-Page and Merritt family traditions leave much to be desired, as do many similar stories regarding Brock. The majority of them were no doubt fabrications, and given this

tendency, it is perhaps just as well that most of them were lost to posterity. Some, however, made their way into print, where they continue to distort perceptions of Brock to this day. While not every story told about Brock was deliberately contrived, the intended outcome was usually the same: a degree of self-aggrandizement for the storyteller.[39] But, despite the problematic origins of these stories, they provide a sense of the oral history that helped to keep Brock's memory alive.[40]

Although verbal remembrances of Brock appear to have been relatively common in the two decades following his death, tangible reminders were few and far between. Those most frequently encountered in Upper Canada began to appear several years after Brock's death and were numismatic in nature. Savery Brock, during his tour of the province in 1817, would have noticed that many of the coins in circulation were copper tokens about the size of a British halfpenny. Commemorating Brock as "The Hero of Upper Canada," the most common version of this token is dated 1816 and depicts two cherubs adorning Brock's funerary urn with a laurel wreath (symbolizing victory over death). The design of these tokens appealed to the patriotism of the colony's citizenry, and while previously thought to have been issued by some high-minded merchant to commemorate Brock's memory, the truth of the matter is far less savoury.[41] As Christopher Faulkner, a retired film studies professor from Ottawa's Carleton University, discovered in an issue of the *Kingston Gazette* from June 1817, these Brock tokens were actually the result of criminal intent. Writing under the *nom de plume* "A Green Grocer," one of the newspaper's anonymous contributors brought the fraudulent scheme to light:

> The coin alluded to is made in the neighbouring States, and in order to give it currency in this province is stamped with the name of the illustrious Brock, a name ever to be revered by the inhabitants of Upper Canada—but unfortunately, in this instance, used for the concealment of base and unworthy purposes. As each piece of this money is issued for a halfpenny, although its intrinsic value is not supposed to equal half that amount, the profit accruing to the speculators is evidently considerable, and as it is drawn from the pocket of the community, on them of course the loss must eventually fall.[42]

These fake tokens were a despicable affront to Brock's memory, and yet there was no better commemoration of the "Hero of Upper Canada." While a pioneer community in eastern Upper Canada was becoming known as Brockville in his honour, the connection was tenuous at best. The Niagara frontier had a far stronger claim to Brock, particularly Queenston, where a curious form of secular pilgrimage developed around the sites associated with his final hours. One of the earliest of these battlefield tours took place at the end of January 1813, only a few months after Brock's death, when Major John Baskerville Glegg accompanied a fellow British officer to point out "the field of battle at Queenston."[43] In his former capacity as Brock's military aide-de-camp, and as one of the few men who actually witnessed his commander's death, Glegg made for a very well-informed guide. The dramatic scenes he recalled for his sightseeing companion had taken place in a field on the west side of the village where Brock fell, and in the nearby stone house where his body was sequestered for the duration of the battle.[44] Without Glegg's input, none of the stops on this tour would have held any obvious connection to past events. Nor was the most poignant site associated with Brock discernible without some knowledge of his interment. Located ten kilometres to the north at Fort George, it was the place where Brock and his provincial aide-de-camp were laid to rest. Although buried in a conspicuous location, the grave they shared was unmarked and hidden from casual view. It was an unacceptable situation, and within a few years it became a significant problem.

In 1819, a Scotsman arrived in Upper Canada intent on visiting his brother, who happened to be the Anglican rector at York. Soon afterwards, James Strachan set out with the Reverend John Strachan for a tour to Niagara Falls. Making a stop at Fort George, they found Brock's grave in one of the bastions,

> without any stone or memorial to mark the spot where the saviour of Upper Canada lies. It is said that the legislature, some years ago, voted one thousand pounds for a monument, and that a committee [commission] was appointed to procure and set it up; but nothing has been done. Such conduct requires explanation. Was the sum too small? It might have been easily increased by private contributions; and, till the monument is erected, the province is disgraced.[45]

Possibly acting on cues from his influential brother, James published this stricture about the lack of a Brock monument in 1820, soon after his return to Scotland—but not before another Scotsman, Robert Nichol, had been compelled to act.[46] As one of the three commissioners appointed to superintend the monument's construction, and a sitting member of the Upper Canada House of Assembly, Nichol was under considerable pressure to explain the delay.

It all began in March 1814. With the war still raging, Nichol proposed a government-funded monument to Brock. The motion was carried unanimously, with the granting of £500 for the purpose.[47] Nichol, expecting a further appropriation during the next session, wrote to Brock's brother, William Brock, seeking his assistance in procuring a design and cost estimate.[48] Despite these important papers having failed to arrive in time, the government went ahead and granted a further £500 to the worthy cause in March of 1815.[49] But the proposition stalled, and it was Nichol who had to face the reckoning, as he had charge of the £1,000 granted by government.[50] Early in January 1820, Nichol explained the situation to Lieutenant-Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland. He also rejected any notion that he considered himself bound "to answer anonymous attacks in the public prints."[51] These further delays had been caused by Nichol's difficulty in coordinating with the other two commissioners during his extended absence from the province while on personal business in England.[52] With Upper Canadians' patience obviously wearing thin, Nichol provided Maitland and the colonial government with a status report.[53] The clarifications it contained did little to assuage the discontent, but the lack of progress did at least provide a constant reminder of the hero who inspired the monument. Like Brock's tokens, however, it carried a distinctly negative connotation.

Fortunately for the commissioners, Maitland was a staunch supporter of their cause who tolerated the delays—which persisted throughout 1820 and 1821—in part so that interest could accrue on the government grant. Determined that the work should convey a sense of Brock's importance to the province, as well as an appreciation for his service and sacrifice, Maitland thought it only proper to augment the amount of the grant for the monument. At the same time, however, he was aware of the limited and embarrassed state of Upper Canada's finances, and so he encouraged the House of Assembly to adopt the measures by expressing his own "most cordial concurrence and support."[54] Effectively, he exerted

his influence. Maitland's viceregal pleasure was communicated in a message along with a subsequent report he received from the commissioners in December 1821.[55] In it, they provided context to the difficulties arising from their plans for a monument. Because they lacked local artists and architects to advise them, they had decided to seek the assistance of William Brock in March 1815. With his help, they hoped to procure a monument design and cost estimate. Nichol, writing on behalf of his fellow commissioners, expressed their joint "desire that the monument should do perfect justice to the character of the late lamented general both in respect to his civil administration and military command—one which shall convey to posterity with the fame of his great actions—the estimation in which he was held by all ranks in this province, their gratitude for his distinguished services and sorrow for his untimely fall."[56] William Brock finally complied with the request in May of 1817, but not without some reservation.[57]

Although he was conscious of the potential expense attending a monument to his brother, William Brock could not have failed to notice that the commissioners did not seem particularly constrained by their grant from government. As Nichol himself insisted, there "are numerous personal friends of the late Sir Isaac who are desirous of contributing to this laudable work and it would be hard to deprive them of this opportunity of testifying their respect for his memory."[58] Even if their funds did not allow for a magnificent monument, the commissioners were determined to have something built on a respectable scale with impressive features. It was here that things became somewhat mixed, as Nichol and one of the other commissioners still expected something grand—including a monumental column surmounted by a statue of Brock, appropriate ornaments, and suitable inscriptions on the base.[59] What they really wanted was a monument that was worthy not only of Brock, but also of themselves, the militia, and the people of Upper Canada.[60] Unfortunately, by playing down any concern over the project's expense, the commissioners unwittingly set themselves up for a nasty surprise.

Taking Nichol at his word, William Brock consulted Richard Westmacott, a Royal Academician and the sculptor responsible for Brock's neoclassical tabular monument in St. Paul's Cathedral.[61] Westmacott came up with two designs of varying scale, as well as cost estimates for the bronze work, including an 8-foot (2.44-metre) bronze statue of Brock, a bronze relief depicting his capture of Detroit, and a

bronze laurel wreath for a grand total of £2,500. While there was also the option of a smaller statue, which reduced the cost to about £2,000, the lower of the two quotes was still twice the amount originally allocated for a monument by the Upper Canadian government.[62] Perhaps anticipating an awkward and embarrassed reaction to Westmacott's grandiose proposals, William Brock offered the commissioners the choice of something more modest: a "plain [and] neat tablet" placed in a church somewhere or possibly the Upper Canada House of Assembly.[63] This economical alternative, however, was not to the liking of the commissioners or the lieutenant-governor, all of whom wanted something more impressive by which to remember Brock. Realizing the inadequacy of the sum granted by government, the commissioners briefly considered taking it upon themselves to open a public subscription to augment the private donations they expected would be forthcoming from Brock's "numerous personal friends." But the possible negative ramifications of such a fundraising exercise gave them pause.

Apprehensive of their roles and responsibilities as public servants, and fearing that by "acting under the solemn authority of a parliamentary enactment, it would be construed into an indelicate assumption of power," not to mention a poor reflection on the provincial government "should they resort to an appeal to the private sympathies of the people for the means to give effect to a public act of the government," they put the entire project on hold.[64] Although several years' worth of interest had accrued on the government grant, the resulting £1,500 fund for Brock's monument was still insufficient. And with clamourings for construction to begin, the commissioners reacted by referencing the report they submitted to Maitland in December 1821. As well as explaining the delays in starting construction of Brock's monument, it reaffirmed their dedication to the undertaking and their determination to abstain from seeking further government funding. Hoping to deflect petty cavilling, they optimistically anticipated that operations would commence during the ensuing construction season. To strengthen the impression of a major work about to begin, the commissioners expressed their preference for a tower on Queenston Heights with a vault underneath to serve as a mausoleum. This they thought would be looked upon as "a more appropriate testimonial of the strong feeling of veneration for the memory of the deceased," and more desirable than the other plan also under consideration. This other monument was a column "resembling that erected

to the memory of Lord Nelson in Montreal, surmounted with a funereal urn."[65] With their critics silenced for the time being, the commissioners resumed their activities. These efforts consisted primarily of trying to raise the funds necessary to build the monument. Fortunately for them, the lieutenant-governor shared their determination to erect a fitting memorial to Brock.

On the first day of 1822, Nichol moved for an address in the House of Assembly thanking Maitland for the message of support he had sent (along with the commissioners' report) the previous December. Nichol then reiterated the importance of doing justice to Brock's memory. He also acknowledged that any measure Maitland deemed expedient in accomplishing the goal would be gratifying, and a "proof of his excellency's desire to meet the intentions of the legislature in a matter so deeply interesting to the feelings of all classes of his majesty's subjects in this province."[66] In other words, the government of Upper Canada was willing to let Maitland assume authority over the monument without further recourse to the legislature. This authorization extended to fundraising and soon resulted in a public subscription sanctioned by Maitland himself. Using his considerable influence, Maitland launched a well-organized drive for contributions. With agents in each of Upper Canada's ten districts, he confidently appealed for financial aid to assist in constructing the monument to Brock on Queenston Heights. To its proponents, and likely to Maitland himself, this site seemed "so appropriate to the object, that it is presumed the selection cannot fail to meet the general feeling of the country."[67] Taking the lead, Maitland made the first of what he must have hoped would be many generous donations.

Unfortunately for the well-intentioned lieutenant-governor, Upper Canadians' esteem for Brock could not be exchanged for much in the way of hard cash. The problem was the same across the province, and no amount of patriotic persuasion could loosen people's purse strings. In reminding its readers of the subscription toward the end of February 1822, the *Kingston Chronicle* took advantage of the opportunity for a bit of jabbing: "What district indeed ought to be more grateful than this [the Midland District], when it is recollected that to the energetic measures adopted by Sir Isaac Brock on the commencement of hostilities we are principally indebted for the comparative tranquility we enjoyed throughout the contest?" Continuing in the same vein, the author of this shaming diatribe observed that

> so far from suffering from the war, our farmers were enabled to continue in their ordinary vocations, to till their lands, to reap their harvests, and quietly pocket the golden proceeds, while other less fortunate districts became the theatre of war, and were subjected to all the miseries incident to such a situation. For our happy exemption from a similar lot, our farmers have to thank Sir Isaac Brock, and they are consequently bound by every tie of gratitude, and reverence for his heroic character, to contribute liberally on this occasion.[68]

In the end, and after almost two years, the subscription drive was found to have generated a paltry £219. But with an additional £500 worth of interest on their grant from government, minus various expenses, the commissioners decided to proceed with the nearly £2,000 at their disposal.[69] But then came a complication.

In mid-January 1824, Maitland was informed of suggestions "from various quarters" advocating the construction of a church on Queenston Heights with a memorial dedicated to Brock.[70] To its proponents, a church must have seemed a more fitting remembrance. And the proposal was sufficiently similar to William Brock's earlier suggestion for a "plain [and] neat tablet" that the commissioners felt obliged to give it credence. Ultimately, they concluded that they were not authorized to "depart from the letter of the act," unless the legislation was altered to allow for a church.[71] Maitland, however, laboured under a mistaken belief that Brock's family actually preferred a church, and so he was fully prepared to recommend a modification to the original proposal.[72] In fact, all William Brock had suggested was his family's preference "that some plain [and] neat tablet should be erected either in one of the [colony's] churches or [the] House of Assembly."[73] In any case, when the government voted on the bill to amend the act for a Brock monument, it was soundly defeated and the idea of a church was rejected.[74] All that remained was to make a choice of columns, either Tuscan or Gothic. Since Maitland preferred the former, the commissioners went along with a Tuscan column, replete with a lantern (or cupola) and abacus (or viewing platform).[75]

As to the location of Brock's proposed monument, the act allowed considerable latitude "for the constructing and erecting at Queenston, near where he fell, or such spot as may be agreed upon by the commissioners."[76] But as one of them later recalled, "By the statute of 1815, the

monument was to be erected near where General Brock fell, which was on the private property of the late Mr. Thomas Dickson (one of the commissioners for building it)."[77] Clearly, the commissioners envisioned a monument down in the village, as opposed to up on the heights. But with Maitland's "concurrence," they decided to construct the monument in the more commanding location.[78] And by the end of February 1824, the Brock family had also approved the site, which Nichol described as "a kind of promontory directly overhanging the main street of [Queenston]."[79] It was then just a matter of tendering for contracts so that construction could begin. The project was advertised in the last week of February 1824 and called for a monument consisting of a vault extending 2.7 metres below ground, a base 5.5 metres tall with an area of 1.9 square metres, a tapering column rising 19.8 metres, as well as an abacus and lantern, which together added another 2.3 metres. The combination of these component parts brought the total height of the monument to 30.6 metres.[80] It was a major public work for so young a colony, but nothing less would suffice in paying homage to the Hero of Upper Canada. Before the column was finished, however, two separate incidents at the worksite threatened to overshadow the sacred symbolism of Brock's rising monument.

Construction began in the spring of 1824, and by the beginning of June it had progressed sufficiently for the laying of a foundation stone. A few days later, a brief account of the Masonic ceremony held in honour of the event was published in the *Colonial Advocate*, which was then published in Queenston by the political agitator William Lyon Mackenzie (whose increasing frustration with the colony's oligarchical elite would transition into open rebellion just over a decade later).[81] In addition to describing the songs sung and the convivial meeting of Freemasons held afterwards in a Queenston hotel, Mackenzie enumerated the various items contained in a glass bottle that was sealed and placed in a hollowed-out stone. Along with a selection of old coins, this improvised time capsule contained a copy of the *Upper Canada Gazette*, the official government newspaper, and also the first issue of Mackenzie's own muckraking *Colonial Advocate*.[82] There was nothing particularly unusual in the newspapers Mackenzie chose to preserve, except that his own paper was known for its tendency to infuriate Maitland. And the issue placed under the lieutenant-governor's pet project was the most exasperating yet published. As Mackenzie himself admitted, it accused Maitland of indolence while also blaming him for the slow progress of Upper Canada's

development.[83] Not surprisingly, Maitland was incensed when he learned of Mackenzie's impudence, and to such a degree that he demanded the removal of the offending article. Delighted by Maitland's consternation, Mackenzie made great fun of the exercise to retrieve an "old newspaper."[84] However, it did not necessitate pulling down the monument, as the *Colonial Advocate* seemed to imply. A hole in the monument's foundation sufficed, and the damage was soon restored—along with Maitland's honour. In the process, however, Brock's own honour was overlooked.

Among those who deplored the lost opportunity to imbue patriotism among Upper Canadians was a "Militia Man of 1812." While John Clark, as he was otherwise known, initially expressed his pleasure at the "manifestation of respect shewn for a fallen hero," he was also keenly disappointed that the event had been held without prior notice. In writing to Mackenzie, Clark expressed his conviction that hundreds of people "should have rejoiced at so favourable an opportunity of evincing a further trait of respect for the memory of the gallant general who so gloriously fell in repelling the then invaders from our soil and whose meritorious example at the commencement of the war united in drawing forth our unabated energies in defence of the rights of our sovereign and country."[85] But what Clark viewed as an auspicious occasion to celebrate Brock's virtues in a formal setting, the surviving commissioners had earlier dismissed as unmanageable given the time constraints they faced. Soon after Nichol's sudden and tragic death at the beginning of May 1824, they had debated the propriety of going ahead with the Masonic ceremony previously envisioned for the laying of the foundation stone.[86] It was decided, however, to defer the ritual until the following October, after the monument was finished and the bodies removed from Fort George.[87]

As far as the commissioners were concerned, there was no need for a ceremony in the meantime. But Mackenzie and other residents of Queenston were not satisfied with this decision, and they resolved that something should be done to commemorate the monument's construction. Having recalled that Nichol was making plans for a Masonic ceremony before his death, Mackenzie took it upon himself to finalize the arrangements.[88] However, poor organization resulted in a sparse attendance—an outcome that might actually have suited Mackenzie, as the absence of Maitland and the commissioners allowed for a more direct participation on his part. While Mackenzie appears to have held Brock's

memory in high regard, his behaviour suggests that the ceremony he orchestrated was less about Brock the hero than Mackenzie the egotist.[89] And whether his antics were intended for financial gain from the increased sales of his newspaper or the desire to make a political name for himself, Mackenzie managed to insinuate himself upon Brock's legacy. But even if it originated with the best of intentions, Mackenzie's ceremony precipitated an unseemly squabble. Brock's memory deserved better, but there was more indignity to come.

The reinterment of Brock and Macdonell was intended to be an entirely decorous affair, but the removal of the bodies to their respective vaults necessitated some gruesome preparations, which in turn resulted in some unfortunate gawping.[90] On 2 October 1824, anticipating the removal of the bodies for transport to Brock's still unfinished monument, Clark set off on various errands in connection with his macabre duty. Accompanying him was William Claus, known primarily for his long association with the Indian Department, who made a note of the events in his diary. At noon, Claus and a number of other gentlemen made their way to Fort George in order to examine the results of the exhumation. Finding Macdonell's coffin sound but Brock's rather decayed, and neither body "in that state to allow them to be removed into new coffins," it was decided that they should be bound with strong linen, covered in black cloth, and temporarily returned to the ground.[91]

The king's printer was rather more descriptive in recounting the incident. That gentleman, Charles Fothergill, found it remarkable that, "on inspecting the remains, the body of Col. McDonell [*sic*] was found to be almost entirely decomposed—whilst that of the general was still firm and nearly entire;—some of the flesh, and lineaments of his martial countenance, being yet visible."[92] All these ghastly details went into the government's official *Upper Canada Gazette*, where they caused not the slightest stir. Nor, it appears, was there any attempt to shield the townspeople of Niagara from these open-air mortuary practices. Nearly seventy-five years later, in 1898, a Methodist minister living in Moberly, Missouri, remembered viewing the bodies as a boy. As Rev. John McEwen recalled, "I was present when the remains of Gen. Brock and his aid[e-de-camp] were taken from the ramparts of Fort George and deposited in the monument on Queenston Heights, when Gen. Brock's coffin was opened the flesh was still on his face. It continued there however only a moment or two after the air struck it."[93] Though ghoulish, these exhumations held

a morbid fascination and generated considerable interest in the reinterment of Brock and Macdonell.

Two days before the burial procession, which was set to coincide with the anniversary of the Battle of Queenston Heights, the bodies were "taken up [and] put into the church [St. Mark's] to have the coffins [etc.] prepared."[94] The bodies were once again temporarily reburied in their former resting place within Fort George. On 13 October 1824, Claus was up at daylight in order to superintend yet another exhumation of the bodies and to ensure that the coffins were properly prepared for their journey to the still unfinished monument.[95] Half an hour before the procession's ten o'clock start, "numbers of people in carriages and on foot were pouring into the plain on which stands Fort George."[96] This was the first-hand observation of the *Colonial Advocate*'s editor, and Mackenzie became so caught up in the patriotism of the day that he put aside his animosity for the lieutenant-governor. "General Maitland," he reported, "was in full dress, and his look well betokened the anxious interest he took in that day's work." There were "all ranks and all ages" assembling to witness the reinterment of Brock and Macdonell.[97] And those who missed the earlier chance to gaze upon the decomposed countenances of the hero and his aide-de-camp were given one last opportunity. "Before the procession took place," editor John Carey of the York *Observer* reported, "we viewed the bodies."[98] Upper Canadians, it seems, had strong stomachs. So, too, did their neighbours from across the Niagara River.

Although the numbers varied, somewhere between five and ten thousand people attended the reburial ceremonies, and of this number it was estimated that many hundreds were Americans. At the appointed hour, the plain coffins, covered in black mourning cloth and unadorned except for silver coffin plates, were loaded onto a hearse, also covered with black cloth and drawn by four black horses, each with a Black man acting as a handler and a driver who was a Black man as well.[99] Although taken to extremes, these trappings of woe made for an affecting tableau, especially against the gloomy atmosphere of a "cold and cheerless" dawn. As Mackenzie remembered it, the "aspect of the day was in unison with the scene, and seemed to remind the immense multitude of human beings around, that the fall of the leaf—the winter of the year—the evening of life, and the dark night of death, are fast approaching."[100] It must have come as something of a disappointment when the day became "remarkably fine" once the procession began to form.[101]

With a band playing the mournful strains of Handel's "Dead March" from *Saul*, Mackenzie noticed the "carriage of death" beginning to "move slowly on its heavy wheels."[102] Passing through the gates of Fort George, the procession was led by a staff officer followed by a contingent of grenadiers, the right wing of the 76th Regiment of Foot, and the band. Once the hearse came into view, an honour guard presented arms while a nineteen-gun salute began to fire. The Lincoln Militia, evenly spaced at forty yards (or thirty-seven metres) apart, lined both sides of the road toward Queenston and for some distance from the fort. Following the hearse down this ceremonial lane were the chief mourners, including several of Macdonell's relatives, various provincial officials, Maitland's suite, the left wing of the 76th Regiment, Indigenous chiefs, and various militia officers. Falling in behind were the militiamen from alongside the road, and the great throng of people who came to witness the event. Carey estimated that there were nearly 300 assorted conveyances, some 550 gentlemen on horseback, and numerous pedestrians.[103]

The cortège proceeded slowly at first, but after some distance its pace quickened, and certain members of the procession took to their carriages until Queenston came into sight some three hours later. In making its way through the village, the procession came to a halt "opposite the spot where the lamented hero received his mortal wound."[104] After a few minutes' pause, the hearse pulled away and proceeded up the Portage Road to the top of the heights. Once again, soldiers from the Lincoln Militia lined the route from the entrance of the monument down the escarpment toward Queenston. Upon reaching the lower extremity of this ceremonial passageway, the procession resumed its formation. To Fothergill, who managed to get ahead of this rolling commemoration, "nothing could be finer than the effect of the lengthened column winding slowly up the steep ascent, in regular order—surrounded by scenery nowhere surpassed for romantic beauty."[105] At the summit, after the coffins were reverently deposited in their respective vaults, another guard of honour presented arms while an additional salute of nineteen guns concluded the proceedings. As the troops formed into their parades, small groups of interested parties were allowed to enter the vaults and view the final resting places of Brock and Macdonell.[106]

While the reinterment ceremony and funeral procession bore all the fitting attributes of mourning and lamentation, and must have been deeply moving to most everyone who witnessed or participated in these

elaborate displays of respect, they also held additional layers of meaning. For most if not all of the Upper Canadians and other British subjects drawn to Queenston Heights, there was likely a surge of patriotism among them such as Mackenzie experienced. It began earlier in the day, when he saw the British flag waving in the wind above Brock's partially completed monument. Favourably impressed, Mackenzie pronounced the "Union Jack of the sea-girt isle" as "a sight well calculated to raise emotions of pleasure in the mind of a Briton." It was the symbol of everything that Brock and Macdonell had fought and died for, a "token of joy and rejoicing in the unity of the empire."[107] Reflecting on this theme, Mackenzie had little doubt "but that many of the 'gallant militiamen of 1812,' who had so often braved death in war, in defence of Canada, their wives and families, looked up to that flag as it floated aloft in the breeze, and bowed their hearts in thankfulness to the Father of Mercies, for the manifold blessings we enjoy, far removed from war and its attendant [horrors]."[108] But for the American attendees, who were not likely so enamoured by the fluttering reminder of Britain's continued presence in North America, their interest was focused on Brock. As Fothergill overheard several Americans explain, "they lamented his death as much as they would have done that of any of their own generals, on account of his humanity, and the great attention which he had uniformly shewn to his prisoners."[109]

The battlefield at Queenston offered another strong inducement to participate in the proceedings. It was hallowed ground for grieving Americans, who began crossing the river to seek out the final resting places of their fallen countrymen soon after the return of peace in 1815.[110] One of these mourning pilgrims was Eleanor Valleau, whose son was killed early in the battle. In August of 1817, having travelled to Queenston, she became quite distraught upon "viewing the place where the Americans fell[;] she wanted to find out where her son lay, but no one could give her any intelligence—poor woman, what must have been her feelings when she saw the dreadful steep [cliff] her son and his intrepid country[men] climbed up to obey the calls of their country and enter the field of death?"[111] For those Americans not personally vested in the tragedies that befell their troops at places like Queenston, battlefield tours appealed to their sense of morbid curiosity by offering "a grisly kind of thrill."[112] As many of their war dead were hastily buried in shallow graves that subsequently heaved in the frost, sun-bleached bones frequently

came into view.[113] But to the many other tourists who sought out less grotesque pastimes, viewing a monument to Brock offered a more dignified excuse to explore the battlefield on Queenston Heights. As the *Niagara Sentinel* of Lewiston, New York, predicted in the autumn of 1824, "it will attract much notice from those who travel for pleasure and curiosity to visit the Falls of Niagara and other peculiar wonders proverbial in this part of the country."[114] Put another way, Brock's Monument was destined to become a major tourist attraction.

Coinciding with the rise of Brock's Monument in the 1820s was the emergence of tourism in Upper Canada, particularly from the United States. During that time, transportation improvements facilitated travellers (or tourists) in making the previously onerous journey to what was then North America's most outstanding natural wonder: Niagara Falls.[115] Along with the main attraction, other points of interest were incorporated into the guidebooks that began to take advantage of the increased tourist trade. Battlefields, which had been a central feature in most travellers' itineraries from an early date, continued to hold great appeal, and Queenston Heights was particularly noteworthy because it included Brock's Monument. With a ferry connection to Lewiston, New York, and a good road linking it to various points on the Canadian side of the Niagara River, Queenston was within easy reach of the Falls and was therefore a popular stop on the Niagara tourist circuit.[116] Such had been the case even before construction started on Brock's Monument. Patricia Jasen, who has written extensively about Upper Canada's tourism industry, captured the essence of the enterprise:

> Traversing battlefields and imagining conflicts they had only read about was a popular pastime for nineteenth-century tourists, for it afforded such romantic pleasures as the worship of the warrior-hero, the melancholy fantasy of violent death, the tangible presence of the remains of battles (bones, damaged trees, crumbling forts), and the association of landscape with history. Tourists' interest in such sites complemented the Upper Canadians' wish to keep memories of their ordeal alive and to cherish the relics of war, and an itinerary quickly developed that commenced at the ruins of Fort Erie, took in the battlefields of Chippewa, Lundy's Lane, and Queenston Heights, and extended northward to include Fort George.[117]

Jasen further conceptualized that the "real attraction was the romance of war and the new layer of historical meaning it had given to the scenery of Niagara."[118] Tangible remembrances of Brock were no less captivating, and Jasen found that the "adulation of General Brock was one emotion that a majority of the travellers could share with the local populace."[119] For any tourist who was so inclined, it was relatively easy to find a local person to point out the salient features of the various battlefields. The Englishman William Dalton was particularly fortunate in this regard, as he discovered in July of 1819 while collecting information for an emigrant's guide. His cicerone was a local militia officer who obligingly pointed out "the whole plan of the fight" at Queenston.[120] And as Jasen's work reveals, visitors to Upper Canada "found that the colonists continually referred to the war, as if they had lacked a collective history until invasion knit them together."[121] The colony had been saved for Britain, "and the idea of loyalty now governed public life, becoming the defining characteristic of an Upper Canadian *Volksgeist* while at the same time reinforcing the controlling hand of the Tory elite."[122] Delving deeper into this postwar phenomenon, Jasen identified the component parts of a similar sort of national spirit in which the War of 1812

> supplied the raw material for romantic and purposeful myth-making, and the militia legend, which exalted the role of local men over the British regular troops, and the story of General Brock, who died repelling the invasion at Queenston Heights, not only contributed to local pride and cohesion but formed part of the image the colony presented to strangers. This image had a definite political thrust. To the British visitor, it was meant to confirm a self-respecting loyalty to king and empire, while to Americans, it was meant to convey a sense of the colony's moral and military invincibility.[123]

In light of Brock's early demise, his role in bringing about this new school of thought, while crucial, was also incidental. It was the colonial elite and their Loyalist supporters who advanced the militia legend, or the Militia Myth as it is more commonly known. Variations on this traditional story exaggerated the role of Upper Canada's militia in defending the province during the War of 1812, which was done at the expense of Brock's regular troops and Indigenous allies.[124] In the process, Canadian

militiamen succeeded in passing themselves off as heroes in their own right and the worthy beneficiaries of what became known as the Loyalist tradition—a state of mind that was encapsulated by an English professor at the University of Toronto in the early 1980s. In describing and analysing "the effects of United Empire Loyalism on the literary culture of what is now Ontario," Dennis Duffy explained how the Loyalist tradition both spawned the Militia Myth and developed a symbiotic relationship with it.[125] Under "a leader they made into a mythic hero," a "martyr to the principles of justice and the preservation of British North America," the Loyalists "had emerged [from the War of 1812] as the citizen defenders of their territory."[126] And the "militia of Upper Canada, rather than the British regulars who formed the basis of Brock's holding strategy, became joined with Brock as the chief factors in the preservation of Upper Canada."[127]

To Duffy, "it was no great trick" to substitute the provincial militia for Brock's regulars, and there was no need for the perpetrators of the Militia Myth to forcefully deny the role played by professional soldiers during the war. All the mythmakers required was "a shift in emphasis that bruised historical fact in placing another group in the forefront of the fight."[128] The group Duffy had in mind consisted of civilian soldiers, and just as the Upper Canadian Militia had a personal stake in celebrating Brock's heroism, so, too, did other stripes of Loyalist. Willing partners in the deception were found among the colony's leadership and upper classes, whose status and position were enhanced by a zealous participation in the deceit. So, while oral traditions, patriotic tokens, and tourism helped to nurture the adoration of Brock, it was really the Militia Myth, as a component of the social engineering process, that gave rise to his enduring popularity.

The origins of the Militia Myth can be safely dated to the summer of 1812, after Brock and the militiamen who volunteered for duty on his expedition to Detroit returned triumphant, but the earliest known reference to the concept was uttered with great effect by the Anglican rector at York in November of 1812. As a representative of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada, a charity dedicated primarily to alleviating the sufferings of militiamen and their families, John Strachan lent his considerable influence to the cause—including the following well-worn passage from an after-sermon exhortation: "It will be told by the future historian, that the province of Upper Canada, without the assistance of

men or arms, except a handful of regular troops, repelled its invaders, slew or took them all prisoners, and captured from its enemies the greater part of the arms by which it was defended."[129] A little further along, Strachan continued extolling the militia by stressing that "never, surely, was greater activity shewn in any country, than our militia have exhibited, never greater valour, cooler resolution, and more approved conduct; they have emulated the choicest veterans, and they have twice saved the country."[130] Strachan's tribute to the militia was as much a rallying call as it was a fundraising pitch, and the Loyalist connection lent the undertaking additional pathos. "The loyalists," he sermonized, as well as "their children and connections, who have been so long the peculiar care of the British empire, have proved that they are deserving of their attention—that they merit the farther protection of not being allowed to fall a prey to their former implacable enemies, or of being long left without the most powerful assistance."[131] Strachan, of course, was fostering a myth for the sake of a good cause.

Nor was he alone in his endeavour. Most Upper Canadians, regardless of their social class, political views, or religious affiliation, helped to perpetuate the Militia Myth by their unquestioning acceptance of it. And the gentlemen of the Loyal and Patriotic Society found a strong supporter who was willing and able to do his part at the very heart of the empire. Francis Gore was lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada in the autumn of 1811, when he returned to England on leave. He was still there in 1813, which prompted the Loyal and Patriotic Society to seek his assistance with their subscription drive.[132] Gore, who was happy to comply, must have been gladdened by the favourable reports he received of the Upper Canadian Militia's performance, including the following:

> Theirs was not the enthusiasm of the moment, it still burns with unabated vigor, and not only enables a raw militia to suffer with patience the greatest privations, to face death with astonishing intrepidity, but also to emulate veteran soldiers in deeds of honor and glory. Many, though exempted by age from military duty, scorn to claim the privilege, and it is not uncommon to see men of seventy leaving their homes, and demanding arms to meet the enemy on the lines. Others too feeble to bear arms themselves, are seen leading their sons to the military posts, and so strong is the spirit of patriotism among the people, that it infects

> the greater number of those who have recently come to settle in the province, from the United States, and makes them efficient soldiers. Indeed this noble spirit which animates all our inhabitants, is most affecting, and can only be inspired by the justice of our cause.[133]

As a military man himself, Gore might have harboured secret doubts upon reading such an obviously panegyrized description, but publicly he did his part for the charity and also the colony.

By participating in a public meeting, held in London, England, and organized in support of the Loyal and Patriotic Society, Gore hoped to raise an awareness of—and financial support for—the hardships endured by the members of the Upper Canadian Militia and their families. Chaired by no less a figure than Prince Edward Augustus, the Duke of Kent, another military man with ties to the British North American colonies, the meeting was called to order in July of 1813 and promulgated the idea that

> three successive invasions of the Province of Upper Canada, to which the chief exertions of the enemy were directed, have been repelled by the valour of the volunteers and militia, in aid of a small number of His Majesty's forces, and the invading army has invariably been compelled to surrender to a force, collectively of a much smaller amount, and of which the regular troops, have seldom exceeded one tenth of the number of the enemy.[134]

The Militia Myth would continue to skew British impressions of the Upper Canadian and Canadian Militias well into the second half of the nineteenth century and beyond. While the lack of an objection from Britain's Indigenous allies is understandable, given that many of them were dispersed or marginalized after the War of 1812, the silence of British Army officers is difficult to fathom. Minimizing the contribution of their troops should have ignited a vigorous response, but the Militia Myth was tolerated. And in at least one instance, it was actively encouraged.

Such was the case when the Scottish reformer Robert Gourlay unintentionally triggered the wrath of James FitzGibbon. Known for his heroics during the War of 1812, FitzGibbon had served in the 49th Regiment and was subsequently employed as a clerk with the adjutant

general of militia for Upper Canada. His strong support for the militia was expressed in December of 1818, after Gourlay reacted angrily to the passage of legislation in the House of Assembly designed to outlaw the meetings of discontented landholders (meetings he was instrumental in organizing). By means of a newspaper article provocatively titled "Gagg'd—Gagg'd, by Jingo!," Gourlay expressed his extreme displeasure with the government and also the lieutenant-governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland. According to Gourlay's charge, Maitland was in receipt of scandalous reports that Upper Canadians were a disloyal, discontented, and ungrateful people.[135] Maitland supposedly had it on good advice from "military men," which was all the pretext FitzGibbon appears to have required before launching a spirited rebuttal. In an open letter to the militiamen of Upper Canada, he assured them that there "were few officers in Upper Canada during the late war, who were not known to me, and I have ever heard them speak of you with respect, and frequently in terms of admiration."[136] Continuing with his vigorous defence of the militia, FitzGibbon solemnly vowed that "I do therefore step forward to repeal this impudent calumny, and to expose to your honest indignation, the man who would seek to destroy the cordial good will which has hitherto subsisted between us, and which, under the blessing of divine providence, contributed so much to our glorious successes during the late contest with our neighbours."[137] Curiously, however, the reputation of the Upper Canadian Militia had not figured in the article that provoked so much resentment on the part of FitzGibbon, and it appears that much of his irritation actually stemmed from a petition that was orchestrated by Gourlay.

The intended recipient of this petition was George Augustus Frederick, the prince regent, and its purpose was to bring his attention to various grievances of the Upper Canadian Militia. Much of the document was taken up with complaints relating to war-loss claims and militia land grants, all of which bore Gourlay's trademark accusatory style.[138] As if to highlight the militia's sufferings, an entire paragraph was devoted to the alleged condescension of the British Army in Upper Canada during the War of 1812:

> It was a matter of much provocation to the people of this province, to see, even during the war, which afforded such striking proofs of their loyalty and valour, reports sent home, highly

> rating the merit of regular troops, while the tribute, due to Canadian levies, was unfairly let down. Nay the principles of the most loyal subjects here, were often stigmatized by British officers, ignorant of human character, and still more so of circumstances which affect it, in this part of the world. It was not so with the immortal Brock. He justly appreciated Canadian worth; and his memory will happily long cherish, in the minds of the Canadian people, a due regard for the genuine spirit of a British soldier, at once generous and brave.[139]

As a former and favourite sergeant major under Brock, few people held his memory in greater esteem than James FitzGibbon.[140] Yet, none of the praise Gourlay heaped on Brock could mollify FitzGibbon's outrage over the gadfly's negative remarks about the militia. Much of FitzGibbon's defence of their worth had to do with his recent entry into the public service, which firmly aligned his loyalties with the Upper Canadian establishment. Like the militiamen whose service during the War of 1812 was rewarded with appointments and other patronage, FitzGibbon moved easily in this high Tory strata. But a lack of education impeded his colonial ambitions.

Had FitzGibbon been one of the students who benefited from John Strachan's tutelage as a school master at Cornwall, he might have been better qualified for public life in Upper Canada and perhaps a situation beyond that of a loyal but impoverished outlier. However, as Jane Errington, a history professor at the Royal Military College of Canada, cautioned, the eligibility requirements for full membership in the colonial elite involved rather more than a stint at Strachan's school and a conspicuous military service:

> For some, this service together with their proven ability and previous political connections was immediately recognized by the colonial officials, who appointed them to lucrative and influential administrative posts. Though a number of others received no immediate political recognition of their service, their participation in the war did gain them invaluable political support later. Particularly in the 1820s, the War of 1812 became an increasingly important symbol to many Upper Canadians of the colony's

> unity and loyalty to king and country. All the public figures who had fought in the war had the advantage of this growing myth.[141]

To the more fortunate militiamen, especially those who lacked proven ability or political connections, desirable appointments were sometimes granted them as Strachan's former students. A number of them followed their old teacher to York, where they formed a close and highly conservative brotherhood of like-minded men known pejoratively as the Family Compact.[142] At the head of this select group was Strachan himself, who became an influential member of the Upper Canadian ruling class. Through the skillful management of Loyalist sympathies, he formulated a national agenda that borrowed heavily from the myth he helped create.

Strachan and the other members of the Family Compact had a definite vision for Upper Canada as an ideal British society in North America inspired by patriotic example. Included was that which FitzGibbon identified as the colony's reverence for Brock's memory. In a letter to Ferdinand Brock Tupper, Brock's nephew, FitzGibbon described his impression of the reinterment ceremony in 1824, including its imperial effect:

> What I witnessed on this day would have fully confirmed me in the opinion, had confirmation been wanting, that the public feeling in this province has been permanently improved and elevated by Sir Isaac Brock's conduct and actions while governing its inhabitants. These, together with his dying in their defence, have done more towards cementing our union with the mother country than any event or circumstance since the existence of the province. Of this our leading men are aware, and are careful to seize every opportunity of preserving recollections so productive of good effects.[143]

As Gerald M. Craig recognized in the early 1960s (although not in terms of social engineering), the "cardinal point in the design was that this pioneer North American community [of Upper Canada] was and must remain an integral part of the far-flung British Empire, which they [the Family Compact] regarded as the grandest, the freest and noblest political organization that man had ever developed."[144] To accomplish this worthy goal, the political influence of their society had to be checked, immigration from the mother country promoted, and education as well

as religious progress encouraged in a suitably English and Anglican manner. "The Family Compact's design for the province," according to Craig, "had to be consciously fostered; it would not come about of itself."[145] To the leaders of the Family Compact, there was "a strong sense of nationality but it was one of British nationality, and they had no desire for any other."[146] Craig put their collective frame of mind in proper perspective: "Outside the empire, they would live in a grubby little backwater; within it, they were equal members of the world's proudest and foremost political community."[147] Viewed this way, Upper Canada was not merely a colonial possession, but an extension of the British nation. Yet, along with the Family Compact's illusions of British grandeur, there were also echoes of colonial inferiority. Fortunately for Strachan and his associates, the Militia Myth elevated the self-esteem of Upper Canadian manhood by allowing them to reimagine their prowess during the War of 1812.

While seeking a source for the Militia Myth, which had become something of an issue for certain historians of that conflict around the time of its sesquicentenary in the early 1960s, a graduate student at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, came up with an intriguing but untenable explanation. In his 1964 master's thesis on British propaganda during the War of 1812, Reginald Arthur Bowler linked the Militia Myth with the "lavish praise" Brock heaped upon the militia, which then "overflowed" into the colony's newspapers. "This myth of the loyal and willing militia," Bowler averred, "was maintained throughout the war in official public statements, despite the private comments of every commander to the contrary."[148] No doubt, Brock praised the militia for good effect, and perhaps this contributed to a false impression of its effectiveness in defending the colony. Yet, Bowler's suggestion that Brock's favouritism gave rise to the Militia Myth failed to take into consideration the negating viewpoint of a strongly nationalistic Toronto-based journalist, poet, and feminist with a strong interest in Canadian history. In 1891, while critiquing the accuracy of Brock's famous last words (long thought to have been "Push on, brave York Volunteers!"), Sarah Anne Curzon argued that it "would have been a discrimination of one corps above another unworthy the judgment, the military training, the impartiality of any officer."[149] Whether or not this rule applied to Brock's situation during the War of 1812, Curzon's observation regarding the negative effects of partiality serves as a useful caution against Bowler's assumption that Brock had a hand in knowingly creating the Militia Myth. It seems that

Canadian historian Carl Berger came closer to the truth in 1970 when he wrote about Brock's "exalted place in the loyalist tradition," and how

> his death at Queenston Heights was associated with the victory of the militia. That battle occurred during the opening phases of the war when Canada was almost denuded of British troops and the defence had to rely upon the yeomanry more than at any other time during the conflict. Since it was under the leadership of Brock that the people rose up to preserve Canada for the empire, the hero-worship of Brock and the militia legend were indissolubly fused.[150]

While the importance Berger attached to the Battle of Queenston Heights in October of 1812 actually extended back to the surrender of Detroit in August of that same year, his point was well-taken: Brock's heroism inspired the Militia Myth and gave a boost to the Loyalist tradition—both of which helped to solidify the authority of the colonial elite. As lawyer-turned-historian Max L. Magill noted before his death in 1973, "the leaders of the [Family] Compact and the members of the party generally looked back on Queenston Heights with almost as much pride as the Athenians did to the Battle of Marathon. They believed that this battle saved Upper Canada and that it had been won, as indeed they held that the whole war had been, by the militia."[151] Over a decade earlier, a Canadian military historian had taken a more expansive view by recognizing the important legacy of the War of 1812. During a speech to the Ontario Historical Society in 1958, Charles P. Stacey felt certain that

> the memory of the War of 1812 was enormously important in the political life of Upper Canada in the next generation. It loaded the dice against Upper Canadian political radicalism and in favour of conservativism. It did a very great deal to strength[en] the Loyalist tradition. It provided the stuff of a nascent Canadian nationalism—and I do not doubt that the militia legend of which I spoke, however shaky its foundation in fact, itself made a very considerable contribution to national feeling.[152]

As for Brock, there can be no reasonable doubt that his role in shaping Upper Canadian nationalism was unintentional; he surely had no prescient ideas on the subject. Raising the morale of the militia was not the same thing as creating a myth of the militia. But attributing the Militia Myth to Strachan (as there is a tendency to do) is likely giving him more credit than he really deserves, and evidence has yet to be found that it was original to him. A more plausible explanation is that the myth, inspired by Brock's success at Detroit and the militia's participation in that expedition, was a broad reaction to a very fortuitous change in the colony's beleaguered circumstances—and one that Strachan used his influence to popularize among the Loyalists and their descendants.[153]

While the nationalism fostered by Brock's victory and the Militia Myth was decidedly British, there was also a patriotic Upper Canadian strain, and this began to emerge soon after the capture of Detroit. To Keith Walden, a history graduate student at Queen's University who defended his master's thesis on Brock's unwitting role in founding the Militia Myth in 1971, the attention focused on him "complemented the Upper Canadian perception of the role of the militia," with Brock "merely a striking specimen of the men he led."[154] In this way, the militia was seen to have been just as courageous, just as daring, and no less principled than Brock himself. "When Upper Canadians praised Brock," Walden deduced, "they also praised their forefathers and by implication, themselves."[155] As the heroic counterpart of his military peers in Europe, Brock helped to convince Upper Canadians that they were not in an obscure corner of the British Empire and that Detroit and Queenston were victories no less significant than Trafalgar or Waterloo.[156] Brock's name, like that of Nelson and Wellington, became "a catchword, and the memories it triggered were ones which encompassed the deeds of the whole Canadian people and the larger significance of the war."[157] Taking this rationale one step further, Walden concluded that "those [people], who by their own efforts, seemed to be able to master their environment and affect the course of civilization, reinforced the hope that man could act in a positive manner to achieve positive results. For the Upper Canadians, Brock was an excellent symbol to express this ideal. The course of the war bore the distinct imprint of his genius and by his efforts a very important aim—the preservation of Upper Canada—had been secured."[158]

If nothing else, the War of 1812 provided Upper Canadians with a "potent usable past."[159] But Walden also detected the irony inherent in the

demonstration of a nationalistic feeling that involved praise for Brock. By doing so, Upper Canadians affirmed their attachment to the British Empire and also their subservience to a country not their own.[160] To the Loyalists, however, as well as their Family Compact leaders, integration within the British Empire was the paramount consideration. The War of 1812, or at least that portion of it made palatable by Brock's campaigns and the militia's participation in them, led Upper Canadians to embrace an attitude of equality with their countrymen living in the British Isles. This colonial brand of British nationalism began to take hold of Upper Canada's collective imagination with the first news of Brock's victory at Detroit. Thereafter, it developed but slowly as the effect of his victory was mitigated by the ravages of war and a slow recovery after the return of peace. However, patriotic nostalgia compelled action, or at least the semblance of action, on the part of Upper Canada's government and in the form of a suitably impressive monument.[161]

As work on Brock's Monument progressed, tourists began to situate it within the surrounding expansive vista as an intrinsic aspect of the sublime landscape.[162] Unfortunately, not everyone was enamoured with the monument's form. Construction was still ongoing in June of 1826, when the American superintendent of Indian affairs found fault with it.[163] After walking the battlefield looking for earthworks and other reminders of the past, Thomas L. McKenney directed his attention to Brock's Monument. "It resembles, at a distance, the monument of Washington, in Baltimore, but without its due proportions at the base; the base of this being too small."[164] But whereas McKenney at least approved of the view from the heights, a touring Scotsman was quite indifferent to it—and no less critical of the monument. Intent on probing the social and political features of American democracy, Thomas Hamilton subjected Brock's Monument to a similar level of condescending scrutiny. During his visit to the monument in June 1831, Hamilton promptly began sizing up its architecture. "The shaft struck me as wanting height in proportion to its diameter, and the general outline somewhat resembles that of an apothecary's phial [vial]."[165] These negative comments about Brock's Monument were widely published and might well have taken a toll on visitor attendance, except that America's foremost travel promoter of the early nineteenth century helped to ensure that tourists would continue to be drawn to Queenston Heights. In 1828, Gideon M. Davison published a revised edition of his tourist guidebook, and the first in his series

to include a description of Brock's then recently completed monument. Contradicting all the naysayers, he described it as a "fine specimen of architecture."[166] The only complaint Davison recalled was the "extremely fatiguing" ascent, but the "prospect afforded of the surrounding country for 50 miles [80 kilometres] in extent, will richly repay a tourist for the time and trouble in visiting its pinnacle."[167] It was a positive review, but by no means the best endorsement.

Of all the early visitors to Brock's Monument, Harriet Martineau appears to have had the most fulfilling experience. Arriving in October 1834, this famous English writer managed to curry great favour with its "portress." Along with the rest of her party, Martineau originally intended to take in the view from the top of the monument and then have dinner on the heights, but she and her friends made such a positive impression on the woman in charge of Brock's Monument that they were invited to dine in her cottage nearby.[168] Interestingly enough, this woman, Theresa Boyd, was originally married to Robert Nichol, the monument commissioner who died a sudden and tragic death in 1824.[169] Left an impoverished widow with a young family to raise, she was given a remunerative position as keeper of Brock's Monument. It came despite some stiff competition from an equally worthy and cash-strapped Laura Secord, who went on to become famous for her particular War of 1812 adventure.[170] Mrs. Boyd's situation, however, was seen as more pressing, and so the superintendence of Brock's Monument was given to her instead. Delighted "to meet ladies from the old country," she told her guests all her affairs and perhaps might even have regaled them with the story of her first husband's important commission under the man whose monument crowned Queenston Heights.[171] If so, Martineau preferred to dwell on the sweeping panorama in the travel book she subsequently published. Brock's Monument was mentioned only in passing and the inscription above its door not at all.[172] This epitaph was a key element of the experience, and one meant to instill an appreciation of Brock's heroism in everyone who visited his monument. However, it was done in a toned-down fashion, presumably to avoid causing offence to American tourists.[173]

Despite the admiration of most Americans toward Brock, some harboured a deep-seated antipathy against anything or anyone seen as representing British interests. For these ill-disposed people, Brock's Monument taunted rather than enticed.[174] Looming over the battlefield

as if commemorating a humiliating defeat, it is not surprising that some Americans might have viewed the monument as an insult to their national pride. There were signs of trouble from an early date. In January of 1833, an English tourist learned of a disturbing report involving a "capital swivel-telescope bought in London." It had been installed on the viewing platform of the monument for the entertainment of visitors, but "two Yankees having lately ascended, unattended, wantonly destroyed it" by throwing the instrument to the ground.[175] No less infuriating was the story of an American tourist who behaved badly by disrespecting Brock's memory. Set in the mid-1830s, the incident involved a surly fellow who paid his admission fee and began to climb the stairs to take in the scenery. Ascending a few steps, he abruptly turned around, stamped his feet, and with a sneer said, "Now I'll tread on the remains of Brock."[176] After continuing to the top of the monument and enjoying the view, the ill-mannered tourist came back down and tried to leave, only to find—much to his mortification—that he was locked in. Exhausting "his vocabulary, alike of curses as of entreaties," he implored to be released. But it was in vain, as the "old veteran who had charge of the monument" was determined to have "ample satisfaction for the insult offered to the remains of his gallant leader." The prisoner, who was incarcerated for some hours, was no less impertinent upon his release. He "reckoned, guessed and calculated [that] it was pretty considerable behaviour on the part of the old soldier to imprison a free born American," and threatened to lodge a complaint with the president. A kick "convinced Jonathan that he had caught a tartar [or met his match], and off he went to use one of his own phrases like a flash of lightning through a gooseberry bush."[177]

The recounting of American abuse toward Brock always brought a strong, indignant reaction from Upper Canadians. But as Harriet Martineau's visit revealed, the tourists who threw the telescope from the top of Brock's Monument were actually English cretins as opposed to the American variety.[178] Stories of hostile tourists from the other side of the border were not always what they seemed and could be easily misrepresented for purposes of anti-American propaganda. The disrespect that "Jonathan" was supposed to have shown Brock's remains might have been similarly distorted, exaggerated, or perhaps even invented. And yet, there can be little doubt that certain Americans felt considerable resentment toward any and all symbols of British colonialism.[179] This rancour

also extended to disaffected Upper Canadians, one of whom focused much of his anger on Brock's Monument.

Little is known of Benjamin Lett or how he came to be so virulently anti-British; however, his hatred appears to have been deep-rooted. Born in Ireland in 1813, Lett's family immigrated to Lower Canada in 1819. After his father's premature death some five years later, the remaining family members relocated to a farm about sixty kilometres northeast of York.[180] Although Lett's rebellious inclinations were variously attributed to some brutal outrage committed against his family, a source close to him claimed that "Lett himself never offered any but political reasons for his actions."[181] At local militia gatherings and other public meetings, Lett and his brother were known to espouse the cause of Upper Canadian reform. And while they did not actively participate in Mackenzie's uprising against the Family Compact in 1837, the bitter enemies they made of their Tory neighbours forced them into hiding. It was not long afterwards that Lett joined the so-called Patriot Army, whose loosely organized bands of raiders launched a series of guerrilla-style attacks into Upper Canada. Lett was particularly energetic in devising and executing a number of these destructive incursions. Over the course of a few years, he was implicated in several lawless acts, of which the bombing of Brock's Monument was one of the more spectacular.

Lett's contempt for the monument appears to have been derived from a repugnance for Britain, as opposed to any resentment for Brock himself. As a close associate of Lett recalled, the monument's towering column on the Upper Canadian shore became an "eyesore" to him, and he soon concocted a means by which to remove it.[182] Furnished with a keg of gunpowder, he put his plan into action in the early pre-dawn hours of Good Friday, 17 April 1840. Taking a boat from the ferry at Lewiston, New York, he crossed the Niagara River and made his way to the top of Queenston Heights. Breaking into the monument, he placed the charge under its winding staircase and then laid a trail of powder. But the fuse was too short and the keg exploded sooner than expected. As the force of the blast travelled upward and through the top of the monument, "stones rained about Lett's ears so that he came near losing his life."[183] Although Lett's nefarious scheme failed to bring down Brock's Monument, the column's destruction might not have been his main objective. Rather, the attack appears to have been more symbolic in nature, part of some

broader strategy to raise border tensions "for the purpose of promoting a revolution in Canada."[184]

Coming between four and five o'clock in the morning, the bombing of Brock's Monument was a rude awakening to the slumbering inhabitants of Queenston. Shocked and confused, they struggled to make sense of the unnerving disturbance.[185] Fortunately for their collective peace of mind, the Queenston-based contingent of the border patrol quickly had the situation under control. But in the absence of a magistrate or other civil authority, it was the local member of the House of Assembly, David Thorburn, who reported the incident to Lieutenant-Governor Sir George Arthur. As Thorburn explained, the keeper of the monument (meaning Theresa Boyd's second husband) hastened to investigate the explosion accompanied by a sergeant with a file of men, but finding the heights shrouded in thick dust and smoke, they failed to apprehend any suspicious characters.[186] It was only later that the full extent of the damage became evident. After a thorough examination, Lieutenant Colonel William C. Ward of the Royal Engineers determined that very

> considerable damage has been done to the monument, which from external appearance, would seem not capable of repair. The pedestal is slightly cracked on the four sides, and the key-stone of the arch over the door blown out. The shaft of the column is likewise cracked more than half way up on four sides, one and two most extensively, the cracks being in some places ten inches or a foot wide. The gallery and cupola are very much shaken. The interior could not be examined, being filled with the ruins of the wooden stair case.[187]

Along with this and similar accounts of the devastation, there soon followed a general venting of frustration in the Canadas. Among the many editorials decrying the outrage, that of the *Toronto Patriot* was one of the first, expressing "mingled feelings of deep sorrow and burning indignation—grief for the wrong, and hatred for the wrong-doers."[188] The damage inflicted upon Brock's Monument was not only shocking, but baffling, considering the "high esteem in which his character was held even with the enemy."[189] Many American editors echoed this sentiment, and one even questioned what "possible motive could have induced this worse than vandal outrage," especially when no man "was more

universally respected on both sides [of] the line than General Sir Isaac Brock."[190] Continuing in this vein, Brock was likened to a *preux chevalier* (chivalrous knight) whose bravery, courtesy, and humanity "commanded the esteem of his country's foes even in the time of war."[191] But while such soothing expressions from across the border helped to ease anti-American feelings, especially once the prime suspect was recognized as a disaffected Upper Canadian, there was still much resentment toward the United States over the perceived lack of action in suppressing incursions such as the one that targeted Brock's Monument.[192] The violation of the hero's tomb, combined with this underlying sense of grievance, enflamed Upper Canadians with an unfettered patriotism. It was something that was absent during earlier and more sombre demonstrations of Brock's worth.

This surge of patriotism was especially concerning to Sir George Arthur, who worried about upsetting the Americans and perhaps reigniting border tensions—just as Lett appears to have hoped would be the case. To this end, it might have been politic to encourage a quiet patch job on the monument. Certainly, Colonel Ward of the Royal Engineers thought it might stand for many years without anything being done to stabilize the structure.[193] Upon a personal viewing, Arthur tended to agree, and he even philosophized that if the monument was left in a ruined state, it would "be a monument of something more than the gallant deeds of lamented Sir Isaac Brock!"[194] Presumably, he meant a romantic reminder of the indomitable will of Upper Canadians to remain British. Despite Arthur's defiant symbolism, the condition of the monument was soon found to be more precarious than originally thought.[195] With this finding came formalized demands for a replacement, and a public meeting at Queenston in June 1840 resolved that "energetick [*sic*] measures should be immediately taken to insure its re-construction, on a scale commensurate with the importance of the object, and in accordance with the feelings of the people of the Canadas."[196] This had been Arthur's preference all along. As a soldier himself, he was sensitive to the insult cast upon Brock's memory, vowing, "We shall, however, of course, soon raise another trophy to his honor, [and] I trust there will be funds enough to elevate it higher than it stood before."[197]

The idea of a classical ruin was thoroughly abandoned as Arthur and his associates turned their attention to drumming up support for the new monument. Coincidently, one of the resolutions of the public meeting

called for a further meeting at Queenston, which was intended to share the findings of the committee overseeing the project and later came to be styled the "Indignation Meeting." Thanks to the intervention of Sir Allan Napier MacNab, a militia hero of the recent Mackenzie Rebellions of 1837 and 1838, this next meeting took the form of a martial extravaganza, and one that Arthur feared might get out of hand.[198] As the appointed day drew near, Arthur began to worry that the proceedings would be commandeered in order to provoke the Americans. Even those imagined to have sympathetic tendencies toward Brock were a source of anxiety.[199] And a telltale sign of the possible trouble to come was an article in the *Toronto Patriot* that seemed to encourage an attitude of combativeness. Promoting the event as a tribute of respect to Brock and a vindication of the effrontery against him, the *Patriot* was

> satisfied that the same gallant spirit will be evoked on this occasion, which urged hundreds, aye thousands to rush to arms at Windsor and at Prescott, and that the mustering on the heights where the soldier's mortal agony was forgotten in the moment of victory, where the turf of the battle-field became the warrior's sepulchre, will present a band of brothers, who, whether viewed as the respectful restorers of the desecrated memorial, or the brave defenders of their native or adopted soil, will be equally regarded as an honour to their country and a terror to her enemies.[200]

With this kind of vaguely provoking rhetoric, Arthur had good reason to be concerned. But the meeting on Queenston Heights came off without a hitch. It was mainly due to Arthur himself, as he presided over the event and thereby managed to contain the threat of anti-Americanism.[201]

The thirtieth of July dawned a fine summer day in Toronto, where it was declared a holiday to encourage attendance at Queenston Heights.[202] At about half past seven that morning, four steamers set out for Niagara, on the southern shore of Lake Ontario. One of them, *Traveller*, carried Arthur and his retinue. Approaching the mouth of the Niagara River, they were joined by four additional steamers and together received a hearty welcome from a large crowd. Included in the bargain was a "thundering salute" from an old eighteen-pounder gun, or cannon.[203] After repositioning, the eight steamers formed abreast and ascended the river toward Queenston. There, in the midst of military honours, cheering

crowds, and martial airs, Arthur advanced to the heights and opened the proceedings. It was by then about two o'clock in the afternoon, and with somewhere between six and ten thousand people in attendance, Arthur recited the general order Sheaffe issued after the Battle of Queenston Heights. It must have been a rather loose reading, however, as Brock came across as having been killed while leading his troops to victory—a victory he never achieved. As for Sheaffe, who actually won the battle, he was all but ignored.[204] What followed was a series of resolutions, prefaced for the most part by long-winded introductions, and occasionally interspersed with "rapturous applause."[205] By this means, the crowd was worked up into a patriotic fervour, agreeing by acclamation to each of the resolutions put before them. Most were eulogistic reminders of past glories, and together they culminated in a strong public display of determination to build a new monument.

Since the whole purpose of the meeting was a new monument, the resolution regarding its construction came as no surprise. However, there was an unexpected twist: The new monument was to take the form of an obelisk rather than a column, a decision that was likely governed by Arthur's preference.[206] While it would never come to fruition, the obelisk—like everything else that day—met with a hearty approval.[207] Nor was there the slightest objection to having the militia pay a good deal of the cost. And the newly constituted Brock Monument Building Committee, whose members were responsible for overseeing the work, was found to be perfectly acceptable. So, too, was the proposed request to the provincial government for assistance in protecting the monument.[208] After thanks were tendered to various high-ranking officials, and just before some six hundred people went for dinner in a pavilion erected on the site of Brock's death down in the village, a motion was moved that an address be presented to Queen Victoria.[209] This patriotic gesture was a direct response to a recent attempt on the queen's life by a would-be assassin. It was also a convenient opportunity to remind the sovereign of Upper Canada's loyalty, while emphasizing that of the militia.[210]

Viewing themselves as the co-saviours of Upper Canada, these aged veterans had a special interest in Brock's Monument and a tendency to reimagine the War of 1812 to suit their own narrative of the past. There was nothing to stop them in this latter regard, but Arthur at least managed to subdue their eagerness to defend Brock's honour at the risk of causing an international incident. The governor general of the Canadas, Charles

Edward Poulett Thomson, Lord Sydenham, complimented Arthur on his success: "You seem to me to have arranged your Queenston meeting admirably—jockeying our friend M[ac]Nab, and what is of far more consequence, keeping the people clear of any outrage to the Yankees, which I thought very probable."[211] Having roused the patriotism of Upper Canada in order to support a new monument for Brock, the project appeared ready to proceed immediately . . . except that it did not.

While Lett's extremism very nearly brought down Brock's Monument, it failed to bring about a revolution in Upper Canada. However, his villainy did manage to sow discontent among many of his former countrymen, who became increasingly frustrated by what they perceived as inordinate delays in starting construction on the new monument. As was the case with the first monument, a lack of sufficient funds was at the root of the problem. Unlike their predecessors, the new monument commissioners did not have a base of financial support in the form of a government grant. Instead, they proceeded in the mistaken belief that the province was sufficiently populated and developed that the project could be funded through public subscriptions. It was a popular idea in the days and weeks following the bombing of Brock's Monument, and one old Niagara militiaman seemed to reflect the mood of his fellow Upper Canadians by confidently arguing that the province had resources enough for a new monument built on "a much more magnificent and splendid scale." Colonel Daniel MacDougal's assumption was based on the fact that there were more "British hearts and hands" in the province than there had been at the time of the first monument's construction.[212] Therefore, the logic went, a public subscription drive was entirely feasible.[213]

Sharing this view was Sir Allan Napier MacNab, who was the recently appointed president of the committee charged with rebuilding Brock's Monument. Along with his old comrades-in-arms, MacNab anticipated covering the new monument's expense through generous donations from the militia.[214] But despite their best efforts to coerce financial assistance from both martial and civilian sources, including generous Indigenous donations, the fund for Brock's new monument increased but slowly.[215] After a year of fundraising, only about £3,000 of the estimated £5,000 for Brock's obelisk had been raised, and given that "some undue impatience seems to have been manifested at imputed apathy of the [building] committee," John Richardson took it upon himself to clarify the matter. As Richardson—then the proprietor and editor of the *New*

Era newspaper at Brockville, in what is now eastern Ontario—pointed out, there was "not money enough subscribed for the purpose; and it would not only be the height of absurdity, but would most assuredly subject them to severe censure, were the committee to commence building a monument, with a certainty that it must remain incomplete, from want of the necessary funds."[216] An early Canadian literary figure and former soldier, Richardson blamed the militiamen of Britain's other North American colonies, duly noting that those in Upper Canada "have certainly subscribed liberally."[217] Richardson was no less harsh on the British Army stationed across the Canadas: "Why do not the regiments of the line contribute their share towards the noble design?"[218] After all, he reasoned, Brock was a general officer in that same army. A parting shot was reserved for "the country generally, who have the name of Brock ever on their lips, but self only in their hearts."[219]

Richardson threatened to shame parsimonious Upper Canadians by revealing the identities of those "who do and who [do] not support the national project."[220] When this threat fell flat, he proposed a series of fancy balls. But this manner of fundraising was quickly called into question.[221] One objector was George Anthony Barber, the articulate editor of the *Toronto Herald*, who deprecated Richardson's proposal as being unworthy of the high object it was intended to promote:

> The quadrille band finds no echo in the battle trumpet—nor can the exciting waltz harmonize with the solemn rites of sepulture. The motley throng which should grace the ball room would ill assort with the funeral tread of armed mourners, and the gay costume of the dancers would be an insult to the hero's winding sheet. The want of fitness of the means to the end would provoke painful recollections—every burst of festivity would by contrast conjure up some grisly vision,—every foot-step would sound as if treading upon a soldier's resting place.[222]

Barber's puritanical objection was a metaphorical wet blanket on Richardson's good intentions. Yet, there was always a celebratory tone to the commemoration of Brock remembrance. And his monument was not the lonely sepulchre that Barber might have had in mind, as evidenced by the innumerable tourists who continued to flock to Queenston Heights from one year to the next.

Throughout the 1840s, as a lack of funding delayed the construction of Brock's new monument, the old one remained standing—more or less—and continued to attract much unwanted attention from the visiting public.[223] Such scrutiny was far from welcomed, especially when American tourists constantly brought up reminders of Lett's bombing and their British counterparts continually pointed out the need for a replacement. To the English novelist Charles Dickens, who visited the ruined monument early in May 1842, repairing the damage was "of much higher importance than it may seem, that this statue should be repaired at the public cost, as it ought to have been long ago."[224] The reasons were as follows:

> Firstly, because it is beneath the dignity of England to allow a memorial raised in honour of one of her defenders, to remain in this condition, on the very spot where he died. Secondly, because the sight of it in its present state, and the recollection of the unpunished outrage which brought it to this pass, is not very likely to soothe down border feelings among English subjects here, or compose their border quarrels and dislikes.[225]

Dealing with Brock's Monument in a timely manner was easier said than done, and the monument's building committee must have felt the pressure to show some sort of progress.

Toward the end of the following November, they advertised a call to architects for the design of "an obelisk on pedestal, to be erected on Queenston Heights, the total not to exceed 170 feet [52 metres], nor to be less than 150 feet [46 metres], and the cost not to exceed £5000."[226] To encourage participation, the committee offered a cash prize of £25 for the winning design (along with second and third prizes of £15 and £10, respectively).[227] In February of 1843, the first honour was awarded to Thomas Young of Toronto.[228] Unfortunately for Young, it would prove a hollow victory as the monument he proposed would never be built. To make matters worse, the better part of a decade would pass before his disappointment was fully realized. In the meantime, tourists passed harsh judgment on the delay: "tottering to its fall!"[229] This was the verbalized reaction of more than one visitor upon seeing Brock's blasted monument for the first time, and the incongruity of the situation was difficult to comprehend. While Upper Canadians had paid homage to

Brock by raising a monument in his honour, which was ruined through no fault of their own, they now seemed content to neglect it from one year to the next. But these same Upper Canadians were not indifferent toward Brock's new monument, and by the latter 1840s many of them began to suspect malfeasance on MacNab's part.

In March of 1848, the Niagara District Council petitioned the then Province of Canada for an investigation into the building committee's affairs.[230] However, MacNab—ever the parliamentarian—was able to defeat the motion by emphasizing the private nature of the project, and also by assuring his colleagues that construction on Brock's new monument would begin the following spring.[231] Still, things did not go as planned. Despite MacNab's assertiveness, the £5,000 necessary for the letting of a contract was not raised until January 1850, by which time a newly appointed special committee had decided that an entirely different design would be more appropriate.[232] While this committee was tasked with reporting on the propriety of beginning construction forthwith, its three members also expressed their joint and strong conviction that the resolution calling for an obelisk should be reconsidered.[233] It was generally accepted that an obelisk of solid stone construction would be less susceptible to vandalism, but the committee questioned whether such a monolith was really intended.[234] Believing the monument was more likely meant to be constructed of stone blocks and masonry, they thought it would not be "by any means imposing in its appearance, while in other respects it would not be so well suited to the beautiful site which it is to occupy, as a monument of another character would be."[235] In the end, the special committee got its wish; however, several years would pass before a more suitably designed monument could begin to take shape.

While the Brock Monument Building Committee had over £5,000 to its credit, there was a sizeable catch to their investment strategy. The funds, most of which were tied up in Bank of Upper Canada stock, could not be sold due to the heavy losses they would sustain from an economic downturn then gripping the province.[236] It was a predicament, but one that was of relatively short duration. A return to more prosperous times allowed the committee to proceed with their plans in June of 1852, and the first order of business was a new design for Brock's Monument.[237] There was a further competition, and in mid-August another architect from Toronto was announced the winner.[238] William Thomas drew inspiration for his design from the Roman Composite order, combining

a tall column with decorative sculpture. The effect was far more elegant and elaborate than the proposed obelisk, which the canal promoter William Hamilton Merritt disapprovingly likened to "a pile of stones, squatted down on top of the mountain, attempting to ape a pyramid."[239] Moreover, a rustic-looking obelisk was inconsistent with the tenor of the times. By 1852, Upper Canada—known as Canada West after the union of the Canadas in 1841—was seen by its inhabitants as having transitioned from a faltering pioneer society with an uncertain future to a firmly entrenched colonial adjunct of the British Empire. Thomas's design better reflected the optimism of this new era, and he did not skimp on the symbolism of glory and greatness. However, the full effect of this prodigious monument was still in the offing (as per the agreed-upon completion date of October 1856), and the immediate task at hand was the clearing away of Brock's first monument.

While the contract for the construction of the second Brock monument—which included the removal of the first—was not awarded until June of 1853, arrangements for the demolition proceeded apace.[240] Several weeks later, after "an ineffectual attempt had been made to blow it up," a larger blast reduced the old monument "into atoms."[241] The job was a complete success, but there was an unintended consequence when rumours began to circulate that the sanctity of the vaults had been violated. Before long, someone writing under the pseudonym of "A Loyalist" complained in a letter communicated to the Niagara *Mail* that "the grave of General Brock had been opened, and his remains taken up and removed in a very irreverent and summary manner."[242] During this sacrilege,

> it was discovered that the coffins of Gen. Brock, and of his *aid[e]-de-camp*, Col. McDonell [*sic*], had both been crushed in by the effects of the explosion caused by the felon Lett in 1840; and that the remains of the illustrious pair, consisting of their bones, the skulls quite entire, and dust, were much mixed with the fragments of lime and stone which had once formed their tomb. Two rough pine boxes, quite unplaned, which had been brought from Toronto, were ready to receive all that remained of the "Hero of Upper Canada,"—into which the clownish and ignorant workmen proceeded, without ceremony, to *shovel* up the bones, dust and dirt, all together.[243]

It was a shocking allegation, and insult was heaped upon injury by an additional report that the desecrated remains had been unceremoniously carted off for temporary reburial in a nearby cemetery. The informal nature of this transfer meant that the public was denied both an opportunity to show its reverence for the two heroes and the chance of catching a glimpse of them, as was the case after their first exhumation in 1824. Had there been some advance notice, "hundreds would have flocked to look even upon the dust of so great a man" as Brock.[244] In his defence, Thomas remonstrated that he had received no instructions for a ceremony, "only to take proper care of the remains," and neither did he think a ceremony necessary until the date of their interment within the new monument.[245] As for the imputed disrespect shown Brock and Macdonell, Thomas claimed to have "very carefully had the vaults opened, and placed all the remains, and the whole of the fragments of the broken coffins into each separate shell [temporary replacement coffin], and fastened the original silver plates, with the inscriptions engraved thereon, to each respective shell, that they might be properly identified when again removed."[246] As the exhumation imbroglio played itself out, Thomas redirected his energy to the erection of Brock's new monument.

The most pressing concern Thomas faced was the construction of the two vaults, which had to be ready to receive the remains of Brock and Macdonell for their reburial, planned for October 1853. When that time finally came, it was highly reminiscent of the reinterment ceremony conducted in 1824. The day was fine, the crowds were large, and the funeral procession was basically the same sort of arrangement (albeit considerably shorter).[247] The one major difference was the funeral car, which was far more elaborate than the hearse of 1824. One of the duly impressed onlookers was the Niagara *Mail*'s editor, William Kirby, who gave his readers a detailed description: "It was a massive carriage, composed of three stories, the highest probably 12 feet [4 metres] from the ground, with corner pillars still higher, surmounted with black plumes and wreaths of laurel."[248] Covered with fine black cloth and heavily ornamented with heraldic shields and military trophies consisting of muskets, there was also an array of bayonets, swords, and other weapons, as well as draped British flags and other funerary motifs. The patriotic effect was profound, just as it had been in 1824, and Kirby predicted that the morbid scene would leave a lasting impression on the young men in attendance "by teaching them what their gallant fathers did and suffered

in defence of the country, and how true patriotism and fidelity to our flag is honoured by the Canadian people."[249] After Brock and Macdonell were formally laid to rest for the third time, construction on the new monument resumed.

A year later, in October of 1854, workmen were still "busily engaged," but by the following September, 1855, the project was nearing completion.[250] A month later, during the first week of October, Brock's massive statue was set in place high atop the column.[251] Other aspects of the work, however, did not proceed quickly enough to allow for a dedication celebration to be held on the anniversary of the Battle of Queenston Heights.[252] There were still massive stone sculptures to be hoisted into place around the base of the monument, as well as the landscaping of forty acres (sixteen hectares) of grounds. And some of this land, while destined to become ornamental gardens, had yet to be legally severed from the old military reserve.[253] It was for these last reasons, especially, that the official inauguration did not take place until October 1859. And just as the 1853 reinterment shared many similarities with that of 1824, so, too, did the inauguration of 1859 resemble the so-called Indignation Meeting of 1840. The latest extravaganza, however, held one notable difference over the morbid remains and bombastic rhetoric of earlier proceedings—namely, the sublime beauty of Brock's new monument, which became progressively more evident once the project neared completion. As Kirby had dryly commented in 1855, "we could almost thank the infamous Lett, for having been the occasion of so noble a work being erected on the battle ground at Queenston."[254] Rising fifty-six metres above the summit of Queenston Heights, Brock's Monument proved to be a well-proportioned neoclassical composition, and one that elicited great pride among all those Upper Canadians fortunate enough to cast their eyes upon it.[255] The monument was the perfect backdrop for the opening ceremony, which featured an enthralling speech by a highly lauded keynote speaker. And Sir Allan Napier MacNab was in his element. Without a lieutenant-governor to subdue him, as was the case during his earlier stint for Brock's sake, MacNab was free to exercise his natural gift of eloquence. Addressing an estimated ten thousand people, he soon had the crowd in a frenzy—but not merely for Brock, or for his colossal new monument.

While the inauguration of Brock's Monument commemorated the formal completion of a major building project, the occasion was no less

significant for the "gathering of Canadian militia" it brought about.[256] To the casual observer, the emphasis on the militia was not unexpected as it was assumed that the oldest among them had served during the War of 1812. It was also no secret that the most recent version of Brock's Monument was inspired and largely funded by a younger generation of these same citizen-soldiers.[257] Moreover, MacNab was one of their greatest supporters. As a militia colonel and chairman of the Brock Monument Building Committee, he ensured that the militia was well represented, and he did so with a rather hyperbolic flair. After providing the obligatory background to Brock's death and the destruction of his first monument, MacNab reminded the assemblage of the militia's prominent role in rectifying the insult to Brock's memory. MacNab then used most of the rest of his speech to single out and elevate the role of the militia in the War of 1812. By giving the impression of a conflict wherein the militia served as the bulwark against American invasion, he downplayed the important contributions of regular British soldiers and their Indigenous allies, who were simply glossed over as MacNab recounted the sacrifices of the militiamen and the sufferings of their families:

> My friends—When we extol the gallantry of our militia, we do them but half justice, and do commend but a part only of the merit which distinguished them. We should not overlook the exposure and the privations which (thinly clad and ill provided as many poor men were) all endured throughout three long years of trial. There were the out-lying picket; the frontier guard; the sentinel[']s vigilance; the midnight patrol; the morning watch;—there were the storms of the seasons, there were the sickness and death. Add to this wives and children—mothers and sisters—the aged and infirm—houses and barns—the cattle and the grain—all but deserted, at the imperative call, to arms, of their invaded country. It required the highest moral courage to relinquish, as our militia did, their peaceful homes when summoned away by the loud blasts of war.[258]

MacNab was effectively preaching to the choir, as many of the people in attendance had a long-standing appreciation for the militia. They could well approve MacNab's speech, especially when he brought the full force of his oratorical abilities into play: "Well done noble militia! Well done

people of Canada! Let this spot be hallowed to the latest time. Honor to the remains of the heroic dead. May they repose in peace until the judgment morning, when the sound of the last trump shall rend this pillar—burst the tomb—and awaken the sleepers to the resurrection of eternal life."[259] It was a stirring performance, and one that was felt keenly by Ferdinand Brock Tupper in far-off Guernsey. Although Brock's nephew and earliest biographer could only experience the speech through a transcript, the allusions to life everlasting moved him to tears.[260] But if MacNab's biblical references were affecting, they were also enabling, as Canada's aging militiamen would soon demonstrate.

2

Propagating Myths

To the casual spectator attending the inauguration of Brock's Monument in October of 1859, the pronounced martial theme of the commemoration would have come as no surprise. After all, the man who inspired the architectural marvel was a famous military figure. So, like earlier celebrations held in conjunction with the rebuilding of Brock's Monument, there was an expectation of militia companies going through their manoeuvres. In addition to the able-bodied militia, there was also the usual smattering of elderly veterans from the War of 1812. Many of them had been consistent attendees at the various commemorations on Queenston Heights, and some even remembered Brock's burial there in 1824. They were hale and hearty then, but the passage of thirty-five years had clearly taken its toll on their martial bearing.

Men who were previously fairly robust had become pitifully decrepit, and whatever military mien they once possessed was long gone. Yet, with their outdated uniforms, accentuated with swords, medals, and other militaria, old warriors were a popular attraction, with some generating more interest than others. As one of the more talkative of these "time-worn" veterans ably demonstrated, the occasion at Brock's Monument presented a perfect opportunity for self-aggrandizement through the telling of tall tales. Seated upon a black pony, he "took much delight in recounting his experience of the war, and boasted that he saw the old boy—meaning Gen. Brock—fall where the monument now stands."[1] Of course, if the aged raconteur had actually been present when Brock fell, he would have known that the "old boy" was not killed on Queenston Heights.[2] The story he told was a complete fabrication, but it was taken at face value by indulgent listeners who overlooked its questionable nature for the sake of a rising colonial ideology. At the centre of this larger fiction—the Militia Myth—was Sir Isaac Brock, whose seemingly incorruptible body had

reinforced the idea of a secular saint.[3] While time eventually caught up with the general's mortal remains, aging militiamen simply reimagined him as a saviour worthy of their veneration. Their Brock was also a military genius, one who led the able-bodied men of Upper Canada in defence of a beleaguered colony. His heroism appealed to the inflated sense of self-importance embraced by militiamen of all ages, and they were proud to serve as a sort of honour guard during these occasions of remembrance. But their enthusiasm concealed a chequered service record, which they exaggerated by means of the Militia Myth. It was an alluring scam, as provincial elites willingly subscribed to the deceit and allocated their favours accordingly. Thus, it was in the militia's best interests to keep Brock's memory alive, a task it carried out in grand style.

For nearly half a century after Brock's death, the greatest proponents for a monumental reminder of his merit were his former militiamen. The most notable among them went on to become a prominent lawyer, businessman, politician, railway speculator, and laird of Hamilton's Dundurn Castle. Sir Allan Napier MacNab was stalwart in his support for the militia, and much of this devotion likely had something to do with his own soldierly experiences as a youthful ensign in the War of 1812, and later as a lieutenant colonel of militia during the Rebellions of 1837 and 1838.[4] Although a pragmatist in politics, MacNab was otherwise a Tory whose militia contacts kept him in good stead with the Loyalist ruling class. Besides his political and financial ambitions, MacNab also had social aspirations, and these were advanced through the public service duties he performed—including the chairmanship of the Brock Monument Building Committee. While MacNab's desire to honour the Hero of Upper Canada was probably sincere, his frequent endorsement of the Militia Myth was patently self-serving. Playing up the militia's role in the War of 1812 enhanced his own reputation, and well beyond the boundaries of Canada West. In April 1859, half a year before he gave his rousing speech at the inauguration of Brock's Monument, MacNab was in England, where he found himself called upon to address a public meeting on the state of Britain's national defences. After accepting much of the credit assigned to him for having established a comprehensive military organization for the defence of Canada, MacNab responded with an impromptu history of the War of 1812. It was one in which the Canadian Militia and volunteers, under Brock's command, crossed over to Detroit, "and in a short time the American army surrendered, and the whole of

Michigan was in the possession of the Canadians." In pressing home his point about the troops involved, MacNab offered no greater clarification than when he simply reiterated, "That was the end of the first campaign, and it was principally fought under Sir Isaac Brock with the militia of the province."[5] Without the slightest twinge of self-consciousness, MacNab had expunged the contributions of the British regulars and also their Indigenous allies.

While MacNab's revisionist history of the militia had become standard fare by the time he addressed the meeting in England, not everyone was willing to go along with the dodgy story. The London correspondent to the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin* was one such individual. After hearing MacNab's remarks about the militia during the War of 1812, the correspondent was highly skeptical: "According to Sir Alan [*sic*], the Yankees owed their defeat entirely to the valor of the Canadian militia and volunteers, for England had not 900 regulars above Montreal at the time Gen. Hull had to surrender [Detroit] to Sir Isaac Brock. All this, of course, is very well for buncombe [nonsense spoken for a sympathetic audience]; but we want to compare the American version of the story, before we jump to Sir Alan's conclusion."[6] Since there was no further discussion of the matter, it appears that the correspondent's interest in the matter was relatively short-lived. The situation was somewhat different in Canada West, where a paraphrased version of MacNab's speech was circulated to much greater effect. And as readers of the Toronto *Globe* were led to believe, MacNab was considerably more direct, forceful, and anti-American in his British performance than was actually the case.[7] In rather less than verbatim fashion, MacNab was represented as having told his London audience that when

> Bonaparte was marching his forces on Russia the ambitious American president, Mr. Madison, took advantage of the supposed embarrassment of England to attempt the conquest of Canada by an American army. Total defeat, however, awaited them, and Gen. Hull surrendered with his whole force to Sir Isaac Brock. But of what was the victorious army composed? Of Canadian Militia and volunteers; for when the war broke out the British "had not in Canada 900 men of all arms above the city of Montreal."[8]

Although MacNab could be just as boastful as the *Globe* seemed to suggest, he was also careful not to offend American readers who might be willing to take stock in his railway schemes. He even went so far as to verbalize a disclaimer of sorts, likely expecting that some or all of his comments would end up in newspapers across the United States. According to a fuller and more staid account of MacNab's speech, he had not "the slightest intention to disparage his friends and neighbours on the opposite side of the [Detroit] river, because they had as good a militia as any country in the world."[9] It was a delicate balancing act, and one that was missing from the *Globe* article. The more forceful pro-militia argument was projected instead, which must have perturbed MacNab, who simply meant to emphasize the importance of organization to a country's defences. But since any show of support for the Canadian Militia was also a vote of confidence in himself, he could forgive the *Globe*'s interfering exuberance. And MacNab was quite happy to revel in his role as the militia's champion, a cause for which William Hamilton Merritt was just as eager to lend his wholehearted support.

Better known for his unflagging dedication to the Welland Canal, Merritt was a colonial entrepreneur with numerous public interests and a passion for the past—particularly as it related to the War of 1812.[10] Having served in the militia cavalry, Merritt's sense of nostalgia motivated his participation in causes that not only boosted the Militia Myth but benefited from it as well. As a member of the provincial parliament, Merritt was able to use his political clout to enhance the reputation and welfare of aging militiamen for their service to the Crown in defence of Upper Canada. In 1852, he introduced a motion calling for an address to the queen seeking medals for all "those parties who had perilled their lives in defence of their country."[11] By way of some background, Merritt informed the other parliamentarians that a medal (the Military General Service Medal of 1847) had been conferred on army officers, regulars, and those militia who had taken part in engagements at Detroit, Chrysler's Farm, and Chateauguay. However, and much to the dismay of the surviving militiamen who participated in nearly thirty other battles, there was no provision for a similar mark of royal favour for these additional services. Merritt's attempt to rectify the imbalance was well-received and passed unanimously, but a dispatch received from the British government early in 1853 dashed all hopes for any such insignia.[12] Merritt, feeling hurt and humiliated, indignantly announced in the next sitting

of the House that he "very much doubted whether he should ever present any more addresses to Great Britain (hear! hear!)."[13] But despite his great disappointment, he still remained undaunted.

Merritt's support for Upper Canada's militia veterans was no less evident when he gave a lengthy speech the following October, 1853, during the reinterment ceremony for Brock and Macdonell. Speaking in MacNab's absence, Merritt opened with a brief overview of the War of 1812. What started off as a ho-hum recital suddenly developed a controversial tone when Merritt contradicted Ferdinand Brock Tupper, whose celebrated biography of his uncle had given rise to the "erroneous opinion" in some quarters "that General Brock placed no reliance on either the militia or the Indians."[14] After excusing this shocking revelation as a mere sleight on Brock's part to somehow coerce reinforcements, Merritt carried on with his own retelling of the Militia Myth. Unlike other versions, Merritt's at least recognized the importance of the Indigenous contribution to the war effort. "The regular troops," he conceded, "are entitled to all praise; everything which men could do they accomplished, but it was impossible for so small a number to defend so extended a frontier without the aid of the inhabitants and native warriors. When we look back at the history of America, and reflect on the cruel treatment this noble race has received from the white man, we cannot but feel these injuries can never be redressed."[15] Merritt was only slightly less despondent about the lack of recognition for the militia veterans, remarking before he finished his homily that the "time is not far distant, when medals will be distributed to the survivors of the different actions." He also hoped "to see the names of those who fell, yet engraved on some suitable material, not only to perpetuate their memory, but to mark out the very spot on which their lives were sacrificed in defence of their country."[16] Unfortunately for Merritt, he was disappointed once again, and on both counts.

Merritt's grandiose idea to provide what amounted to cenotaphs for the militia dead appears to have been his own elaboration of a pre-existing proposal, one that advocated for the erection of a series of stone markers to commemorate War of 1812 battlefields. This scheme was initiated at the end of July 1853 by Merritt and several other militia veterans, who met to consider "the expediency of ascertaining and marking out the different battle grounds, and adopting the necessary measures for erecting suitable monuments to commemorate those important events."[17] There

was some urgency to the request, as the "time is fast approaching, when there will not be a single person living, to point out the battle ground of any one engagement."[18] And while Merritt's name was attached to these statements in a circular distributed to various interested parties, it was only in his capacity as secretary. The role of chairman was assigned to an old militia gentleman by the name of John Clark, who had a farm near Port Dalhousie (now part of St. Catharines, Ontario). Although Clark possessed neither Merritt's political connections nor MacNab's charismatic influence, he was nonetheless a respected member of the community who shared a common interest in celebrating the Upper Canadian Militia. In this regard, he was typical of the old militia veterans who delighted in fighting their battles over again through the stories they told.[19]

In keeping with most of his militia acquaintances, Clark relied on the spoken word. Much to his credit, however, he was also determined to leave a written record of the part he personally had played in Upper Canada's defence. In thus assuming the role of a chronicler, he was scrupulously honest about his participation in the War of 1812. Whereas many militia veterans could not resist the temptation to stretch the truth, Clark felt no need to enhance his reputation. Despite having arrived late to the Battle of Queenston Heights, he might easily have concocted some bold exploit undertaken on Brock's behalf. Instead, he admitted to nothing more than having stood alongside Sheaffe when the Americans surrendered.[20] Clark was admirably conscientious in representing his battle record, and yet he seemed incapable of applying the same diligence to the Upper Canadian Militia.

Clark had fallen victim to the Militia Myth, and whether or not he believed it, he went along with the idea that Upper Canada's salvation during the War of 1812 was mainly achieved by an army of amateur soldiers. Embellished memories of colonial manhood bearing the brunt of the fighting and emerging victorious helped to countervail the losses sustained by militiamen and their families, while the shared experience forged a sense of purpose, pride, and dignity to all those Upper Canadians who remained loyal—more or less—during the war. As a militia officer, Tory politician, and collector of customs, Clark ranked as a minor member of this new veteran class among the colonial elite. Along with his many militia comrades, he surely told his fair share of stories about the war in rowdy barrooms and sedate parlours; but Merritt's circular regarding battlefield monuments also offers evidence of a more formalized

setting in which the Militia Myth was reinforced. It was the "plain social dinner" that was prepared for the meeting.[21] Public dinners had long been utilized to further good causes, and commemorations of the Battle of Queenston Heights were seen as especially deserving of epicurean feasts.[22] Less exclusive than garrison mess dinners, which also celebrated this important anniversary, but by invitation only, public dinners were open to all and tended to be dominated by militia veterans. Clark was one of them, and on one such occasion in 1856, after a toast to Brock was drunk "in solemn silence," there followed "Colonel Clark and the veterans of 1812."[23] Being acknowledged along with Brock was a great mark of respect, and after the toast the old colonel dwelt "at some length on the deeds of fame achieved by the Canadian Militia, and doubted not, if occasion *required*, that they would still prove themselves worthy sons of such sires. It always gave him great pleasure to meet with them, but more particularly on this day, which was sacred, and ever would be sacred, in the eyes of Canadians."[24] It was an admirable expression. But Clark's extreme reverence for the past was not shared by everyone who served in the militia, as an old farmer from Clinton Township (near modern-day Beamsville, Ontario) aptly demonstrated.

Like Clark, Adam Konkle had seen service during the War of 1812 in the Lincoln Militia.[25] And as with other militia veterans, he, too, attended the various Battle of Queenston Heights–themed dinners. At one of them, he provided much of the evening's entertainment by regaling his dinner companions with a rollicking good account of himself as a young militiaman. In what was described as "a characteristic speech," Konkle gave a vague account of the battle—except where it concerned himself. In describing its final and decisive phase, he delighted in telling how the Americans "of course"

> ran away, and some fell down the bank and broke their arms and others their legs, and one man, in particular, was hung up on the crotch of a tree (cheers and laughter). Some ran to their boats and got over, and some swam over, but hundreds went down the river. Our horn began blowing, when they ran, to cease firing, but we didn't cease firing until there was a perfect surrender (hear and laughter). Oh it was a horrible sight. I was going over the field and I came to a road where the ground was covered with dead men, and the Indian warriors were around, scalping and

> plundering, and there was one man wounded, shot right through his side, moaning and lying against a tree, and an Indian came up and was going to scalp him. I stood up and prevented him. "Whoop," said he, fiercely. But I saved that man's life, and he was taken to the hospital; but whether he got well or not I didn't hear (merriment and applause).[26]

Having met with an enthusiastic reception, Konkle continued with his experiences throughout the rest of the war. It was more of the same type of sensationalism, and just as his description of the American retreat at Queenston was clearly hyperbolized, his heroic encounter with the fearsome Indigenous warrior was likely a tall tale invented to enhance his bravery and that of the average militiaman who served during the War of 1812. Most of the other militia veterans in attendance probably could have rhymed off similarly well-rehearsed stories, and no doubt many of them did. To Konkle's credit, he made no attempt to curry favour with his peers by placing himself at the scene of Brock's death. But the British regulars and their Indigenous allies were largely left out of Konkle's narrative, and there was not the slightest objection from his audience.

To aging militia veterans, the War of 1812 was their particular accomplishment, and they were not inclined to share the limelight with anyone but themselves. What was effectively stolen valour on a grand scale was legitimized by the Militia Myth and a group sense of entitlement, which could sometimes slide into disillusionment. One of Clark's associates seemed to justify his attitude in this regard by noting that neither of them had ever "aspired to any order of knighthood, but have often been benighted, lying on the cold ground, or on the safest plank that we could find, while others reposed on beds of down." As James Cummings, the associate in question and another middling sort of old militia veteran, went on to bemoan, "What did we ever get for defending our native soil[?]"[27] Reflecting on the hardships endured by the militia, Cummings could not help but resent those immigrants who arrived after the war and immediately secured "some situation of profit and emolument."[28] Despite the fact that Cummings himself had become a moderately successful merchant, he was convinced that the militia veterans of the War of 1812 had been overlooked and neglected.[29] It was a commonly held belief among the lower classes of militia veterans who felt deprived, underappreciated, and generally left behind in a rapidly developing colonial

economy. With the Militia Myth reinforcing a fictional history of the War of 1812, it is not surprising that old militia veterans began to crave reward and recognition for services more imagined than real. Reward in the form of militia pensions was still some years distant, but the ultimate recognition was near at hand.[30]

At the beginning of 1860, newspapers throughout the Canadas announced the welcome intelligence that Queen Victoria's eldest son would soon represent her on a tour of North America.[31] While the royal visit was not completely unexpected, it still came as something of a surprise—especially to the militia veterans who saw an opportunity to secure the high approbation due them. They might not be able to finagle personalized medals by which to boost their standing in society, but they could still jostle to secure a place in line when Edward Albert, the Prince of Wales and future king (Edward VII), came to call. A committee of militia veterans was hastily formed to draft an address welcoming the prince, and Queenston Heights was chosen as the most appropriate site for the presentation.[32] By the end of April 1860, a coterie of militia veterans began to organize with a view to receiving the prince. Principal among them was Sir Allan Napier MacNab, but Merritt and Clark were no less active in the endeavour. Presenting an address of welcome to the prince was standard procedure on such occasions, and Queenston Heights was the logical setting for a program involving antiquated militia veterans. Less obvious was a ceremonial role for the prince. Had his visit been arranged a year earlier, he could have inaugurated Brock's Monument. That honour, however, had gone to one of Lieutenant Colonel John Macdonell's brothers the previous October, and so some other ritual had to be found for the prince to perform.[33]

A correspondent to the Toronto *Leader* offered a viable solution, and one that would give the prince something meaningful to do once the militia veterans had made their presentation. Taking inspiration from the reception planned for the prince at one of his stops in Canada East (Quebec), the *Leader*'s correspondent observed that it was "proposed to assemble the militia of Lower Canada on the battlefield of Chateauguay, and to invite [His Royal Highness] to lay the first stone of a monument which it is designed to erect in commemoration of that glorious feat of arms."[34] Going one step further, the correspondent argued that the people of Canada West (Ontario) had a military heritage just as glorious and no less worthy of royal recognition:

> The fame of Brock is ever green in the hearts of Upper Canadians, and the victory of Lewiston [Queenston] Heights is one of which the empire may well be proud. It is well known that the battle ground is adorned by one of the finest columns in the world, and that the remains of the heroic Brock rest beneath; but nothing has as yet been done to indicate the precise spot on which the hero fell. It is proposed we are glad to learn, to place a commemorative stone on the spot. Would it not be well that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales should be requested to preside at the ceremonial, and the militia of Upper Canada be invited to meet him, and witness it[?][35]

The correspondent also hinted, rather broadly, that surplus funds from Brock's second monument could be used to defray the costs incurred by this "commemorative stone."

The gentlemen of the Brock Monument Building Committee were agreeable, perhaps because the proposition was a familiar one, having been raised at the inauguration of the new monument in October of 1859, and as a means of shaming the committee into taking action for the construction of a cenotaph. During the speeches on that occasion, Rolland Macdonald, a lawyer, militia officer, and public servant from what is now St. Catharines, Ontario, expressed for all to hear how he thought it "not a little singular that the spot where Brock fell was not accurately marked, even by the monument." Continuing along the same lines, Macdonald added that many veterans of the War of 1812 were in attendance, "some who had seen the hero fall, and he would propose that Sir Allen should place a stone to mark the place."[36] Sir Allen, of course, was Allan Napier MacNab, who was still chairman of the committee for rebuilding Brock's Monument. After a hearty round of cheering for Macdonald's proposal, MacNab astutely went along with the crowd's sentiments and replied "that he thought he knew nearly where the spot was; he would, however, be happy to consult with some who knew even better than he, and have a stone, with an iron fence around it, put to mark the ever-to-be remembered place."[37] Yet, while MacNab's response elicited the same degree of approval as that generated by Macdonald's proposition, it appears that he quickly forgot all about his promise—that is, until news broke of the royal visit. It was then that marking the site of Brock's fall became expedient, especially as there was precious little for the prince to do once he

met with the militia veterans and accepted their address. Moreover, the prospect of having him commemorate the nearby site where the hero was killed was not only appealing, but viable. A small limestone obelisk could easily be worked up well in advance of the prince's arrival, and with relatively little expense. It was just a matter of knowing where to set up.

While MacNab wasted no time in trying to gather conclusive evidence regarding the place where Brock was killed, his letter-writing campaign quickly became an exercise in futility. None of the old veterans who responded to MacNab's request could agree, except in the most general of terms. One of them was Robert Stanton, a loyal and respected public servant who had participated in the Battle of Queenston Heights and was therefore considered a credible witness to history. Stanton, however, did not actually see Brock fall, although he claimed to have seen his body in a nearby stone tavern, or rather a stone house.[38] Not to be deterred by any such lack of relevant information, Stanton made good use of his faulty memory and apparently other information to prepare a rough sketch for MacNab. This cartographic exercise placed the site of Brock's fall at the base of the slopes, below and slightly west of the redan battery.[39] Stanton's sketch was a thoroughly unconvincing production, however, and MacNab expressed his growing frustration with the whole exercise when he complained, "we find the greatest difficulty in ascertaining the exact spot."[40]

While the complication as to the obelisk's placement had become painfully apparent by the end of July 1860, efforts by the special committee responsible for the address to be presented to the prince had continued apace. MacNab chaired that committee as well, with the drafting of the address assigned to himself and two other militia veterans.[41] Like MacNab, Archibald McLean and Sir John Beverley Robinson were old Family Compact Tories, but these colonial elites were no longer the dominant political power in what was now known as Canada West. Even so, this conservative element continued to play a prominent role in ceremonial displays of attachment to the Crown, usually with the full support of their reform counterparts and other liberal segments of society in Canada West. There was a common bond among this elderly generation of former Upper Canadians. It transcended party politics by combining the Militia Myth with a reverence for Brock and imperial identity. Based on their shared wartime experiences, Tories and Reformers alike co-operated in forging the concept of a colony united in a common

struggle for survival in the face of overwhelming odds. Clark had been especially active in this regard, and once again he put pen to paper for the sake of preserving and perpetuating an overly generous record of the inhabitants' loyalty in 1812.[42] As he observed in one such production, "I may tell you as the opinion of many that if the militia of Canada had not stood to their arms in those days of trial under the command of Sir Isaac Brock, Canada might [not] now be an appendage to Britain's crown. Then if circumstances unfortunately require it[,] let us be proud to stand to our arms and [emulate] the character of our fathers in 1812, 13[, and] 14."[43]

Clark was also adamant that the address to the prince should "delineate" the privations and sufferings endured by the militia in defending British sovereignty over Canada.[44] But for the committee working on the address, a purely deferential statement was thought to be the better approach. In their final draft, they described the militia as having merely "assisted in defending Canada against the invading enemy," but the committee also took great pride in knowing that "a valuable possession was saved to the British crown by the successful resistance made in the trying contest in which it was our fortune to bear a part."[45] There was none of the braggadocio that characterized other public statements made by militia veterans on behalf of their own, but neither was there any mention of the contributions made by British regulars or Indigenous warriors. Brock received all the praise due him, but in a fashion highly reminiscent of an afterthought. No matter how humble and unassuming they might pretend to be, the militia veterans were intent on garnering much of the credit for themselves. The threat of any such negative impression might help to explain why MacNab admonished his former comrades against publishing the address until after its presentation to the prince.[46] This warning, intended to subdue an unseemly enthusiasm for the sake of a proper decorum, came at the end of the first week of July 1860—just as copies of the address were about to be distributed to the signatories. The intervention was perhaps just as well, given that the Militia Myth was suddenly subjected to an unexpected challenge several weeks later.

In the early part of August, at what is now Niagara-on-the-Lake, the clerk of the peace for Lincoln County dutifully managed the sheets of signatures to be attached to the address intended for the prince. Along with the occasional old militia veteran who toddled into the clerk's office to sign his name or make his mark, there came a lady of comparable and considerable age.[47] While this was not a particularly unusual occurrence

in and of itself, the poor clerk became completely disconcerted when she suddenly expressed what he perceived to be a shocking determination to sign the address along with the militia veterans. As William Kirby of the Niagara *Mail* delighted in telling his readers, "The clerk demurred to taking so novel a signature, although the lady insisted on her right, having done her country more signal service during the war than half the soldiers and militiamen engaged in it."[48] The lady was Laura Secord, who in June of 1813 had trekked a considerable distance to warn British forces at Beaver Dams of an impending American attack. The reluctant clerk was Rolland Macdonald, the same gentleman who spoke in favour of marking the site of Brock's fall during the inauguration of Brock's Monument in October 1859.[49] Although not old enough himself to have seen service during the War of 1812, Macdonald was heavily invested in the Militia Myth. So the claim put forward by this demanding old lady—that she had seen more active service than most of the colony's surviving militiamen—must have rubbed him the wrong way. After all, the story she told was suspect, if only for the timing of its telling (as if concocted to somehow take advantage of the royal visit). Moreover, it was a stinging rebuke of a deeply held male-dominated belief system in which the colony's yeomanry were credited with its salvation during the War of 1812—in other words, the Militia Myth. Adding insult to injury was Kirby's expressed opinion that she "ought not only to be allowed to sign the address, but she deserves a special introduction to the Prince of Wales, as a worthy example of the spirit of 1812, when both men and women in Upper Canada vied alike in their resolution to defend the country against the invading enemy."[50]

Kirby's suggestion of a special introduction to the prince was perhaps meant to be goading. If so, it was certainly an outlandish idea. That a woman—one whose self-proclaimed derring-do was still relatively unknown—should rate an audience with the prince was highly irregular, and something that could not have endeared her to the many old militia veterans who had no similar *cause célèbre* by which to leverage a royal audience. But thanks to Kirby, Secord's story gained considerable traction through his description of the hardships she endured for the sake of British arms. While Kirby was mistaken in some regards, his account of Secord's "important service" was essentially correct.[51] It was also compelling, though not sufficient to grant her the privilege of signing the

address.[52] Yet, by sheer force of will, Laura Secord received the same recognition coveted by the militia veterans—and then some.[53]

The prince was well on his way to Canada by the beginning of August 1860, when the Toronto architect overseeing the obelisk's construction reported that the stone was "all got out, [and] being worked."[54] William Thomas, however, could do nothing further regarding the obelisk's construction until a site was decided upon, and he became increasingly concerned as the prince was scheduled to arrive at Queenston sometime during the following month.[55] MacNab, however, was still no closer to determining the site of Brock's fall, and since he was heading out of town, Thomas was left in charge. Taking up the initiative, Thomas made a trip to Queenston in order to interview several old residents who supposedly had information relating to Brock's fall. Much to his chagrin, he came up with three different locations. But the divergence must have been slight, as they appear to have been within the confines of one particular property.[56] Still, Thomas was less than thrilled about the situation: Not only was the property in question privately owned, but it was also reported as being "in chancery" (or encumbered with a legal dispute regarding ownership).[57] Thomas much preferred a fourth site that was brought to his attention by Edward Wright of Toronto. This old militia veteran claimed to have seen Brock fall near the main road, or Queen Street (today's Queenston Street), not far from the corner of a fence.[58] Curiously, while this fourth location was in "the public road," Thomas believed it to be a much better place to build a monument. Presumably, this unidentified section of road—likely a cross street on the west side of the village—was not yet opened to traffic, which might explain why he anticipated no objection from the local citizenry.[59]

But MacNab could not be brought on side, preferring instead to deal with the less than unanimous results by holding a meeting "of all who can furnish information worth having."[60] If the site of Brock's fall could not be agreed upon, then one of the four options had to be chosen. MacNab's goal was a consensus, and in the end a compromise was reached—albeit at the expense of Thomas's preference for a location in the roadway. The obelisk would be constructed where there was the most support for it, which meant somewhere in among the three contiguous locations. Ultimately, a site was chosen in a field at the south end of the village. But regardless of this outward appearance of unanimity, the site of Brock's fall remained a contentious issue beyond MacNab's

sphere of influence. A short time after work on the obelisk began, the American historian Benson J. Lossing, who just happened to be visiting during one of his travelogue adventures, noted how some of Queenston's old residents declared that Brock was killed "at least twenty paces from the spot selected."[61] MacNab's response to the discrepancy, had it been brought to his attention, would have been predictable. As he instructed Thomas prior to the meeting, "if you cannot hit the bull's eye, come as near as possible [and] we will all *swear that's* the identical spot."[62] With a bit of reworking, MacNab's tactless remark became the rather more diplomatic opening line of the obelisk's inscription: "Near this spot . . . " And while there continued to be doubt expressed as to the exact site of Brock's fall, the incised preamble was accurate enough for a prince who would be none the wiser.

On the morning of 18 September, the Prince of Wales alighted from his carriage at Brock's Monument. Although he made his appearance sooner than expected, by almost an hour, nearly one thousand people had already assembled around the base of the monument.[63] As the *Globe*'s special correspondent described the scene, they "hung in clusters upon the steep hill sides, blocked up the carriage way, and stood in dense firm masses upon the level grass."[64] The anticipation was palpable, and every one-horse hack seen labouring up the heights excited much commotion.[65] Upon his arrival, the prince was met with hearty cheers as a contingent of old militia veterans raised their swords in salute. Taking his place on a raised platform for all to see, he listened intently as Chief Justice Sir John Beverley Robinson recited the militia veterans' address. In response, the prince read a reply in which he expressed mingled feelings of pride and pain—"pride in the gallant deeds of my countrymen, with pain in reflection that so many of the noble band you once belonged to have passed away from the scenes of the bravery of their youth, and of the peaceful avocations of their riper years."[66] Then, somehow thinking that he was about to launch the construction of Brock's second monument—and seemingly oblivious as to the meaning of the magnificent structure towering high above him—the prince acknowledged that he had "willingly consented to lay the first stone of this monument."[67] That the prince was thoroughly confused came to be revealed in a letter he subsequently wrote to his mother, in which he obviously believed that he had laid the cornerstone of Brock's second monument.[68] In reality, the monument in question was the squat-looking obelisk claiming to

mark the site of Brock's fall, and it was not the first but the last stone that the prince set in place. But blissfully unaware of his verbal missteps, the prince carried on by expressing a justification of the honour paid to Brock's memory. "Every nation," he continued, "may without offence to its neighbours commemorate its heroes' acts, their deeds of arms, their nobleness. This is no taunting boast of victory, no revival of long past animosities. A noble tribute to a soldier's fame is the more honourable, because we readily acknowledge the bravery and chivalry of that people by whose hands he fell."[69]

In his reading of the speech, one that was obviously meant to be delivered at the obelisk, the prince had played his part magnificently. British officialdom in the province was still reluctant to risk offending American honour by too much praise for past glories, which was a very real concern at the time. As a correspondent to the *Times* of London explained, "It was at first arranged in the programme for the visit of His Royal Highness that a small schooner filled with blazing spirits should be sent over the Falls, but this idea was abandoned, as it was thought it might bring back too forcibly the troublesome events connected with the sudden disappearance of the *Caroline* in the same way, and so provoke ill-timed and perhaps ill-natured comments on the United States."[70] Understandably, re-enacting an international incident stemming from the Rebellions of 1837 and 1838 could have been construed as a serious lapse in diplomatic judgment. But even so, the *Times* correspondent was not convinced that it actually mattered. "If such a feeling was really feared (which I certainly cannot believe), the occasion of the royal visit would not have been selected for putting a needless corner stone to a monument finished for years, erected, like that of Wolfe at Quebec, to commemorate the battle of Queenstown [*sic*] heights and the spot where General Brock died victorious."[71]

Like the prince, the *Times* correspondent was somewhat confused by the different monuments. The prince, however, was rather more felicitous in his comments touching upon the American nation, going so far as to recognize the "bravery and chivalry of that people by whose hands" Brock fell.[72] At the same time, he also lent much credence to the Militia Myth by trusting "that Canada will never want such volunteers as those who fell in the last war, nor her volunteers be without such leaders. But none the less and most fervently pray that your sons and grandsons may never be called upon to add other laurels to those you have so gallantly

won."[73] There was no mention of Laura Secord, and no sign of her either. But if any of the old militia veterans congratulated themselves on her absence, they were probably soon regretting it. While barred from affixing her signature to their address, she was allowed to present one of her very own.[74] This opportunity appears to have arisen through her place of worship. Secord, who lived in Chippawa, a few kilometres above Niagara Falls, likely met the prince on 16 September 1860, when he attended Sunday services in the village at Holy Trinity Church, where she happened to be a parishioner.[75] Precisely how this arrangement came about is unknown, but it obviously took some planning.[76] In any case, Secord's introduction to the prince probably led to the presentation of her address, which in turn brought about a gift of £100 for her loyal services of nearly half a century earlier.[77]

Secord apparently never bragged about this royal favour, and yet she must have derived great satisfaction from it; she had finally received the recognition she felt was due her, and the acknowledgement came from no less a personage than the Prince of Wales himself. None of the militia veterans were afforded a similar degree of indulgence, which is not to say that they all reacted negatively to her demand for equality. In fact, one of the militia veterans was even willing to vouch for her. James Cummings, it will be remembered, was the moderately successful merchant of Chippawa who complained to John Clark about feeling underappreciated for his War of 1812 militia service. As warden of Welland County, Cummings certified the veracity of Secord's address and also the respectability of her character.[78] It was thanks to him, seemingly, that Secord had the ear of the Prince of Wales, and she was not about to make herself odious by criticizing the militia (as Kirby suggests she did to Macdonald, the clerk of the peace at Niagara). There was no need of it, given that she had already upstaged the militia veterans by having been allowed an informal audience with the prince. Besides, playing along with the Militia Myth paid dividends, as she discovered when the prince gave her a substantial sum of money in recognition of her heroics during the War of 1812. Verily, the Militia Myth was safe with Laura Secord.

Having received and responded to the address from the militia, the prince ascended Brock's Monument for a view of the surrounding countryside and was soon on his way back down the long, winding spiral staircase. Emerging from the base of the monument, he suddenly found himself having to contend with a pesky "daguerrean artist." There was a

momentary disagreement as to lighting, but the photograph was taken in short order, and the prince carried on with the program.[79] After a short carriage ride down the heights, he was directed to the hastily erected obelisk. There, another good-sized crowd was on hand to greet him—or so it appeared. Actually, this was much the same group of people as the prince had encountered at Brock's Monument, since

> the great majority of the multitude present endeavoured to make a short cut down the heights and fall in with the procession before it reached its destination. To accomplish this, several fences and ditches had to be crossed over, and much violent exercise in running down the steep sides of the Heights had to be done: a no comfortable task, when it is remembered that the sun was blazing hot by this time. But nothing daunted men, women and children came pouring down the hill topsy-turvy one over the other, in the most charming confusion, and making quite an irresistible human stream.[80]

Many among this throng were aged militia veterans, who, unlike Laura Secord, were forced to much greater effort in an attempt to be seen in the company of the prince. Hobbling down from the heights, they lamented "at every step that they were not as supple as they were in 1812, when they made that furious charge up the hill."[81] The prince probably had no idea of the suffering he inadvertently caused on his own way down to the obelisk, where he—dutifully and with all the solemnity befitting his very high station—trowelled some mortar beneath the large suspended capstone and watched as it was lowered into place. It must have been an interesting ceremony. But given the playboy reputation the prince was soon to gain, he might have preferred to let his thoughts wander back to the "saucy lassie" who pushed her way through to his side as he departed Brock's Monument, "seized his hand, gave it a hearty squeeze and vanished immediately."[82]

Once again, the militia veterans were at a disadvantage. None of them could compete so effectively for the prince's attention, no matter how hard they tried. And with the obelisk officially dedicated, he was off like a flash to his next engagement. To some of the militia veterans, there was a profound sense of anticlimax to the occasion. As one Torontonian complained, a number of these old men had travelled great distances and

should have been treated to something more "than a march up the hill, and a march down again."[83] It was hoped that a luncheon with the prince might have afforded some of them an introduction to his royal highness, perhaps in keeping with the indulgence extended to Secord. But the tight scheduling of the royal visit made it impossible for the prince to linger. Still, not everyone was disappointed. John Clark could not have been more satisfied with his experience, if only because he was one of the select few militia veterans who actually got to meet the son of his "beloved sovereign."[84]

Clark was highly gratified by his brief interaction with the Prince of Wales, and he attached a great deal of symbolic importance to the fact that the prince, as the queen's eldest son, was heir apparent to the British throne and destined one day to be king. While Clark was fully aware of this important linkage, he seems not to have appreciated the broader significance of the royal presence on Queenston Heights that September morning. Having accepted the address presented to him by the militia veterans, the prince—and by extension the queen—endorsed the myth that Clark and his fellow militiamen had so assiduously promoted for the better part of half a century. It was a magnificent stamp of approval, a royal licence as it were, and one that elevated the militia veterans to a status rivalling that of Brock himself. He was the Hero of Upper Canada, and they were his loyal militiamen. In this sense, Brock's Monument was as much a symbol of their heroism as it was his own.[85] Tantamount to a gigantic patriotic maypole, the monument was a hallowed place where militia veterans could congregate to celebrate Brock's memory while at the same time perpetuating the myth of their former glory.

The royal visit of 1860 did much to ingrain an unquestioning appreciation for the services of the militia veterans, and by this means it eventually helped them to secure pensions from the fledgling Canadian government. And despite their declining numbers, as well as the passing of their greatest proponents, MacNab, Merritt, and Clark (all of whom died within a few years of the royal visit), the Militia Myth was firmly established and would remain an indelible part of Canadian history well into the next century.[86] This particular myth, however, was more than a mere misrepresentation of the past; it was a false sense of security that resulted from the misplaced pride of aged militia veterans, whose modern equivalents were expected to safeguard the country just as effectively as they had done during the War of 1812—or as effectively as they had led

everyone to believe. The danger posed by the Militia Myth was very real, as it threatened to undermine British policy in terms of Canadian defence. And the danger came during a very tense period in Anglo-American relations. In April 1861, seven months after the Prince of Wales accepted the premise of the Militia Myth on behalf of the queen, the United States became embroiled in a civil war that risked engulfing Britain's North American colonies. Hostilities with the Northern states became a distinct possibility the following November after two Confederate envoys were seized on the high seas by the captain of an American warship who intercepted a British steam packet to make the arrests.

In Britain, the Trent Affair raised the spectre of war with the United States. But there was a silver lining to all the dark clouds forming, and it came courtesy of the Militia Myth. As the readers of London's *Morning Post* were informed,

> The people of Canada, as of the other British North American provinces, are loyal, gallant, and devoted. They are proud of their connection with the mother country, and they are determined to sustain it at all sacrifice and risk. They remember what their sires did in 1812, when almost single handed they expelled the invader from Canadian soil. They recollect with pride the achievements of De Salabery [*sic*] and M'Nab [*sic*], and if they should again be called upon to defend their homes and liberties, they will, as heretofore, give a good account of the enemy.[87]

MacNab's comments from a few years earlier, when he bragged to a London audience about the Canadian militia system, were still resonating when the Americans insulted Britain's national honour. Unfortunately for those British observers of Canadian affairs gullible enough to pin their hopes on the Canadian Militia, the fallacy of MacNab's bravado gradually became obvious. It was first revealed at the beginning of January 1860, when his speech was taken to task in the Canadian press during a convention of militia officers in Toronto. As George Brown's reform-oriented *Globe* newspaper chided, MacNab, "it seems, was precipitate in his London testimony to the efficiency of the Canadian Militia law."[88] And

> the English writers who, accepting Sir Allan as unimpeachable authority, persist in holding up the Canadian Militia as an

> example to be studied by the Imperial Government, are the victims of an unfortunate delusion. The convention of militia officers, now in session in this city, affirm that the whole active force is rapidly approaching disorganization. So bad, indeed, is the condition of the volunteer body, according to the declaration of the convention, that unless remedies be speedily applied by the legislature, the Canadian Militia will by-and-by be all "fuss and feathers."[89]

Remediation of the militia was a matter of funding, but Brown was convinced that the expenditure of additional money would only result in plenty of officers and few privates. And while the Canadian Militia could organize a grand demonstration when called upon to do so, there was more to an effective fighting force than orchestrated displays of pomp and circumstance. Brown hit especially close to home when he argued that the "only legitimate foundation of a volunteer movement, we beg them [the convention delegates] not to forget, is the public spirit which animates the young men of the country."[90] Yet, it was for this very reason that the militia veterans had taken every opportunity to instill an appreciation for their past glories—and not just among the younger set of militiamen, but all Canadians. To Brown, however, it still seemed that "the military spirit is awanting" and "the love of country lies dormant."[91] Perhaps more infuriating to the militia veterans who read Brown's disrespectful remarks were his taunting observations that "mere fondness for display soon evaporates," and "even boys grow tired of playing at soldiering."[92] This infantilizing of the Canadian Militia demanded a response, but it appears that news of the royal visit—which was already circulating by the time of the militia officers' convention—obviated the necessity. While the debate over Canada's defence was effectively put on hold while the Prince of Wales was being shown around the colonies, it became a pressing issue once the Trent Affair threatened to start a war between Britain and the United States.

News of the diplomatic crisis at sea had a sudden patriotic effect in Canada, with a dramatic upswing in support for military action. There were numerous expressions of Militia Myth–inspired optimism, such as that of a correspondent to the Toronto *Leader*, who confidently predicted that "our people would fight with all their native unskilled valor to protect their country, but at what a loss of loyal life and property compared

with that required were we organized and prepared."[93] To this same correspondent, it was the duty of the Canadian government to immediately "commence disciplining the militia by at least taking the course so effectual before the breaking out of the War of 1812—that of organizing for permanent duty flank companies in every militia regiment in this province. This step was the salvation of Upper Canada in the late war, and its necessity is so obvious that every day our government delays taking this preliminary precaution, it is incurring the most terrible responsibility of exposing Western Canada to a disastrous invasion."[94] Despite all this fear mongering, the outcome of any such conflict was considered a given. Thanks to an unwavering belief in the old war stories recited by the militia veterans, the *Leader's* correspondent held that "no doubt ever enters the mind of any Canadian about the final result of any invasion of this province."[95] Moreover, Britain's military might ensured its ultimate victory. Canadian optimism regarding colonial defence capabilities remained strong during the Trent Affair, and the militia continued to be held up to example even after the American government agreed to restore the Confederate envoys at the end of December 1861. Although the threat of war had eased, citizens in Toronto organized a public meeting to consider how best to co-operate with the military authorities. They did so thinking that it was necessary to be "prepared for any emergency which may arise." Once again, the Militia Myth was a source of great strength, and one of the speakers obliged with some well-worn but popular bromides. With a pliable audience at his command, Oliver Mowat (then a member of the provincial parliament) also made use of some dangerously bellicose rhetoric:

> He was quite assured that the events which had transpired in Canada within the past few days would teach those who were about to invade us that we were prepared to meet them. The pages of the history of this country showed what had been done by Canadians in the struggles which took place when our soil was invaded in 1775, 1812 and 1813 (cheers)—and if at that time, with a thinly populated country, Canadians gave such a good account of themselves, how much more would be expected of themselves, how much more would be expected of them to day[?] (renewed cheering).[96]

These were heady days in Britain's North American colonies, particularly in Canada West, where the queen's loyal subjects seemed to spoil for a fight with the Americans. Emboldened by the Militia Myth, which had become firmly ensconced as factual history, their patriotic reaction to the Trent Affair was interpreted in Britain as a willingness to share the burden of their own defence. Very likely, this impression helped to shape the British government's decision regarding the number of reinforcements sent to Canada soon after the Civil War was declared.[97] As the British prime minister, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston, assured a fellow parliamentarian who questioned the move, "We rely implicitly on the loyalty of the people of Canada of all races—a loyalty that was manifested in the most unequivocal manner during the visit of the Prince of Wales to those provinces."[98] Like other British politicians, Palmerston was unduly influenced by the Militia Myth into believing that Canadians would assume most of the responsibility for defending themselves against a possible American attack. Therefore, only a relatively small reinforcement of three thousand men was required. But not everyone agreed, including the 1st Earl of Beaconsfield.

Beaconsfield, better known as Benjamin Disraeli, was also the most outspoken critic of the government's plan to reinforce Canada. Like other British observers of the Canadian condition, he, too, accepted the perceived militarism of the empire's subjects in Canada West; however, he interpreted the Militia Myth from an entirely different point of view. Rather than arguing in favour of reinforcements for Canada, Disraeli voiced his criticism of what he saw as a dangerous precedent. To him, such a measure—no matter how large or small—represented an overreaction to the threat of what he perceived to be mere border disturbances. As he demanded to know of Palmerston, "are there no inhabitants in Canada—are there not a numerous and gallant people there, accustomed to military discipline?" Clearly unaware of the dismal state of the Canadian Militia, Disraeli feared that "taking this early opportunity of letting the people of Canada know that we are prepared to assume the monopoly of defending them, is rather calculated to damp their energy and make them feel that it is not their business to protect their hearths and homes and national honour, and that they may pursue their profitable callings without coming forward in an exigency of this character."[99] Perhaps without realizing it, Disraeli had skirted the real issue: Canadians were willing to pay lip service to their defence, but not the actual cost of it.[100]

With the peaceful resolution of the Trent Affair, these infatuated colonials had free rein to brag about the drubbing they might otherwise have inflicted upon an American invasion force—this while imperial defence spending was becoming a matter for serious debate in the British Parliament.[101] Having resolved in March of 1862 that colonies exercising the right of self-government (as was the case in North America) should assist in their own external defence, the imperial government looked forward to the passage of legislation in Canada that promised a large force in keeping with the threat posed by the disintegration of the United States.[102] There was much surprise and anger, however, when this same legislation was voted down the following May.[103] While the defeat had just as much to do with an unpopular government, being a confidence vote against the Conservatives headed by John A. Macdonald and George-Étienne Cartier, cost was also a factor, as was Canadian ambivalence.[104] As Brown's *Globe* intimated,

> The Washington government have embarked in a work [the Civil War] which will occupy all their thoughts, and absorb all their means for twenty years to come. It is a great and glorious work, the liberation of four millions of slaves, and there is not a man in all Britain who would raise a hand against a people engaged in it, except under provocation which the United States will never offer in their present circumstances. If the [British] ministry think that they can induce the people of Canada to lie upon their oars for the next ten years [after raising an expensive regular army], waiting for a war which will never come, they are greatly mistaken. Make the militia efficient. Drill and arm the volunteers, and then let the business of the country go on. We are not afraid of the Americans provoking a war; we are not afraid of them if they do provoke it.[105]

What the military historian Charles P. Stacey viewed as a "a lack of conviction of the serious probability of war, and, secondly, a failure to appreciate the gravity of Canada's situation in the event of war occurring," the British government of the time looked upon as a distinct threat, and one that Canadians refused to take seriously.[106] Once again, the *Times* was fervid in its denunciation of this irresponsible behaviour by declaring that the "late parliament of Canada has shown itself signally wanting

in those instincts of liberty which urge a free people to fly to arms on the least surmise of danger from foreign enemies."[107] The question of Canadian defence continued to be a topic of heated debate in the British Parliament, but the speeches were not entirely hostile toward the colony, and one even reveals the extent to which some British politicians continued to be swayed by the Militia Myth. Among the most notable adherents was Viscount Bury.

Lord Bury, or William Coutts Keppel, as he was otherwise known, had been a British soldier and also superintendent general of Indian affairs in Canada before entering politics in 1857. Given that he was a son-in-law of Sir Allan Napier MacNab, it is not surprising that Bury was particularly vocal in his support for the Canadian position, or that he was able to provide a good deal of background regarding the War of 1812, Sir Isaac Brock, and the Canadian Militia.[108] Unfortunately, Bury's off-the-cuff history lesson was riddled with inaccuracies. But by speaking forcefully and with conviction, he managed to muddle his way through the details to the thrust of his argument. Asserting that "Canada was saved mainly by the ancestors of those who were now taunted with want of loyalty," Bury pointed out how the "present Canadians came of the same stock with the men who fought thus gallantly, and he was quite sure that if they were threatened by invasion they would rise as one man (hear, hear). The same spirit animated them, along with the same devotion to the British rule. At present the organization of the militia was very much what it was in 1812."[109]

As Britain and its North American colonies tried to align their defence strategies, the Militia Myth served as a complicating factor. But the air of superiority it gave Canadians soon began to fade as the Americans gained the upper hand in their civil war. After the Battle of Gettysburg, early in July 1863, the Confederacy was put increasingly on the defensive and formerly cocksure Canadians could not help but worry for the future: "The prospect of Union victory—a victory which would leave the United States equipped with an enormous army which it might perhaps be disposed to satisfy its resentment against Britain—was no longer merely visionary; and in Canada certain public men—eminent among whom was the eloquent Irishman, Thomas D'Arcy McGee—were warning the public that the colony should be armed against possible calamity."[110]

Despite the obvious threat posed by a battle-hardened United States Army, the Militia Myth still coloured the Canadian government's view of

the situation. In 1864, when the British War Office proposed concentrating regular troops along the St. Lawrence Valley and away from Canada West, its officials met with a strong objection drawn from the past: "Declaring their belief that Canada could still be defended as efficiently as during the War of 1812, the [Canadian] ministers earnestly advised that the soldiers should be left where they were, 'nothing being more effective in stimulating military spirit, and noble emulation in the hearts of [colonial] youth than the presence of troops, with whose past career so numerous and such glorious recollections are connected.'"[111] And no matter how much criticism was levelled against the Canadian Militia, it continued to be espoused by the people of Canada—especially in Canada West, and principally by those aged militia veterans who managed to outlive MacNab, Merritt, and Clark.

Colonel Edward W. Thomson was one such militia veteran, and during the Toronto Highland Company's excursion to Queenston Heights at the end of July 1863, he held the torch high for long-fallen comrades. It was already a warm summer's day when Thomson rose to address a sizeable assembly of some five hundred people at the base of Brock's Monument. Seemingly unaffected by the heat, the old gentleman was soon doing his part to perpetuate the Militia Myth. After paying his respects to Brock, "a good man and a brave soldier," Thomson reinforced the popular idea of a zealous Upper Canadian Militia picking up the slack for insufficient numbers of regular troops. Thomson, himself one of Brock's followers from fifty years earlier, reviewed the stirring events of the campaign during the first year of the War of 1812. It was standard fare, with Brock's "bravery, promptitude and decision of character" meeting its match in the militia's "burst of loyal zeal from one extremity of the country to the other." There was a slight deviation, however, when Thomson expressed his opinion regarding the state of affairs in Canada as the Civil War entered its third year:

> He said he felt certain that the spirit and determination evinced by the Canadian Militia, aided by the regular troops of former days, still lived in the bosoms of the militia and regulars of the present day. Should invasion take place (which may God in his mercy avert) he felt certain they would be found ready and willing to stand shoulder to shoulder with her Majesty's regular troops in defence of her crown and dignity, and of that glorious

> banner that "has braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze" (loud and prolonged cheering).[112]

The favourable reaction to Thomson's observations reflects a curious perception he shared with his fellow Canadians, one that combined defiance and apprehension to produce a strong bias in favour of the Militia Myth. This bias usually came in the form of patriotic hyperbole, and frequently in reaction to the threat of American invasion.

The unpredictable nature of the Civil War certainly brought about a heightened sense of paranoia in British North America, where entanglements seemed increasingly likely as the Confederacy reeled toward defeat. Desperate to turn the tide of war, Confederate sympathizers in Canada plotted diversionary tactics in support of the Southern war effort. In a reversal of the border incursions into Canada from the United States during the Rebellions of 1837 and 1838, these Confederate agents threatened to compromise British neutrality during the Civil War, most notably as a result of their daring raid on St. Albans, Vermont, in October 1864. For Britain's colonial subjects, there was a palpable sense of helplessness as events beyond their control threatened to embroil them in an unwanted war with a militarily powerful and soon-to-be victorious United States. Nor did the end of the Civil War, which came six months later, improve matters in British North America. There was still a great deal of anxiety expressed over the persistent menace of war, which occasionally found vent in the Canadian press and in conjunction with references to the War of 1812. The following October, 1865, for example, in noticing the fifty-third anniversary of the Battle of Queenston Heights, the editors of the *Mitchell Advocate* used the occasion to express their contempt for the threat posed by Northern armies:

> Although we have been the target of threats since then [1812], Canada and the American States have since been at peace. Hoping that we shall never be on worse terms than we are at present, in case a difficulty might arise between us, the sons of England will be found ever ready to hold every inch of territory that our forefathers bled and died for. Yankee artillery and steel never amounted to a row of pins when compared with British skill and courage. Should such an unwished for disruption ever take place between the two countries, we would suggest that every man

> amongst us favoring annexation be marked out, and placed in the foremost ranks to be shot down like useless beings.[113]

These "useless beings" were, for the most part, a set of like-minded Canadians who touted annexation to the United States as a means of preserving economic prosperity.[114] Whether they were sincere in their beliefs or merely playing devil's advocates, the annexationists found more scorn than support. And while the dreaded American invasion never came to pass, the United States remained a breeding ground for hostile intentions.

For some time prior to the Battle of Appomattox Court House in April of 1865, a secret society in the United States had begun fomenting the overthrow of British rule in North America. Intent on liberating Ireland by conquering Canada, the Fenians were able to swell their ranks with disbanded Northern soldiers after the Civil War ended.[115] The queen's subjects, although initially relieved by the American troop reductions, suddenly found that they had another cause for concern.[116] Since the Fenian invasion plans were anything but secret, the Canadian Militia was quickly mobilized at various points throughout the province.[117] After a failed attempt to raid Campobello Island, New Brunswick, in April 1866, an attack was launched against Fort Erie the following June.[118] One of several simultaneous invasions planned against Canada West, it was meant to draw British manpower away from Toronto so that Fenian forces could move against Montreal.[119]

Early on 1 June, more than a thousand Fenians crossed the Niagara River from Buffalo, New York, and the alarm was soon raised on the Canadian shore.[120] Militia units from across the province were called out and quickly made their way toward the Niagara Peninsula.[121] The next morning, both forces clashed near the village of Ridgeway. After exchanging volleys of gunfire for nearly an hour, the militia was thrown into confusion by contradictory orders. Taking advantage of their enemy's poor leadership, the Fenians charged and carried the day. The victory, however, was short-lived. Fearing a counterattack, the Fenians retired to Fort Erie and, after some additional fighting, withdrew to Buffalo.[122] By Civil War standards, the Battle of Ridgeway was a very minor affair. Ten Canadian militiamen were killed and another thirty-seven wounded.[123] Yet, the very fact that any casualties had been sustained in a warlike setting was highly unusual for Canada at that time, and so the relatively

few dead and maimed were celebrated as heroes worthy of their illustrious ancestors—ancestors who fought alongside Brock during the War of 1812. As the *Globe* assured its readers,

> The events of the last three days have shown conclusively that Canadians are prompt to fight in defence of their soil. Undisciplined troops, when badly led, may give way at any time and in any place. But that pluck which was shown at Lime Ridge, and in Fort Erie, is unconquerable. The blood of those who have fallen will not be shed in vain if it keeps alive in the breasts of the Canadian people the courage and determination which we have received from our forefathers, and which never were more conspicuously displayed than during the last three days.[124]

Like Brock's Monument, defended as it was by a home guard raised in Queenston, the Militia Myth was secure, even if cracks were beginning to show.[125] As the Battle of Ridgeway demonstrated, the Canadian Militia was not nearly so effective as it was generally thought to have been during the War of 1812. But in the patriotic aftermath of the Fenian incursion, few people in Canada were willing to openly criticize the militia's more recent war record. The *Globe*, however, found a clever way to make a subtle point in reference to its obvious limitations.

While praising the militia's traditional enthusiasm for defence, the paper claimed there was much concern as to how the British government would view Canada's military response to the Fenian invasion. "It will be said, we doubt not, that Canadians are worthy sons of noble sires, and that with the regulars for a backbone, and the volunteers supplying the rest of the framework, Canada is safe from all invaders from wheresoever they may come."[126] Expressed differently, the Canadian Militia's poor performance at the Battle of Ridgeway had shown that it was no match for a seasoned army of veterans, and that the colony would have to rely on Britain's army for the bulk of its defence.[127] Yet, most Canadians continued to hold their militia in the highest regard. Such was still the case nearly five months later, when, in late October 1866, a grand demonstration was held at Port Robinson on the Welland Canal. As home to one of the heroic officers wounded in the battle, it was an appropriately symbolic place for the granting of honours to local militia volunteers.[128] On the steps of the village grandstand, draped as it was in crimson and

adorned with a portrait of the queen festooned in a Union Jack, the chairman began by addressing the two militia captains whose gallantry had cost them severely.[129] Each was presented with an inscribed sword in recognition of having lost a leg, while silver medals with clasps were distributed to all the men of both the Dunnville Naval Brigade and the Welland Canal Field Battery. The disabled officers "were brought in a carriage to the stand to receive their medals. Most hearty cheers greeted these young heroes, showing how warm a feeling the people entertained towards them, and how deeply they sympathized in the misfortunes which had befallen them while defending Canada from invaders."[130]

At this point, the two amputees were called upon for their replies. Captain Frederick McCallum of the Dunnville Naval Brigade took the lead by expressing his gratitude and assuring the people that, "should his services be again called for, the sword they had given him would be drawn most cheerfully in defence of our country, nor would it ever be sheathed in dishonour."[131] With similar poignancy, Captain Richard King of the Welland Canal Field Battery, who was also the hero from Port Robinson, echoed McCallum's sentiments. Speaking with "energy and feeling," he looked forward to the day "that he might again be able to fight if foes invade our soil." He also hoped "to sometime wear a false foot, but that his heart could never be false to his country, and would be cheerfully laid upon its altar if need be."[132]

The demonstration at Port Robinson bore all the characteristics of a victory celebration, but while much valour was exhibited by the Canadian Militia at Ridgeway, there can be no denying that they lost the battle. Fortunately for them, however, the Fenians did not follow up their victory, but decided instead to cut their losses and run. By this stroke of good luck, the Militia Myth was given a new lease of life. Rather than finding fault with the militia, the blame was placed squarely with its leadership. And despite the exoneration of a formal inquiry, there was some justification to the charge.[133] As for the militiamen themselves, they had shown the spirited courage of their Upper Canadian antecedents by enthusiastically rushing headlong into battle. Even if they performed little better than raw recruits, it was no indictment against them. The remarks of a local politician seemed to reflect this general attitude when he severely chastised the military brass. To James G. Currie and his audience, it certainly appeared "that somebody had blundered."[134] There was no hint that the Canadian Militia itself was somehow to blame, and having been

undermanned, poorly trained, ill-equipped, and badly officered, they did as well as could be expected under circumstances not dissimilar to what the Upper Canadian Militia experienced just over fifty years earlier. The Militia Myth was not called into question, and there can be little doubt that this traditional belief facilitated the false sense of security that hampered Canada's defence—a level of confidence that remained largely intact even after the crushing defeat at the Battle of Ridgeway. And while the issue of defence became a major consideration in the discussions leading up to Canada's confederation in 1867, there was still a general assumption that the martial spirit animating the young men of Canada was fully as vigorous as that which had been displayed by their grandfathers during the War of 1812.

During the Canadian parliamentary debates on the merits of confederation in February of 1865, the member for Lincoln County, in Canada West, acted as spokesman for his political fellows. In doing so, he took exception with a defeatist remark calling for a quiet approach to the threat posed by the United States. To William McGiverin, it was an unacceptable suggestion, and the historical comparison he drew served to prove his point:

> Mr. Speaker, that was not the sentiment, those were not the feelings which actuated the noble veterans of 1812—(hear, hear)—who, though few in number, with a country sparsely settled and an immense extent of frontier, bravely did all that lay in their power to resist the foe; and they not only resisted but repelled him (hear, hear). Though we are still comparatively few in number, we have nevertheless increased since that period in wealth and in population in an equal [or equivalent] ratio with the United States. And though this war has developed great military resources on their part, I think I shall be able to show that with the resources we have—with the force we can bring into the field of at least six hundred thousand armed men if needed—(hear, hear)—and with the aid Great Britain will always extend to us, if we show that we on our part are prepared to do our duty—I believe that we are in quite as good a position to hold our own as those who successfully resisted the invader in the War of 1812 (hear, hear).[135]

With John Clark (one of the more energetic promoters of the Militia Myth) as his father-in-law, McGiverin's passion was understandable.[136] Like Lord Bury, who it will be remembered was Sir Allan Napier MacNab's son-in-law, McGiverin no doubt had a thorough grounding in the exploits of the Upper Canadian Militia during the War of 1812 and an unassailably favourable impression of the men who defended the British Empire in North America.

This positive attitude toward the Canadian Militia was echoed in the British Parliament nearly a month later, during debates about British North American defence. Most of the discussion focused on the cost of defensive fortifications for the colonies, but one parliamentarian was under no illusions. Robert Lowe, the Liberal member for Calne, in Wiltshire, wanted to

> look at this thing from a common-sense point of view, and with reference to the force which the Americans would bring to bear against us. Do not look to the old analogies of 1812 and 1814. The Canadians then made an admirable defence, and the Americans had nothing to boast of as to the result of the engagements on land. But on the lakes we met the Americans, and on Lake Champlain we got right well thrashed, and the figure we cut on Lake Ontario was not a very agreeable one. Well, fifty years have elapsed since then, and have things remained the same? Are we going to embark on the defence of Canada as if the principles which we deemed sound in 1813 and 1814 were still to be relied on, and as if railroads had not been laid down over the whole of American territory?[137]

Although Lowe's shrewd observations regarding the Canadian Militia were generally well heeded by his colleagues, there was still resistance in certain quarters. To Chichester Fortescue, the Liberal member representing County Louth in Ireland, he "had not the least doubt that in a space of time which, perhaps, few gentlemen in that house would believe, on any serious alarm of danger the Canadian Militia would be turned into a force capable of giving a good account of any troops that were likely to be brought against them."[138]

Soon after, during the debate over army estimates, the Conservative member for the English port of Chatham gave a similar opinion. In

defending the cost associated with proposed Canadian fortifications, Sir Frederick Smith expressed his confidence that they would serve a useful function as depots. Moreover, "within a short time the Canadians would make excellent soldiers, and with a small number of regulars there would probably be enough to defend the territory."[139] Smith spoke with some authority, as he was also a high-ranking officer with the Royal Engineers. As Smith, Fortescue, and Lowe demonstrated, the Canadian Militia was integral to any discussion or debate over the question of British North American defence. Past accomplishments, especially during the War of 1812, were also germane. Brock, however, did not rate so much as a mention on these occasions. But remembrances of him were always close at hand, if only among his Canadian admirers. Such was the case in the autumn of 1864, during one of the conferences held in Canada and the Maritimes on the matter of confederation. At an after-dinner speech in Toronto, Charles Fisher, from the New Brunswick delegation, spoke to the question of mutual defence by proudly proclaiming the following:

> Let the men of Canada not forget that when the alarm of war broke out in 1812, when this province was threatened with invasion, the people of New Brunswick raised a regiment which, amid suffering and privation, passed through the northern snow, and fought and fell heroes by the side of the militia of Canada [Upper Canada]. Surely, if anyone doubted we might appeal to the memory of the immortal Brock to show that we were willing and able to defend ourselves. Separated, widely separated as we were, we might be easily destroyed; but united, we should present a formidable front.[140]

The "formidable front" Fisher had in mind would materialize in 1867, when Confederation gave rise to the Dominion of Canada. Along with this new political reality, there came a sense of national identity based on imperial unity.

The cradle of this pro-British nationalism was Upper Canada, and specifically Queenston, where it had been tangibly symbolized by Brock's successive monuments, and occasionally identified as such with passing nationalistic references to the hero's tomb. Beginning with Brock's first reinterment, in 1824, Charles Fothergill of the *Upper Canadian Gazette* waxed poetic when he expressed his belief that there was "something so

grand and imposing in the spectacle of a nation's homage to departed worth."[141] Sixteen years later, in 1840, Thomas Dalton's *Toronto Patriot* referred approvingly to the demonstration calling for the reconstruction of Brock's blasted monument as "this national expression of feeling."[142] And when work began on Brock's second monument in July of 1853, William Kirby expressed regret in the Niagara *Mail* at the alleged disrespect shown the remains of Brock and Macdonell: "We are sorry indeed that the contractor should apparently have forgotten that he was acting in a national and highly responsible business."[143] Of course, the type of nationalism each of these editors had in mind was first and foremost British. And yet, a distinctly Canadian variant was well on the rise by the time Kirby levelled his criticism regarding the treatment of Brock's and Macdonell's remains. Several years earlier, in March 1850, an editorial by Egerton Ryerson, the influential Methodist leader, reform politician, and progressive educationist, underscored the importance of a dualistic approach to nationalism:

> We heard it remarked, a short time since, by an eloquent and powerful Christian orator, that one of the most serious impediments, if not the greatest hinderance, to Canadian advancement, was the absence of a *true Canadian feeling*—a feeling of what might be termed *Canadian nationality*, in contradistinction to a feeling of mere colonial or annexationist vassalage. The orator stated, that he did not like the term "British Canadian feeling," but he did like that of "Canadian British feeling." It should be Canada first for the people of Canada, and Canada British, either by civil connexion or national alliance. It was in the depth, vigour, and energy of this feeling, the speaker maintained, that the hope and life of Canadian prosperity and greatness are bound up.[144]

In summing up, the "Christian orator" impressed his listeners with the influence of domestic nationalism: "When a man emigrates to Canada, his home, his interests and his hopes are no longer English, or Scotch, or Irish, or French, or German, but *Canadian*."[145] Far from advocating a distinct and independent form of nationalism, the orator anticipated the Ontario-centric Canada First movement insomuch as it exuded a "Canadian British feeling." This wordplay presaged the beginning of much confusion for future Canadian historians, and by the time of

Confederation in 1867 the term "nationalism" was beginning to signify a greater self-awareness within the British Empire.[146]

Within a year of its proclamation, Confederation had inspired a group of idealistic young men, all of whom were dedicated to promoting Canadian nationalism while retaining close ties with the mother country.[147] The origins and early goals of what became known as the Canada First movement were generally pro-British, and unmistakably anti-American.[148] As one of the founding members recalled, he and several of his associates met by chance at a hotel in Ottawa early in 1868.[149] At that time, "Confederation had just the summer before been completed and we were full of it. We agreed to stir up a Canadian national sentiment—and to do all we could to unite the provinces to bring in more—and to place the interests of Canada above all other considerations—party or personal."[150]

Besides their aspirations for statehood, the "Canada Firsters" sought to inculcate the idea of a Canadian national sentiment, or a sense of Canadian nationalism. By writing engaging articles and speaking at public lectures, they promoted a distinctly Canadian cultural identity within the larger scope of the British Empire. Often, their speeches were transcribed for publication in one of the country's leading daily newspapers. In July of 1871, for example, one of the Canada Firsters, barrister and essayist William A. Foster, delivered an overview of the colonial epochs leading up to Canada's Confederation. His remarks were made to a rather select audience in Toronto, but soon after received a much wider circulation thanks to a generous report in the *Globe*.[151] Spanning a period of over three hundred years, Foster used history to drive home his point: that "by a common belief in a glorious future, and with a common watchword [Canada First] to give unity to thought and power to endeavour, we shall attain the fruition of our cherished hopes and give our beloved country a proud position among the nations of the earth."[152]

As Foster was well aware, historical themes—whether written or spoken—were especially effective in stirring patriotic feelings and promoting a distinctly Canadian character.[153] In describing the contributions of the Upper Canadian Militia during the War of 1812, Foster was heavily influenced by the Militia Myth, and with dramatic flourish he imagined how

> refugee loyalists must have flashed as the rusty flint-lock was taken from the rack above the fire-place, and the recollection of bygone hardships and persecution came surging up from the past! How must the pulses of the young men have throbbed as they grasped the trusty rifle and, amidst the sudden silence of home preparation for departure, drank in anew the sad story of their parents' exile. Now there was an opportunity for redressing old wrongs that clung to memory with fierce tenacity.[154]

Despite a considerable discussion of the War of 1812, Foster failed to include Brock in his presentation. It was a curious omission, and not likely an oversight, as Foster had a peculiar aversion to individual heroic figures. Whenever he argued that Canada's history was no less romantic than any other nation, he invariably also had to acknowledge the new country's paucity of national heroes—which he then dismissed as being of no consequence. Where "every man does his duty, heroes are not wanted and not missed."[155] In this regard Foster was an oddity, and his Canada First compatriots certainly had no hesitation in making good use of Brock's fame. Prominent among them was the scion of a long-established Toronto family, a man whose strongly held views were as immutably British as those of his ancestors.

George T. Denison III, lawyer, militia officer, and historian of sorts, was noted for his extreme anti-American and pro-British stances.[156] Hailing from a dynastic household with a long military tradition, Denison was weaned on the Militia Myth and stories of Sir Isaac Brock. "My earliest recollections of the Canadian militia," he later wrote, "are of the numerous conversations upon the subject that I was accustomed to overhear as a child at my grandfather's, as well as at my own home." Many of the Denison family's friends had seen service in the War of 1812, "and when they met, events were often recalled, anecdotes retold, and the conduct of the campaigns freely criticized and discussed."[157] Denison proudly categorized the actors of these dramas as "the men who captured Detroit and its much superior garrison, and who shortly after, at Queenston Heights, bitterly avenged the death of their beloved leader in the brilliant and decisive victory won upon that field."[158] There was no room for debate, only praise: "In all the victories of this war, the Canadian militia did excellent service."[159] Nor was Denison less effusive in his appreciation of Brock:

> The clearest impression left on my mind from the discussions to which I delighted to listen, was the remarkable respect and esteem felt by all the old veterans of the War of 1812 for their favorite leader, General Brock. They seemed to revere his memory and were most enthusiastic in their praises of his firmness, ability and fearless courage. Although he was killed in the first battle, they attributed to him the success of the war and the freedom of Canada.[160]

By a further reference to the way in which Brock maintained confidence in the face of enormous odds, Denison added "what was worst of all, internal intrigue and treachery," meaning government opposition to his defensive measures that resulted in his declaration of martial law and prorogation of the Upper Canadian House of Assembly. Brock's reactions not only suppressed treason and defeatism but also secured the militia's steadfast loyalty. There was not the slightest doubt in Denison's mind that this "bold and defiant step, in the face of an invading army in the country, and others threatening at other points, gave confidence to the militia, who, on his appeal to them to follow him in defence of the province, responded at once with the utmost enthusiasm."[161]

It was largely as a result of his conservative upbringing and historical grounding that Denison grew to manhood espousing old Tory imperialism. And while he subscribed to the Canada First objective of a national sentiment, Denison seldom missed an opportunity to make his position vis-à-vis the British Empire distinctly understood. During a speaking engagement at Halifax in 1871, he assured his audience that it "must not be supposed that the growth of a national sentiment will have any tendency to weaken the connection between this country and Great Britain." Rather, he expected "it will strengthen and confirm the bond of union."[162] Within a few years, however, the Canada First movement had all but ceased to exist, having failed to transition into a political party.[163] Seemingly unperturbed, Denison carried on as a strong proponent for a greater imperial connection. In doing so, he became a sort of self-appointed guardian of the Militia Myth and a champion of Brock's heroic legacy.[164] Given his passion for Canada's military history, not to mention his polemic ability (which was considerable), he filled these roles enthusiastically for the next half century.[165] And when it came to promoting his

imperialist views, Denison had a strong, if sometimes contentious, alliance with other Loyalist descendants.

Beginning nebulously in the early 1880s, plans began to take shape for centenary celebrations marking the arrival of the Loyalists, those British colonists who remained loyal to the Crown during the American Revolution, many of whom sought refuge in what later became Ontario. Three separate events were planned, with special committees established in Adolphustown, Toronto, and Niagara-on-the-Lake.[166] William Canniff, who was a physician and historian living in Toronto, took a leading role in organizing the ceremonies, and it was his contention that they should be held in 1884. According to his line of argument, the first Loyalist influx to the province took place in 1784, and so the celebrations should be held on the one hundredth anniversary of their arrival.[167] Canniff got his way, but he soon met his match in other regards when Denison began to assert himself during meetings of the Toronto celebration's management committee. While Canniff envisioned egalitarian, non-political commemorations open to all Ontarians, Denison wanted a more exclusive affair.[168] The Loyalists were thus dropped into the centre of a Torontonian class struggle, but they were soon back to being the main focus of the celebration planned in their honour. There was still room for Brock and the Upper Canadian Militia, as the Loyalist connections to both the hero and his followers were obvious. Many of the troops who fought under Brock were the sons of Loyalists or were themselves Loyalists. And it was mainly due to Brock's victory at Detroit in 1812, a victory shared by the militia, that the Loyalists thought they had been able to retain a conservative form of government in Upper Canada—one that was considered superior to the American republicanism they refused to accept. By further adhering to the Militia Myth, the Loyalist segment of Upper Canadian society effectively mitigated the unhappy consequences of the American Revolution.[169] Not surprisingly, the Loyalists and their descendants formed their own particular myth by which they shaped their society and outlook. Now commonly known as the Loyalist tradition, it was an accepted set of romantic beliefs pertaining to class, principles, and motives.[170]

In much the same way as the Militia Myth, the Loyalist tradition abetted the social engineering goal by enhancing the class status and nepotistic potential of anyone who could prove and behave according to such a desirable lineage. The exclusiveness that came to be associated

with this segment of Canadian society appealed to Denison's strict sense of class consciousness, and he remained steadfastly determined to make the celebration in Toronto an aloof affair by limiting certain events to the better class of Loyalist descendants. As plans for the Toronto celebration became ever more divisive, pro-Canniff and pro-Denison factions emerged and struggled for dominance. Ultimately, however, there was more support for Denison's proposals, including a procession of bona fide Loyalist descendants, a special issue of badges to mark them out in the crowds, and a private reception at Government House for those worthy of the lieutenant-governor's notice.[171] Denison's influence also extended to the slate of speakers arranged for the occasion, which included himself and a speech he gave that was predictable for its severity toward the United States. His tone only softened when he began discussing the Loyalists, and also their War of 1812 associations with Brock through the Upper Canadian Militia. "In 1812," he expounded, "an attempt was made to annex this country by the people of the United States, and to make us a republican people. This was a repetition of the struggle between the two forms of government [i.e., the American Revolution]. At that time Upper Canada was a sparsely settled community, and we had about 80,000 of a population, almost altogether consisting of U[nited] E[mpire] Loyalists and their descendants, while the United States had a population of something like ten millions."[172] "The odds," Denison ventured,

> were enormous, infinitely greater than they would be to-day. Fortunately we had at that time the right kind of a man at the head of affairs, General Brock. He called together the volunteers of this city, told them what they would have to encounter; told them what odds were against them, and asked them to follow him to the front. Every one of them responded. Invasion followed invasion, and although the odds were always against us, the fortune of war was with us.[173]

Despite its emphasis on the trials and tribulations of the Loyalists, Denison's speech really amounted to an argument in favour of stronger ties with the British Empire. Yet, it was also a notable performance for the way in which it linked the Loyalist tradition and the Militia Myth with Brock as their common denominator. And Denison soon lent his own concept of Canadian nationalism to the mix.

During a similar talk given at the Niagara-on-the-Lake Loyalist celebration in August 1884, Denison honed his argument by lending his own idea about nationalism to the usual loyal and patriotic offerings on such occasions. It was the recognition that Canada required a greater sense of its own national sentiment. This was something that was often an issue among critics of a closer imperial connection, as there was a common belief among them that nationalism was dependent upon independence. But Denison rejected this school of thought, arguing that "the pride of the native Canadian in his country is quite equal to the pride of the Yankee in his, while the willingness to defend it in case of need is far greater in the Canadian."[174] After slamming the Americans for what he interpreted to be a false national sentiment, Denison smugly countered with an example of how things were done in Upper Canada. "In 1812," by which he meant the War of 1812,

> every able-bodied man went to the frontier to fight leaving the old men, the boys and the women to till the fields. One might travel a day's journey in this province during that war without meeting an able-bodied man, as they were all on the frontier. That kind of national sentiment was very different from that of the bountied mercenaries of the Northern armies, or of the three months' men, who left the Army of the Potomac in 1861 on the eve of a great battle.[175]

Denison credited the Loyalists with having established a national sentiment that had become a more sincere expression of patriotic appreciation, and one that also reflected a superior set of values. Loyalists were "the law-abiding, God-fearing classes, and this was remarkably shown by the fact that in the early years of this country crime was almost unknown, the settlers being an orderly, peaceable, well-behaved people."[176] They were also thoroughly British, or British in their outlook, not that Denison was under the necessity of educating anyone on that point; it was taken for granted, as was the assumption that the Loyalists held views that were incompatible with those of their American neighbours. But the Loyalists were not as pro-British and anti-American as Denison liked to believe. As Jane Errington demonstrated—more recently, but still as far back as 1987—there was a noticeable shift in the attitudes of most Loyalists prior to the War of 1812: "Though many had initially been antagonistic to the

United States, over the years their anti-Americanism had become somewhat muted."[177] With their settlements more or less contiguous to the American states where many of them originated, where they still had friends and family, and where they had established lucrative trading relationships, it was not in most Loyalists' best interests to remain completely hostile toward their former countrymen.[178] On the contrary, Errington discovered that influential Upper Canadian Loyalists "considered themselves [not only] part of a North American community but specifically part of a conservative American community."[179]

What Errington revealed was the evolution of a common mindset among Loyalists that helped them to ameliorate hostilities with their former colonial enemies. This fine and nuanced point was lost on Denison, who was content to make use of the Loyalist tradition in promoting another aspect of his imperial agenda—a complete loathing for everything American. To him, along with others of his anti-American ilk, the War of 1812 offered the greatest proof of the threat posed by the United States and the effectiveness of the Loyalist resistance. Yet, in the years immediately following the war, when Upper Canadian passions naturally ran high against the Americans, it was not the sons of Loyalists who were lionized for having saved the province, but rather the Upper Canadian militiamen—a curious distinction, given that many of them were members of the same Loyalist community. And while most Upper Canadians could embrace Loyalist narratives of the colony's early settlement, associated accounts of the American Revolution lacked the immediacy of those concerning the War of 1812. Moreover, stories of savage fighting on the frontiers tended to be repellent and in want of a worthy hero.[180] There was Chief Joseph Brant of the Mohawks, of course, and Captain Walter Butler of Butler's Rangers, but neither they nor any of the other Loyalist leaders from the time of the revolution could arouse the same intense feelings of admiration as did Brock. Unlike his Loyalist predecessors, who engaged in vicious guerilla warfare and were reviled by victorious American rebels, Brock was well respected by friend and foe alike. Having led Upper Canadians to victory in a bloodless campaign against Detroit, ostensibly to drive American invaders from their colony, his leadership inspired the delusional but widely accepted and celebrated Militia Myth. Through it, Upper Canada's manhood became just as praiseworthy as Brock himself, simply by means of an association with the local militia. But along with Canadian Confederation in 1867, there came a growing trend in favour

of a more autonomous relationship with the British Empire, especially among the members of the Canada First movement. The most extreme devotee of this new type of nationalism was an English liberal intellectual, whose enthusiasm was soon adapted for an anti-imperial purpose and just as quickly countered.

Having made a home of Toronto in 1871, Goldwin Smith initially supported the Canada First movement's manifesto calling for a national sentiment, defined status in the British Empire, and various political reforms.[181] However, he soon became disenchanted with the movement's imperial leanings and concluded that Canada's destiny was political union with the United States. According to the Canadian historian Ramsay Cook, Smith became convinced that Canada could never become a nation "because it lacked cultural homogeneity."[182] Quebec's "exclusive national character" was at the heart of the problem, and "Confederation had failed to meld the competing 'races' and regions into a single community."[183] Yet, despite some fundamental differences of opinion, Smith and the founders of Canada First shared a fundamental view insofar as they all looked upon the American Revolution as a great tragedy of Anglo-American history. Smith, however, firmly believed that the resulting separation could be reconciled through the "moral, diplomatic and commercial union of the whole English-speaking race throughout the world."[184] While the Canada Firsters could tolerate Smith's ideology where it resembled the imperial federation they favoured, the inclusion of the United States was anathema to their anti-American principles. Moreover, with Smith's inescapable conclusion that Quebec posed a permanent bar to Canadian nationhood, his belief that annexation to the United States was the only viable alternative became a constant source of animosity between him and the members of the Canada First movement. Spurned by the same group of men he once supported, Smith found himself increasingly shut out from Toronto society for his political views.[185] Nor could his critical remarks on the heroic legacies arising from the War of 1812 have rewarded him with anything but contempt. "Worst of all," he posited,

> was the effect which the fratricidal conflict inevitably had in renewing and envenoming the schism of the Anglo-Saxon race. Before that time, British Canadians and Americans had hardly looked upon each other as foreigners. Americans had freely

> settled and been received as citizens in British Canada. Two generations have not sufficed to efface the evil memories of 1812. Ministers of discord, seeking to fan the dying embers of international hatred, still appeal to the names of Brock and his companions-in-arms, whose glory they sully by such misuse.[186]

By expressing this and other such distasteful opinions, Smith made himself a major irritant to all those Canadians with imperialist sensibilities. The comments expressed by the Toronto *Globe*'s editor were only slightly less irritating.

As the leading light of liberal reform politics in Canada, George Brown made good use of his editorials to oppose Tory agendas, by which he aggravated untold numbers of old imperialists. And like Smith, Brown was not originally from Toronto.[187] He was an outsider, with views to match. But unlike Smith, who appears never to have shown any public support for the militia or their myth, Brown enjoyed the good optics of having backed a highly symbolic militia measure. In 1852, when William Hamilton Merritt rose in the legislature for the Province of Canada calling for the distribution of medals to the militia veterans who served in the War of 1812, Brown was one of the members who supported the motion. Neither was he content to let well enough alone. "A great evil in Canada," he goaded, "was the absence of nationality, the absence of a feeling of confidence in the position and destinies of our country."[188] The remedy, he believed, was to be found in the War of 1812, which "afforded a fit ground-work for the fostering of a better feeling, and he trusted every advantage would be taken of it."[189] By this show of respect for the colony's past and his willingness to uphold Canada's ties to the mother country, Brown's political opponents found that they could tolerate his unfortunate reform policies.[190] Smith, conversely, was worse than even those Americans who viewed Canada in terms of their designs for Manifest Destiny. As a British subject living in Canada, his annexationist views were completely inexcusable, and he was frequently labelled a traitor by his colonial contemporaries. But if Smith was a turncoat, he was one with impeccable academic credentials, whose pro-American stance was forcefully articulated and logically sound—especially when considered from beyond Canada. Within the new dominion, however, his fatalistic views never won popular appeal because a preponderance of Canadians favoured the imperial association with Britain as shaped by the Militia

Myth. And they developed some effective means of reinforcing this preferential mentality, extending even to the seemingly innocuous historical societies they established.

When Brown demonstrated his support for Merritt, he had something more elaborate—and rather more pressing—in mind than medals for the militia. It was something that would help to facilitate Canada's national development along pro-British lines: moral lessons from the past. Sensing an opportune moment, Brown made a suggestion directed specifically at Merritt and his personal experiences during the War of 1812. Explaining that the "actors in these scenes are passing from the stage of life," Brown—as it was reported in the *Globe*—stressed that

> a few years hence it will be impossible to obtain reminiscences of these days from the lips of those actually engaged in the struggle; and it appeared to him to be the duty of a Canadian parliament to collect all the authentic information possible while the witnesses were yet to be had—that a reliable record of the valiant deeds of their forefathers may be in the hands and on the lips of every youth in the land (hear, hear).[191]

Predictably, Brown's proposal found a receptive audience among his fellow parliamentarians, and in drumming up their support for such a worthwhile cause, he sought to emulate American success at nation building. Brown began by assuring his colleagues, that on the other side of the lines

> there was not a paltry fight that had not been recorded and bepraised in such a manner as to make every man within a thousand miles of a battle, an illustrious hero in the eyes of his countrymen; and as these heroes die off, the tale of their valour is sung throughout the land. It was undoubtedly carried to an absurd extent, but still no one could conceal from himself, that it exercises a most powerful influence on the national character of the American people, and gave much of the self-confidence which had carried them to prosperity. He thought that in this country there would be no harm in availing of their example in this matter to a reasonable extent.[192]

The prodding had its effect, if somewhat belatedly. In 1859, Merritt managed to have one of his former employees appointed to do much the same thing that Brown had advocated seven years earlier—namely, to "gather and transcribe documents relating to the early history of Upper Canada."[193] An avid Tory, George Coventry was partial to the country's Loyalist heritage, and the Militia Myth infused much of his work in collecting pertinent information. This he did thanks in large measure to the contributions of John Clark. It was perhaps only natural that Coventry, a close Merritt family associate, should reciprocate by offering strong encouragement to his former employers—Merritt and his son Jedidiah—in their efforts to establish the Historical Society of Upper Canada in November of 1861.[194] Modelled after the venerable Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, which received government assistance to collect and publish Lower Canada's documentary history, the Historical Society of Upper Canada failed to find a similar sponsorship. By 1863, "it had become a purely local group centred in and around the town of St. Catharines."[195] Later, in 1872, there was another attempt to establish a provincial historical society. Known as the United Canadian Association, it was a forerunner of the Ontario Historical Society.[196] However, the goal this time was an umbrella organization, one designed to co-ordinate the activities of the newly created York Pioneer and Historical Society with various social and patriotic bodies across the province.

Writing about this developing enthusiasm for the past in 1976, Gerald Killan, a history professor at King's College in London, Ontario, concluded that all these early historical societies had their origins in the 1840s "for the same reasons—regional patriotism, nostalgia, a didactic urge to perpetuate the traditions of past generations, and the anticipation of social interaction among like-minded people."[197] The importance of socializing was particularly evident with the founding branch of the Loyal Canadian Society at Beamsville. Established in 1847, the group's annual meetings were held for the express purpose of celebrating the Battle of Queenston Heights as well as Brock's death. Yet, while its general aims were fraternal, imperial, and benevolent, the Beamsville branch was to all intents and purposes a patriotic dinner club.[198] Beyond rousing speeches and solemn toasts, it did little to solidify tangible links between Brock, the Militia Myth, and British imperialism. Other historical societies were far more active in this regard, and most would go on to publish their proceedings with frequent references to Brock and the militia. But

some went to greater lengths to accomplish their patriotic goals, and none more so than the United Canadian Association mentioned above. Its executive, not content merely to picnic on Queenston Heights, launched a disastrous expedition in 1876 to retrieve Tecumseh's bones for a grand reburial next to Brock's Monument.[199] Unfortunately, the resulting public relations fiasco ruined their plans to excite patriotism and nationalism among their fellow Canadians.

Another well-intentioned, but ultimately counterproductive, attempt to secure an important relic from Canada's colonial past was instigated by two founding members of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto in 1895. Unfortunately, their efforts to secure a good likeness of Brock—by which they hoped to promote a greater appreciation for Canada and the British Empire—were all for naught, as the miniature in question was eventually shown to be a portrait of someone other than Brock.[200] The Niagara Historical Society, founded in 1896, achieved greater success when it acquired Brock's cocked hat.[201] In 1907, the society fulfilled an important mandate by completing the construction of a small memorial hall, or museum, at Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario.[202] In his address at the opening ceremony, Sir William Mortimer Clark, then the lieutenant-governor of Ontario, expressed his firm belief that young people "should be brought to Memorial Hall and there taught the history of their forefathers and that Canada was part of a great empire."[203] To this end, "it was important to preserve all links with the past that the young should be brought in touch with it."[204] As was characteristic for the time, great emphasis was placed on education for doctrinal purposes, and of all those patriotic and historical societies imparting Canadian youth with an unquestioning imperial appreciation by means of Brock and the Militia Myth, none was more committed to de facto social engineering than the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario.

3

Overlapping Agendas

It was at the end of February 1896, when a small group of Loyalist descendants met in Toronto to discuss the idea of organizing themselves into a hereditary patriotic and historical association. Unlike the multitude of other such entities established along geographical lines in various locales throughout southern Ontario, this one was province-wide and yet restricted to a fairly narrow segment of society. Spearheading the drive for this exclusive new organization were two former militiamen, both of whom were also strong adherents of the Militia Myth.

Physician and militia colonel George Sterling Ryerson, a nephew of Egerton Ryerson, the Ontario educationist, was the Conservative member of provincial parliament for East Toronto. Assisting him was William Hamilton Merritt, the grandson and namesake of the canalizing Merritt and a prominent mining engineer. Eventually, Merritt and Ryerson were able to secure the support necessary for a combination of people who, like themselves, were dedicated to further strengthening Canada's bond with the British Empire. The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario would achieve this goal by glorifying the history and traditions of the Loyalist families who laid the groundwork for a British society in the province during the early formative period in late eighteenth-century Upper Canada. Not content with promoting the empire by merely lionizing the deeds of long-dead ancestors, the members of this new association had a more ambitious agenda in mind—one that was deeply rooted in social engineering. First and foremost, they meant to ensure that the Loyalist tradition maintained some degree of influence over society in Ontario.[1] Exclusivity was a major component of the association and, in a move highly reminiscent of the centennial celebration held at Toronto in 1884, regular membership was strictly limited to those applicants who could prove Loyalist descent through either the male or female lines. Despite

this early nod to women's rights, which had more to do with historical precedence than enlightened attitudes, the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario remained a select club of white, middle-aged professional men with a female auxiliary representing the same racial background, maturity, and socio-economic class.[2]

Traditional and conservative by nature, these Loyalist descendants—or "United Empire Loyalists," as they called themselves—became ever more so during a period of rapid social change beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and lasting well into the first quarter of the twentieth century. In response to these societal pressures, they sought a means of fixing their privileged place withing Ontario's class hierarchy. According to Loyalist historian Norman Knowles, the founders and members of the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario "sought to bestow upon themselves 'a further and more enduring mark of honour' that would protect and legitimize their status, values, and beliefs."[3] Fearful of the potential for upheaval and a loss of their identity and influence, they held negative attitudes toward Americans for perceived threats of dominance and a wariness of all those non-Anglo-Saxon peoples seeking to make Canada their new home.[4] The War of 1812 remained an object lesson of the dangers associated with having too many incompatible foreigners.[5] In addition to the overtly racist tendency resulting from this mindset, the United Empire Loyalists also developed a peculiar siege mentality. Being constantly on the defensive, they became extremely militant in safeguarding their heritage. Occasional flare-ups became a defining characteristic of the United Empire Loyalists' Association, and indeed there were times when a strong, uncompromising reaction was warranted.

Such was the case in 1905, when a wealthy Detroit lawyer and historian took it upon himself to expropriate two British vessels dating from the War of 1812.[6] By publicly bragging about his plans to raise these wrecks from the bed of the Thames River above Chatham, Ontario, Clarence M. Burton ruined any chances he might have had for a successful outcome. Instead, the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario, with hastily arranged petitions to the governor general and minister of militia, ensured that the vessels remained securely in place. Later, after reflecting on the situation, the association's legal adviser and fellow member, Edward M. Chadwick, rationalized that Burton's "spoils of war" justification—based on the invading Americans having subsequently defeated

the British at the Battle of Moraviantown—meant that Canadians could theoretically behave in a similarly audacious fashion by removing portions of the White House (given that it had been captured by the British in 1814).[7] The White House had figured prominently in a similar drama several years earlier, when the United Empire Loyalists rose up against a proposed monument for Quebec City. The question, which had become recurring in nature, involved the desire of certain Americans to honour General Richard Montgomery, the patriot hero of the Revolutionary War who was killed during an assault on the capital of the Province of Quebec at the end of 1775. The near apoplectic response of the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario helped to quash what its members viewed as a highly reprehensible scheme.[8] As the Toronto *Globe* reported in October 1898, they met, "protested vigorously against the proposal," and took no pains to hide their contempt for Montgomery. After one gentleman angrily likened the American general to something worse than a rebel, an out-and-out traitor, the Loyalists' president interjected with some levity to bring a degree of calm to the proceedings. He did so by suggesting that permission be granted the Americans, provided they allow "the erection in front of the White House, Washington, of a monument to General Brock."[9]

This timely and forceful intervention, along with others like it, demonstrated the considerable influence wielded by the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario at the turn of the twentieth century. The United Empire Loyalists were not entirely reactionary, however; they were also optimistic about the future, and they had grand plans for Canada. Their ambitions closely aligned with those of the Imperial Federation League, a non-partisan organization that promoted the idea of a decentralized British Empire. Founded in London, England, in 1884, the league appealed to proactive United Empire Loyalists like George T. Denison, who desired closer ties with Britain, but without the political interference. In this regard, the United Empire Loyalists were not out of step with the times. Most English-speaking Canadians of the late nineteenth century were proud to be members of the world's greatest empire, and even the relatively few anti-imperialists who rejected the vision of a closer union through economic and military co-operation were not entirely opposed to the idea of an extended British community. They, too, shared the common view that a new and better British Empire, one in which former colonies attained equal rights with the British Parliament,

was preferable to complete independence.[10] Indeed, as Phillip Buckner has shown, when

> John A. Macdonald and the other Fathers of Confederation talked about building a "new nationality," they had in mind the creation of a new national identity, one that would embody the best of British culture and traditions but that was modified to meet the requirements of life in North America. They wanted to create a nation that would remain essentially British but also free to evolve its own national identity while remaining permanently allied with the mother country under the same crown.[11]

A significant difference between Canadian imperialists was their respective attitudes toward Americans. The majority of these imperialists, by virtue of their preference for everything British, were naturally wary of the potential for undue American influence, or continentalism, which they feared would be the consequence of closer economic ties with the United States. While some imperialists were more than willing to engage with their southern neighbours for the sake of business, others were determined to counteract the perceived American threat. The most obsessive among them tended to gravitate to patriotic organizations such as the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario, where they domineered with their anti-American rhetoric. To these individuals, it was vitally important to resist the dangerous republican influences that promised complete Canadian independence, but which were more likely to result in American annexation. The only viable strategy for avoiding such a disaster was imperial federation, but there was also a recognition that political pressure alone could not secure the pro-British future they desired for Canada. As well as politicians, the whole population had to be brought on side, and patriotism was the key to the success of such an endeavour. By emphasizing the continuity of a heroic past, the United Empire Loyalists perpetuated both their Loyalist tradition and the Militia Myth. Brock, in light of his War of 1812 legacy, became the personification of this ideal British nation, and Canadian imperialists—especially Ontario's United Empire Loyalists—seized every opportunity to rebrand his heroic exploits as selfless contributions toward its founding.[12] One such opportunity was a centenary commemoration of Brock's death at Queenston Heights. The extravaganza sponsored by the United Empire

Loyalists proved to be a great success, as well as the high point in their imperial aspirations.

In April of 1912, having determined that neither the federal nor provincial governments had any plans to mark the centenary of Brock's death, the United Empire Loyalists—formerly of Ontario but now representing all of Canada—took the initiative by appointing a committee for the celebration of "Brock's Day."[13] By mid-September, the committee had submitted a long list of recommendations for "a national demonstration that will be in effect only less impressive on the public mind than was the passing away of the man himself at Queenston Heights a hundred years ago."[14] The scope of the recommendations was sweeping, and included a royal salute from every cannon in the land, a memorial service in all the churches (since the anniversary fell on a Sunday), commemorative school exercises leading up to the celebration, and the proclamation of a national holiday on the Monday following.[15] Understandably, given the time required for such elaborate plans, the committee's report was adopted only tentatively.[16] It was also agreed, more realistically, that the centenary of Brock's death should be commemorated on the spot of his final exploit by means of a mass excursion to Queenston Heights, where a series of patriotic speeches were to be augmented by an appropriate military presence.[17] A further meeting was called, with circulars sent to provincial "patriotic and historical societies, clubs and regiments, etc." asking for their participation in the planning of the event.[18] Armed with an enthusiastic response from each of the solicited organizations, which "made [it] abundantly clear that the proposed celebration had touched a tender chord of public feeling," a program was adopted and preparations set in motion.[19] Along with some of the original recommendations, there were also some last-minute suggestions incorporated into the day's activities, including encouragements for the laying of wreaths.[20]

After two additional meetings in advance of the October celebration, and with all the necessary arrangements made, the executive members of the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada were fairly confident that they had everything under control—except of course the weather.[21] As was later reported, "The unsettled, rainy weather of the two previous days had caused some misgiving as to the number of people who might venture on an open air demonstration on a cold October day, and the grey looming skies at dawn on Saturday, the 12th, held no hidden hope of

a silver lining. The enthusiasm awakened by the name of Brock, however, was resistless, and betimes the seats in the waiting train were crowded."[22]

Rain or shine, Brock's dedicated admirers were bound and determined to pay homage to his memory. However, as these patriotic pilgrims made their way to Brock's Monument on the day of the celebration, there was a sudden change in the atmospheric conditions. As one observer noted, "During the forenoon the sky had cleared, and now the sun shone out brightly for a space on a landscape unsurpassed anywhere for spacious magnificence and scenic beauty. And crowning the domed escarpment the stately column spoke forth a people's patriotism and love, a memorial to the brave, the scene harmonizing with the feelings of the great gathering."[23] It was, indeed, a great gathering. According to the best estimates, there were approximately two thousand people in attendance, many of them having travelled considerable distances for what amounted to a patriotic rally.[24]

As the then president of the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada and chairman of the Brock Centenary Committee, Colonel George Sterling Ryerson set the tone of the proceedings by announcing, "We are not here to glorify war; nor is our object to exult over our brave but defeated adversary."[25] Then, as if Brock was merely a secondary consideration, he went about heaping praise on the Loyalists for having "raised up great, good and brave men who were willing and able to fight for their king and country in order that they might enjoy civil and religious liberty under the British flag, and that they might hand down to their posterity a fair and goodly heritage which they had won from the primeval forests by their labour and sacrifices."[26] In a fashion that would be followed by most of the several speakers who followed him, Ryerson perpetuated the Militia Myth and the Loyalist tradition. Brock was finally eulogized, and Ryerson, much to his credit, made a point of acknowledging the historical contributions of other ethnic groups. Included were French Canadians, Indigenous peoples, and Scottish highlanders who happened to be Roman Catholic. It was quite an inclusive gesture for the time, and several individuals representing these disparate groups were on hand to deliver speeches of their own. The Scottish Catholic delegation was especially well represented, and there were two Macdonells for what must have seemed an obvious reason to the more astute observers—namely, the militia colonel and provincial aide-de-camp who was mortally wounded soon after Brock fell was their clansman, John

Macdonell of Greenfield. Perhaps the better known of the Macdonells speaking that day was John A. Macdonell of Alexandria, a self-described indifferent lawyer but highly effective Conservative Party organizer.[27] As someone with strong genealogical and historical interests, this particular Macdonell was a natural choice to speak about his famous relative. But while he provided a good narrative overview of the challenges Brock faced during the War of 1812, the other Macdonell did a better job in contextualizing the long-term consequences associated with the ensuing hero worship.

Angus Claude Macdonell, a lawyer from Toronto and Conservative member of Parliament representing Toronto South in Ottawa, spoke about Brock in much the same flattering way as everyone else, but his was the most insightful impression of the general's significance to Canada. Acknowledging that "we have learned and heard altogether too little of this truly great man, and of what he accomplished," Macdonell posited that "it is not too much to say that he preserved Canada to the empire and at the same time created a national sentiment in Canada which has ever grown and expanded to the present day."[28] As Macdonell explained,

> The national importance of the Battle of Queenston Heights, following the capitulation of Detroit, cannot be over-estimated; national sentiment or a feeling of nationhood was even then manifesting itself in this young colony. The peoples who had settled in Canada sprang from races which had always stood out strongly for national identity—the English glory in their historic past; the Scottish race, to which my forefathers belonged and which to some extent I represent, on this occasion, are noted for their love of country; and so with the other races which made up the United Empire Loyalist settlers of Upper Canada at the time of the War of 1812–14. Our national heart was created and stirred in this century-old war, and the heartbeats have ever become stronger down to this day, and we now look back through the mists of one hundred years to Sir Isaac Brock as the first true source of national sentiment which fertilized our country, and stamped it as British and Canadian forever.[29]

These were the well-spoken sentiments of a dyed-in-the-wool imperial federalist, and precisely what an assemblage of like-minded

Canadians—raised on a constant diet of Militia Myth and Loyalist tradition—would have expected to hear on such an occasion. Although a common enough theme for the time, seldom was the concept of Canada as a nation so compellingly articulated. Indeed, other speakers frequently touched upon the interconnected subjects of British imperialism and Canadian nationalism, with references to Brock and the Battle of Queenston Heights interspersed for patriotic effect, and one of the more notable of these elocutionists invited to speak at Queenston Heights was George T. Denison.

After stressing the importance of brave deeds and military victories to a nation, which he did by way of select classical references, Denison carried on with a fairly standard recital of Brock's different burials and various monuments. The speech might have settled into a rather dreary affair, except that Denison took a sudden and defiant tone regarding the current "splendid demonstration of respect and gratitude," whereupon he let loose with a cringeworthy remark that perhaps brought a blush to those attendees trying to avoid the appearance of gloating over a long-settled dispute. It came about when the obdurate Denison blurted out his thinly veiled opinion about the reticence of Canadians in celebrating the British victory at Queenston Heights, and more especially the participation of the Upper Canadian Militia. "I am proud," he declared,

> that our people have done their duty to-day, and I hope that our action will inspire our children a hundred years hence to commemorate the great event. I make no apologies for coming here to glory over the victory. Brock died on this field and our fathers fought here that we should be a free and independent people, and we have enjoyed that position for a hundred years, thanks to their efforts. How can we use that freedom better, than in testifying in the heartiest manner our gratitude and appreciation for the priceless boon which we owe to those who then won it for us![30]

This was Denison at his oratorical best: bold, brash, and completely unapologetic. To anyone who knew him, the patriotism he expressed was completely in keeping with his character. But if Denison had a reputation for being outspoken, he found his match on Queenston Heights that day, and in a speaker from the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford, Ontario.

Dehkanenraneh, who was also known as Alexander G. Smith, stated his position in a fairly aggressive fashion, apparently out of respect for the warlike reputation of his Iroquois ancestors. "If a Mohawk chief had in his make-up a particle of timidity," he haughtily observed, "I fear that your cheering would have frightened or disconcerted me."[31] Clearly, the chief was about to give the audience a piece of his mind; and, as they soon enough discovered, Brock was not the issue. Smith was aggrieved with the Government of Canada over its treatment of his people, whose complaints dated back to the American Revolution. In recalling a time in "the remote past, when my ancestors could make or unmake nations on this continent," Smith lamented their alliance with the British.[32] In his opinion, they "made a serious mistake in taking sides in the War of American Independence," which resulted in the loss of their traditional lands and removal to Canada. Yet, Smith's pride in their long association with the Crown was reawakened when he declared "that in those troublous times no followers of the illustrious Brock, whose fall and victory we are this afternoon commemorating, fought more bravely than the Six Nations; their very admiration of that great and brave general was as a spur to their bravery."[33] Then, in what could only be interpreted as a swipe against the primacy of the Militia Myth—and by extension the Loyalist tradition—Smith slyly added, "I think I may truthfully say that had it not been for the bravery of the Six Nations, the Union Jack would not to-day be waving over these historic heights."[34]

It was a touché moment, insomuch as Smith very publicly reclaimed his people's participation in the Battle of Queenston Heights, which the Upper Canadian Militia frequently brushed aside for the sake of enhancing their own legacy.[35] Only then did Smith get to the real point of his contention: male suffrage and the Canadian government's restrictive laws governing "status Indians" who wished to vote. To Smith, they were punitive, unfair, and infantilizing. The last injustice was also the most grating, as the brave warriors who "proved to be men on many a battlefield, who fought and won Britain's battles, ceased to be men and became minors after the battles were won and British predominance secure, and therefore are not allowed men's privileges."[36] Convinced that Canada should give the Six Nations "representation on the floor of the House of Commons and also respect the treaty concessions made to them, instead of gradually curtailing their tribal rights and privileges," Smith hoped to bring Brock's enthusiasts on side.[37] After all, it was an influential

gathering, and so Smith hoped to gain recognition for his worthy cause. Confidently, he closed his speech as Denison might have done. "My remarks may not suit everyone," he admitted, "but I cannot help that. I am not courting popularity, for I am getting too old for that, and I am descended from too long a line of brave warriors to be afraid to speak the truth, whether it be pleasant or otherwise!"[38] Despite Smith's bold attempt to win support for his cause, Indigenous people in Canada would not achieve full voting rights for another half century.

Smith's speech was not quite in keeping with the spirit of the day, as it carried an ulterior motive beyond that of shoring up the Militia Myth and Loyalist tradition. And for the many people who attended the celebration expecting a unanimity of purpose—and specifically, an exercise in praise of Brock—the inclusion of Six Nations grievances must have seemed uncomfortably discordant. But it was no more incongruous than the speeches of two educationists who went on at length about teaching methods. Like Smith, Dr. Robert A. Pyne and James L. Hughes had a far grander purpose in mind than merely paying tribute to the Hero of Upper Canada; their concern was nothing less than the preservation of the British Empire. The two gentlemen held considerable sway in their respective fields, with Pyne serving as the minister of education for Ontario and Hughes the chief inspector of public schools in Toronto. Working in close association with the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada, Pyne and Hughes had devised a scheme for promoting patriotism among the students of Ontario and, eventually, the rest of Canada. What they envisioned, however, went well beyond inculcation and amounted to nothing less than indoctrination. It was effectively social engineering through education, and the British Union Jack, which was Canada's official flag at the time, was the symbolic element in this push for a stronger sense of patriotism among young people. Pyne, wanting to recreate the intense loyalty he believed existed in Canada during Brock's time, was prompted to ask his audience, "what are we doing to-day to create a sentiment of patriotism and loyalty to our country and flag?"[39] Then, in a move that must have raised more than a few eyebrows, perhaps none higher than Denison's, Pyne shared the source of his flag-waving inspiration. It was some years earlier, while he

> was in Detroit on a school *fête* day when the children of each school were marshalled together for a march past the Detroit

> City Hall, where they had a large picture of the president surrounded by their national flag, the Stars and Stripes. As each school reached the entrance to the city hall the scholars halted, saluted, and gave three cheers. To a little urchin on the street near me who was selling papers I said, "Why do they stop and cheer?" He replied, "They are cheering for the old flag which we call 'Old Glory,' and, sir, let me tell you that is the flag that was never licked!"[40]

While Pyne questioned the boy's historical accuracy, he "realized the sentiment that had been created in that youngster's mind, a sentiment of loyalty and patriotism."[41] Taking his cue from this American experience, Pyne made it a point to install "the Union Jack, the flag of civilization, over every rural school in the province of Ontario."[42] By emphasizing the rural component of his endeavour, Pyne meant to draw attention to the patriotic inclusion he hoped to achieve by supplying flags to all schools in the province, and not merely those in urban settings. Hughes, for his part, saw the importance of history "for the opportunities it gives to be stirred to deep, true enthusiasm for heroism, for honour, for patriotism, for love of freedom, for devotion to duty, and for sublime self-sacrifice for high ideals."[43] While he doubted that factual history alone could promote a love of country among Canadian youth, Hughes firmly believed "the noble deeds of our ancestors performed for high purposes are the surest sources for the development of the strong and true emotions that make human character vital instead of inert. Emotions form the battery power of character, and among the emotions that give strength and virility and beauty to character, reverence for the dead who wisely struggled and nobly achieved, is surely one of the most productive of dignified and transforming character."[44] Of course, the ancestors Hughes had in mind were Loyalists—the "few determined settlers scattered widely over a new country [who] successfully repelled invading armies coming from a country with a population twenty-fold larger."[45] Hughes was adamant that whatever "else we may neglect in the training of the young, I trust we shall never fail to fill their hearts with profound reverence for the men and women of the past to whom they owe so much."[46] It was especially imperative that they be taught a high regard "for womanhood by recounting the terrible hardships endured willingly by Canadian women

generally, as well as by proudly relating the noble work done by individual women, of whom Laura Secord was so conspicuous an example."[47]

Stressing the importance of lessons from the War of 1812 that featured women was a very progressive view for the time, but interpretations of the past were still largely male-dominated and rather elitist. As such, it is not surprising that Hughes concluded his speech by referring to the "records of such men as Brock, at the foot of whose monument we stand to-day and look with reminiscent glance over the marvellous progress of a hundred glorious years, let us determine that we shall do our part to make the coming century more fruitful than the past."[48] In leading up to Brock, Hughes had mentioned women—but only in passing. Greater emphasis was placed on the patriotic youth movement he envisioned and the promise it held for the future of imperialism in Canada. There was just one glitch, which Pyne's fixation with the Union Jack seemingly brought to mind.

Toward the end of his speech, Hughes spoke out against all those "thoughtless people" who "call us 'flag-wavers' if we strive to give our young people a true conception of the value of national life, and of their duty to have a true love for their country and for their empire."[49] To Hughes, Pyne, and many other Canadians with strong imperial loyalties, flag-waving and other patriotic displays were highly effective in developing a spirit in children expressive of "the highest and broadest and truest ideals that have been revealed to the Anglo-Saxon race."[50] At the same time, however, Hughes acknowledged a negative side effect of the patriotic education he advocated. "We do not wish to make our children quarrelsome or offensive," he assured his docile audience.[51] However, as Hughes continued with his defence of indoctrination for the sake of the empire and Canada's place in it, many of those in attendance might have recalled an exceedingly unpleasant incident that occurred in 1890.

It was in October of that year, during the first Toronto-wide celebration of the Battle of Queenston Heights, when things got out of hand.[52] With the city's public schools decorated in high patriotic style, particularly with chalkboard art depicting the battle and Brock's death, visitors were treated to student recitals and the speeches of visiting dignitaries. The offerings were no different at the Dufferin School, where one of the guest speakers, Methodist minister George J. Bishop, suddenly committed a major faux pas when he "deprecated any feeling of hostility towards the United States and reminded the children that the great bulk of the

people over the line were friendly to Canada and would no more think of warring against us than against themselves."[53] The oblivious minister then remarked that he would have "been glad to have seen an American flag entwined with a Canadian one in order to show that no unfriendly feeling existed."[54] But the suggestion of such a gesture ran counter to what the schoolchildren had been taught, or engineered to think, and they reacted instinctively when someone in the crowd just happened to produce an American flag. As the *Globe* reported, "the storm of apparently involuntary disapproval displayed by the children afforded a striking evidence of the need for carefully guarding against national or class hatred in such celebrations."[55] Amid shouts of "take it down," and "throw it out, etc.," Principal Robert W. Doane called for order while a school trustee, "with a desire to calm down the disturbance," asked for the American flag, which he then inexplicably raised above the Red Ensign (Canada's flag at the time). "Not over," yelled another trustee, "put it under."[56] The Stars and Stripes was accordingly relegated to a subordinate position—appropriate flag etiquette, but still a major controversy for everyone who firmly believed that it should not have been raised at all. Certainly, there were strange doings at Toronto's largest public school on the seventy-eighth anniversary of the Battle of Queenston Heights, and Rev. Bishop could have avoided much controversy had he simply praised Brock like everyone else on that occasion. But the minister, like many other Canadians, felt uncomfortable with the strong anti-American overtones evident in Toronto's public schools. There were also other concerns as well.

Writing to the *Globe* a few days ahead of the Dufferin School incident, "A Canadian Citizen" condemned the overall celebration for its peculiar offensiveness "in selecting the schools as the scenes of such a demonstration and thus sowing the seeds of international hatred and bitterness in the breasts of children."[57] It was doubly reprehensible

> at a time when the commercial relations of our country with the United States are in the most critical condition, and when Canadian commerce, whatever hot-headed and light-minded declaimers may say, is looking with the deepest anxiety to the result. Though the McKinley Bill has passed, the bonding question and that of the Canadian railways are still open, and a display of hostility to the United States on our part may be fatal to our

> interests in both cases. Besides there is both in Congress and in the country a large party favorable to reciprocity which is doing its best to bring about better relations and which this wanton or worse than wanton outburst of jingoism is sure to discourage and repel.[58]

Obviously, the letter writer's fear of causing offence south of the border had more to do with potential economic ramifications than any concern for a diplomatic rift. Most American newspapers, however, failed to pick up on the story, and those that did treated it as something of a joke. The *Milwaukee Sentinel*, for example, observed how the "McKinley bill increase on Canadian eggs and cabbage seems to have had an irritating effect on the children as well as the statesmen of the dominion."[59] Yet, the state of commercial relations with the United States was no laughing matter to a large segment of the Canadian population. Included was the *Globe*'s "Canadian Citizen," who provided a lengthy postscript criticizing the celebration's "main instigator and contriver"—the same person who, "at the time of the American Civil War came forward as a violent partisan of the slave power."[60] Not surprisingly, perhaps, the person implicated was George T. Denison, whose identity was conveniently exposed in the *Globe*'s editorial section. While the paper's annexationist-minded (and short-lived) editor, Edward Farrer, could abide the maligning of Denison's reputation, his newspaper's Liberal affiliation would not allow him to countenance any criticism of George William Ross, the Liberal minister of education who was blamed by the "Canadian Citizen" for being "weak enough to countenance a proceeding the impropriety of which he can hardly fail to see."[61] As Farrer observed, it was a mistake to assume that the minister of education could somehow be held responsible for the participation of such individuals as Denison in the Toronto school celebrations. Ross, it was pointed out, "is doing his best to promote in the schools throughout the province the growth of a true sentiment and of a pride in our past history, but he is not responsible for Col. Denison's performance and cannot help it if at this critical time that gentleman should take it into his head to frighten or provoke the United States by executing a war-dance."[62]

In defending the minister of education, Farrer was merely behaving in a loyal partisan fashion—even if Ross shared the United Empire Loyalists' conservative attitudes toward patriotism and education.[63] This

seemingly contradictory political behaviour was not particularly unusual for the time, and Ross exemplified the nuanced attitudes toward imperialism during the late nineteenth century in Ontario.[64] Although political affiliation was not a reliable gauge of imperial feeling, the most outspoken proponents of empire tended to be Tory in both their outlook and their vote. But like his counterparts in the provincial legislature and their United Empire Loyalists' lobby group, Ross was interested in developing a deep and abiding appreciation for Brock and the Battle of Queenston Heights among the children of Ontario.[65] Along with their Reform and Tory antecedents, both Liberals and Conservatives shared a common reverence for Brock as a national hero. This high regard, along with the joint recognition for some form of imperialism, encouraged the largely anti-American outlook of the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada, whose rhetoric in promoting Brock's contribution to Canadian nationalism advocated a thoroughly British vision of the nation. So, while the American taxation of Canadian eggs and cabbage was no direct threat to the United Empire Loyalists, trade agreements with the United States were seen as economic concessions toward political union and eventual annexation.

With occasional newspaper coverage stoking fears of the United States' territorial ambitions, questions of loyalty and patriotism took on increasingly greater significance for most Canadians. English-speaking imperialists, especially the Conservatives and United Empire Loyalists among them, were extremely sensitive to the slightest suggestion of American manoeuvring. And nothing was more provoking than the dictums of Goldwin Smith, who was well-known for his pro-annexationist views. Certainly, his comments on one of the tenets held most dear by the United Empire Loyalists—loyalty itself—did nothing to mitigate their opinion of him or their extreme doctrinal attitude toward Canadian schoolchildren. In February of 1891, Smith presented the first of three lectures on the subject of loyalty, a segment of which was no doubt inspired by the school celebrations held in honour of the Battle of Queenston Heights the previous October.[66] "Is it loyal," he questioned,

> to turn our public schools into seedplots of international enmity by implanting hatred of the Americans in the breasts of children? The public schools are maintained by all for the benefit of all, and it is an abuse of trust to use them for party purposes. Nor does it

> seem very chivalrous to be inveigling children instead of appealing to men. Celebrations of victories gained in bygone quarrels over people who are now your friends are perhaps not the sort of things to which the bravest are the most prone. Wellington and the men who had fought with him at Waterloo used to dine together on that day. This was very well, especially as those victorious veterans did not crow or bluster. But it forms no precedent for boastful demonstrations by us, who did not fight at Queenston Heights or Lundy's Lane.[67]

Smith, who saw Britons, Canadians, and Americans as members of a worldwide Anglo-Saxon race, thought it inexcusable that war with the United States should be contemplated, much less encouraged among children as was done in Toronto. Exasperated, Smith demanded to know

> when this war spirit is got up, whom are we to fight? The one million of Canadians and their half-million of children now settled on the other side of the line? All the British immigrants who have been pouring into the United States during the last generation? Literally, when we take away from the population of Canada the French and other nationalities, there would be as many men of British blood on the enemy's side as on ours. "Bombard New York!" said a Canadian of my acquaintance; "why, my four sons live there!"[68]

Smith's disgust with the jingoistic indoctrination of schoolchildren was not the irrational overreaction of an uncompromising pacificist, as was charged by the United Empire Loyalists and their allies. To any objective observer of the school celebrations held in honour of the Battle of Queenston Heights in October 1890, the afternoon session was one long exercise in militaristic ideology. After marching from their classrooms to Queen's Park (the site of the Ontario Legislative Building), some eleven hundred boys (most carrying mock wooden guns) arranged themselves for review by the militia district adjutant general, Lieutenant Colonel William D. Otter. As commandant of the Royal School of Infantry at Toronto, Otter took a special interest in the drill corps of that city's schools. So, too, did Toronto's chief inspector of public schools, James L. Hughes—who happened to be a brother of Sam Hughes, a very soldierly

newspaper editor who went on to serve as the minister of militia and defence from 1911 to 1916. Nor did the toy soldiers disappoint the many adults who assembled for the occasion: "They marched like regular troops from the oldest to the youngest—little children, the smallest being no older than seven years. Heads straight, chins up, chests out, they delighted the spectators, and when at the word of command the salutes were made the soldiers in the crowd and Colonel Otter clapped their hands enthusiastically."[69]

After the march past, Otter addressed the boys and pronounced their muster "most creditable." He was sure that the minister of militia, Sir Adolphe-Philippe Caron, would have been equally pleased with their enthusiasm, patriotism, and loyalty—had he been there to witness their performance. In his absence, however, Otter offered his "assistance and encouragement in drilling and uniforming and keeping up such an organization as theirs."[70] There was no hiding his expectations of the boys being raised in Toronto: "They were preparing themselves to be Canada's future defenders," and if ever their services were required, he was "sure they would not be backward in maintaining her Majesty's authority and the integrity of the flag that had floated over so many generations of their sires."[71] In driving home his point, Otter concluded by advising them to join one of the militia corps as soon as they were old enough. Then, after several rounds of cheers, the cadets were dismissed. And despite the vociferous protests that followed, the militarization of their childhood continued.

By the time of the Brock Centenary in 1912, the lives of Canadian boys were becoming increasingly geared to the blind patriotism foisted upon them during school hours. While regimental reviews had begun to wane in popularity within a few years of the controversial school celebrations of 1890, they were soon enough augmented by other means of shaping the hearts and minds of the country's youth, both male and female. The most important of these morale-boosting exercises was Empire Day, the idea for which was claimed by Clementina Fessenden of Ancaster, Ontario. Fessenden, the wife of an Anglican priest, became an ardent imperialist obsessed with Queen Victoria as well as the empire she ruled. In 1896, as Fessenden was organizing support for the implementation of a national flag day, her husband died, and thereafter she devoted herself to a new crusade. As her entry in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* describes it, this new phase of endeavour was "a vigorous public campaign

to combine imperialism, patriotism, and education through the establishment of an empire day in Canada's schools."[72] Like many of her imperialist contemporaries, Fessenden feared the decline of British influence in Canada and took matters into her own hands to try to prevent it. Despite meeting with indifference and opposition, she was relentless in bringing about her vision for a patriotic school day. She was no less relentless in giving herself full credit for its inspiration. But it was the support of George William Ross, in his capacity as the Ontario minister of education, that made Empire Day an essential annual event in schools throughout the British world for years to come.[73]

The first province-wide Empire Day was held in 1899, with much of the celebration resembling the former school celebrations honouring the Battle of Queenston Heights and Sir Isaac Brock.[74] In addition to commemorations of Canada's flag, whether the official Union Jack or the de facto Red Ensign, there were similarly decorated classrooms, familiar speeches from visiting dignitaries, and hackneyed student recitals on various aspects of the Loyalist tradition and Militia Myth. And thanks to the patriotic urges of Fessenden and Ross, the indoctrination of conservative imperialist values was expanded to schools across the length and breadth of Canada.[75] Toronto being the premier city of English Canada, it was able to develop the most elaborate celebration in the country. Before long, several thousands of that city's schoolchildren—again, both boys and girls—were meeting once a year to march in parades, decorate public monuments, listen to speeches, and otherwise manifest their devotion to the empire. There was also a return to the military activities of former times, and the governor general's review of the cadets was the day's high point. Earl Grey, for one, thoroughly enjoyed this part of his duty. In 1911, after reviewing some three thousand public and high school–aged boys, he was heard to remark, "This is better than all the races."[76] While a tad inappropriate, perhaps, the governor general's remark was well-intentioned. To a reporter covering the event, it was a form of praise "in every way justified and earned by the smart appearance of the boys, who, feeling that the judgment of the king's deputy waited upon them, puffed out their chests to the last possible fraction of an inch, and tried their level best to look the good soldiers in embryo that they are."[77] There was no denying that Empire Day in Toronto had become overly militarized, and its supporters were finding it difficult to argue otherwise. But they

had friends in high places, the most influential of whom happened to be an uncle of the king.

As in previous years, Canada's governor general was the chief guest at Toronto's Empire Day celebration in May of 1912. It differed little from earlier instances, except that on this occasion the governor general happened to be Queen Victoria's last surviving son. Having been appointed the previous October, Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, was a major attraction whose presence helped to boost attendance at the event. One of the day's highlights was the ceremonial decoration of his mother's statue, which the governor general undertook himself with flowers he received "from the hands of little girls." Then, after inspecting the assembled cadets, he treated them to a laudatory speech in which he praised Queen Victoria's legacy and then defended the militarism promoted by their Empire Day exercises. There was also an honourable mention for the man who instituted this warrior-in-training style of indoctrination:

> I think you one and all will be proud to feel that you are taking up your responsibilities as citizens at this young age. Great responsibilities follow with it, and if you have a great and free country that you are proud of and are devoted to, the first thing you would want to do would be to be able to defend it in case of need. You cannot defend it unless you are taught, and the instruction that we have seen, for which we owe so much to Mr. Hughes, is one of the finest things we have seen.[78]

As if to absolve the chief inspector of any hint of jingoism, the governor general went on to defend the militarism associated with Toronto's Empire Day—and this he did by denying its obvious military function. Feigning ignorance, he claimed not to know the meaning of those people who sometimes "make very foolish remarks about militarism." But the governor general knew more than he was willing to admit, and also how to contort his words into a vote of confidence. "Militarism," he insisted, "means that all the organizations and laws of a country are subservient to military law and discipline. This is not so here, and never will be, and I see no militarism in your being taught discipline and taught to carry out your duties as citizens."[79]

It was a highly selective interpretation, but it provided James L. Hughes and his United Empire Loyalist friends with high-ranking approval as they set their sights on a patriotic demonstration of national proportions. This, of course, was the Brock Centenary celebration, which was held on Queenston Heights the following October of 1912. While there was no one of the governor general's status to draw in the crowds, and Toronto's schoolchildren could hardly be expected to attend an event on the other side of Lake Ontario, the United Empire Loyalists still managed to attract a large throng of mainly older participants. And like Empire Day in Toronto, there was a pronounced military component to the day's activities, courtesy of several militia units. Another similarity was the decoration of Brock's Monument with wreaths and other floral arrangements, as was done to the statues in Toronto's Queen's Park. Normally, there was no opportunity to bestow this honour on Brock's Monument, as it was located too far afield, and so the Empire Day organizers had to content themselves with the next best thing: festooning his portrait in the Ontario Legislative Building with celebratory garlands. This treatment had become standard practice, but during the centenary celebrations it was Brock's Monument that served as the focal point for the floral tributes of adoring well-wishers, which were "so numerous . . . that they almost covered its huge base."[80] While described in a somewhat exaggerated fashion, the floral component of the Brock Centenary—and, indeed, the affair generally—was hailed as a great success. Of course, as was the case in 1890, not everyone agreed with all the perceived anti-American hero worship, but Newton MacTavish was one of the few Canadians brave enough to risk accusations of treason by opposing the United Empire Loyalists.

At the end of September 1912, when MacTavish was editor of the *Canadian Magazine*, he wrote a strongly worded letter to the *Globe* expressing his pacifist views on the upcoming Brock Centenary.[81] Titled "The Too Zealous Loyalists," MacTavish's piece took direct aim at what he perceived to be an overly assertive form of imperialism. "Surely this is patriotism with a vengeance," he complained,

> so much so that one might be pardoned for asking who are these United Empire Loyalists that they should impose their sense of duty on the whole dominion? Why should those of us who do not favor celebrations of this kind be obliged to keep our children

> away from school, to stay out of church and to stop our ears against the cannon's roar just because a small proportion of our population like to think about war and to glorify the heroes of war? Why not gather in great multitudes in front of every United States city, town and hamlet all along the international border and shout our glory for the edification of our neighbors? If not, what is the sense of it all?[82]

It was a legitimate question, but one to which MacTavish already knew the answer. He was fully aware that the Brock Centenary was not merely the commemoration of an outstanding British soldier; the gathering was also a patriotic exercise meant to reinforce the importance of military preparedness for the defence of Canada and the empire. And the objection raised by MacTavish really had more to do with the inordinate amount of influence the United Empire Loyalists wielded in weaponizing Canadian patriotism, specifically with regard to education in Ontario. Otherwise, he was not opposed to the United Empire Loyalists practising their "patriotism with a vengeance," as long as it was on their own time and in such a way that did not subject other Canadians to their militaristic observances. As MacTavish reminded the *Globe*'s readers, Brock had a monument to perpetuate his memory; this being the case, he had no complaint against some good, old-fashioned idolatry: "let the United Empire Loyalists decorate the monument if they want to; and let the Indians decorate the grave of Tecumseh, if they know where it is. But let the several ministers of education and the minister of militia consider the equanimity of the rest of us when they are considering the zeal of the United Empire Loyalists."[83]

The United Empire Loyalists did decorate Brock's Monument, but they made no effort to limit their patriotic activities. There were both school exercises and church services, suggesting that none of the officials whom MacTavish thought should boycott the Brock Centenary had bothered to take his advice. His counsel might have had greater effect in blunting enthusiasm for some of the celebrations planned around the province, especially at places where the Loyalist tradition was less pervasive, but such was not the case at Brock's Monument. While James L. Hughes did not acknowledge MacTavish's disapproval at the time it was published, the chief inspector of public schools in Toronto made a point of alluding to it a few weeks later at the Brock Centenary. "There

are men," Hughes announced, "who have written to the newspapers objecting to the course we adopted. They seem to think it improper to let our children know that our country was ever in danger, and that it was saved by the unselfish devotion and the brave deeds of our ancestors."[84] Hughes had no need to pursue the matter, as the president of the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada had already alerted his fellow Canadians to the grave danger they faced. "Some good people," Colonel George Sterling Ryerson patronizingly began, "seem to think that the time of universal peace is at hand."[85] But it was wishful thinking:

> One has only to look at the state of affairs in Europe on this very day, to perceive how far we are removed from the millennium. In time of peace we must prepare for war; preparation for war is the best insurance policy against it. We wish to live at peace with all nations, but at all costs and at all hazards we must defend our shores. Universal military service is the duty of the Canadian people in the near future. The people will be better for it morally and physically. It will surely come, for the policy of the future is the maintenance of the integrity of the British Empire. We love our country, we believe it has a great future; we must make it secure.[86]

To anyone who could read a newspaper, there was an obvious correlation between what Ryerson had to say about the threat of war and events in Europe, where German imperial ambitions posed a direct military challenge to the dominance of the British Empire. Ryerson, however, was not the only imperialist predicting a war.

Earlier, in August 1912, the Brockville, Ontario, chapter of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire—a woman's organization dedicated to patriotism, loyalty to the Crown, and public service—went to great lengths in fulfilling its mandate by inaugurating a monument to the town's namesake.[87] For a community of some ten thousand people, it was a gala occasion, and the participation of Canada's minister of militia and defence helped to draw a large crowd.[88] The Honourable Sam Hughes, whose self-esteem was later said to have verged on megalomania, was a firm believer in the Loyalist tradition and the Militia Myth.[89] He was also an unabashed champion of the Canadian Militia and a staunch imperialist, which made him a kindred spirit to the ladies of the General Brock

Chapter, not to mention the perfect dignitary to inaugurate their monument with its commemorative bronze bust of Brock.[90] After a welcoming address by Brockville's mayor, and with a regimental band playing "God Save the King," Hughes unveiled a somewhat larger-than-life sculpture.[91] Although not particularly awe-inspiring, it was nonetheless greeted by a patriotic burst of applause that lasted for several minutes. And when the time came for Hughes to recite the speech expected of him, he rose to the occasion with a stirring call to arms. Without the slightest reservation, he declared that "had Brock failed to win the Battle of Queenston Heights the war would have terminated and Canada would have become a portion of the United States."[92] That Brock was killed before the battle was decided, and his successor, Roger Hale Sheaffe, was its real victor, were either facts that escaped Hughes's notice or mere technicalities he adapted to suit himself. As for the unfounded speculation about Canada's acquisition by the United States, which completely disregarded subsequent British generalship during later stages of the War of 1812, it was equally fallacious.

There was method to Hughes's madness, however. In stoking old fears of American annexation, he used Brock's heroic death to justify the idea of similar sacrifice among the Canadian Militia, should it ever become necessary. Hughes remarked that some people might view it as a pity that Brock was killed at Queenston.[93] But for him and other early twentieth century imperialists, Brock's death served an important imperial purpose. In elaborating on his observation about sacrifice, Hughes delivered what was likely a well-rehearsed line: "the life of any man given up in such a noble cause was well spent."[94] In Brock's case, this sacrifice contributed to "a Greater Britain and made possible the good accomplished in the reign of Queen Victoria and King Edward VII and continued by the present sovereign, King George [V]." Although having made his point about the importance of military sacrifice, Hughes was not quite finished talking up the militia, which he was soon placing on an equal footing with the British Army. As someone who was vehemently opposed to the idea of a regular army for Canada, he began by asking, "Could Brock have met a more glorious death leading British regulars and Canadian volunteers?" It went without saying, of course, and so Hughes then directed his audience to a similar union "consummated" in the South African—or Boer—War of little more than a decade earlier.[95] This guerilla war, in which Dutch-descended farmers (the Boers) resisted British domination,

was fought between 1899 and 1902. As a consequence of the Canadian Militia's stellar performance in that conflict, pro-militaristic feelings among the country's English-speaking population were heightened, particularly in Ontario.[96] The effect was especially profound on committed imperialists such as Hughes, who even a decade later punctuated his speech at Brockville with a Boer War–inspired observation: "Should the empire be in peril in the future, the colonials would be found standing shoulder to shoulder taking their full share of the brunt of battle."[97] By "colonials," Hughes meant the Canadian Militia, as opposed to a regular Canadian army, and his meaning was not lost on the crowd. Having emphasized his points about the importance of Brock-like sacrifice and the military efficacy of the militia, Hughes made good use of the occasion to prime the people of Brockville and Canadians generally for the very real possibility of war in the not-too-distant future. This time, however, it was not the same old adversary that Hughes had in mind. Rather than the United States, the threat emanated from a rising power in Europe.

During the unveiling ceremony, the normally outspoken Hughes was diplomatic enough to refrain from pointing fingers as he made veiled references to the British Empire's modern-day enemy. But the Brockville *Evening Recorder* left no doubt as to the source of the threat when it ran with the incriminating subheading "The German Peril."[98] Relations between Germany and Britain had been increasingly strained since 1890, when Kaiser Wilhelm II assumed control over foreign policy in an attempt to expand his nation's influence on the world stage. German support for the Boers, as well as an ongoing naval arms race with the Royal Navy, further raised the spectre of war, particularly among imperialists in Canada. This did not go unnoticed by Hughes in his Brockville speech. Playing up the importance of vigilance, he warned that the

> days have not gone by when Britain has ceased to have enemies. It is recognized throughout the length and breadth of the empire that she has a foe. She is and must control the seas, but we find attempts made by one European nation to arrest this control. The time has arrived when Canadians have determined to do their fair share in the upbuilding of the [Royal] navy. Australia and South Africa point with pride to their contributions but Canadians are not represented and might well feel ashamed that they

have not given one dollar in assisting in increasing the armament of the seas.[99]

Hughes then made a move to garner greater public support by praising the activities of Canadian women, such as those at Brockville, who did their part in "directing the attention of the youths and older ones to imperial sentiments and loyalty."[100] There was no mistaking his meaning when, in closing, Hughes "said that with the memory of General Brock before them, he would ask one and all to take up militarism and be in a position to defend their homes, wives and children."[101]

Hughes was definitely on a war footing, and based on Ryerson's bellicose language during the Brock Centenary several months later, so, too, were the United Empire Loyalists. It was no coincidence that these imperialists saw a looming threat, or that they took advantage of the Brock Centenary to reinforce the Loyalist tradition and Militia Myth in order to promote militarism. Nor did this alarmist behaviour come as a surprise to most Canadians at the time, as the imperialists among them constantly imagined all manner of existential threat. But to give the imperialists their due, they were right about the menace emanating from Europe, and the importance they attached to militarism was vindicated with the outbreak of war in 1914. So, while Hughes tailored his Brockville remarks for a commemoration of Brock, the message he conveyed was intended to drum up support for the Canadian Militia. Like his brother, who would repeat much the same message in the shadow of Brock's Monument, Hughes had Canadian youth and primarily Canadian boys in mind.[102] While the Hughes brothers could argue that the patriotism they promoted was a mechanism for producing good citizens, it was really meant to disguise an elaborate plan to render young Canadians fit for national defence. Education was the means to this end, and imperialism pervaded much of the school experience. Patriotic lessons in the classroom culminated in the annual Empire Day observances, while extracurricular activities such as those hosted by the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides offered practical knowledge combined with patriotic morals, all within regimented frameworks.[103] Like the various chapters of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides furthered the patriotic trend toward a closer relationship with the British Empire. The group dynamics associated with these social networks were

highly successful in recruiting Canadian youth to the imperialist cause, as was another form of indoctrination.

Along with group instruction, schoolchildren in Ontario were exposed to moralizing pedagogy on an individual basis through the textbooks they were made to read. Of all the subjects taught in school curricula at the turn of the twentieth century, history was looked upon as the most effective in shaping impressionable young minds. To William H. Ballard, the public school inspector for Hamilton, Ontario, history provided students with

> "examples of heroism, of self-sacrifice, of love of country, of devotion to principles at the greatest cost." And presented as they are in many cases by our teachers, in an interesting manner, they cannot fail to inspire the pupils with a desire to emulate these lives. And since the characters presented in history are not all good and none of them is faultless, excellent opportunities are afforded the pupils of entering into the motives which promoted the actions of these men, to weigh the right and wrong which those actions present, thus increasing their moral insight and training their moral judgment.[104]

Though progressive, Ballard's views were not entirely his own; he plagiarized most of them from Felix Adler, the German American social reformer. Ballard's transgression is not entirely surprising, however, as Canadian educationists were heavily influenced by developments in American teaching methods. As for the significance Ballard assigned to historical studies, it aligned perfectly with that of Ross the education minister, especially with regard to the importance of role models. And there was no role model more perfectly adapted to the patriotic indoctrination of Ontario schoolchildren than Sir Isaac Brock. Moreover, Brock was a perfect knight and therefore exempt from the moral litmus test that Ballard—or rather Adler—proposed. But there were hurdles in bringing history to the classroom.

Despite Ballard's assertion (presumably his own) that Ontario's teachers taught history in an interesting manner, quite the opposite appears to have been the case. As one of their number himself openly expressed, the "dislike which many teachers have for the subject is owing to the way in which they studied it."[105] William Scott Daniels of

Southcote, near Ancaster, Ontario, spoke from personal experience when he described the old system of teaching history and how "pupils in public schools started with the authorized text-book, began at the beginning and ended at the end, studying each event in order of time, and by all means striving not to forget the date of any event, however trivial. As a result, history was dry mental food. At the close of his school-term, the average pupil could be said to possess only a jumbled collection of ideas, illogically arranged, and hence soon forgotten."[106] Suggestions for improvements were bandied about, but the problem remained—and the type of textbook used to teach history in Ontario was a large part of it. To John A. Cooper, who was then editor of the *Canadian Magazine*, an obvious solution was the development of a Canadian national sentiment, without which teachers would never be able to "give a sympathetic presentation of Canada's striking and romantic history."[107] Cooper was passionate about the importance of Canadian nationalism, and he shared Ross's conviction that it was incumbent upon provincial departments of education "to agree upon certain broad features common to the whole of the dominion with which we can indoctrinate our pupils."[108] To accomplish this grand object, Ross and a committee of like-minded individuals organized a textbook competition in 1893. With prize funding provided by each of the provinces, the committee judged submissions based on how well they represented the broad sweep of Canadian history. The winner was a Toronto lawyer by the name of William Henry Pope Clement, and in 1898 his *History of the Dominion of Canada* was published. Unfortunately, Clement nonetheless failed to win the approval of John A. Cooper.[109]

While Cooper acknowledged the sizeable challenge Clement faced, his review was no less critical. For one thing, the book was "cut and sliced and modified to suit the views of the critics in the different provinces."[110] While the resulting mutilation was not deemed Clement's fault, Cooper still held him responsible. Clement's name, after all, was "on the title-page of a history of Canada which lacks coherence, unity, style, and imagination."[111] Another of Cooper's major complaints dealt with Clement's treatment of heroes: "His characters are wooden effigies, to be wheeled on to his dingy stage for a moment, and then shoved off at the opposite wing. For example, such soldiers as Wolfe and Montcalm are never praised; their characters are not analyzed, no hints given of motives, weaknesses or virtues. A slight attempt is made to describe the brilliant qualities of

Brock, but it is weak and ineffective."[112] Admittedly, Clement's portrayal of Brock is just as wooden as alleged. However, Cooper's expectations were also more than a little unrealistic, considering that Clement had only 341 pages in which to cover four hundred years of Canadian history. A sporadic and superficial consideration of Brock's services was all he could offer. Although Clement's work was no less favourably inclined toward Brock than any other Canadian history textbook of its time, Cooper was not satisfied with the production overall, and he let the world know it: "For a calm, uncritical, lawyer-like presentation of the leading facts in Canada's history it is admirable; as a book to interest the young and the occasional reader of history, it cannot be other than a failure."[113] Cooper wanted to adopt the same method as was fashionable in the United States, where "man-picturing" was all the rage.[114] The originator of this concept, Burke A. Hinsdale, was an American educationist whose preference for what amounted to a historical-biographical approach bolstered Cooper's own belief that textbooks had to be supplemented in order to give students "an insight into Canadian history."[115] By this means, they would become more patriotic and therefore better citizens.

A compelling example of the potential impact of interesting supplementary reading materials was supplied by a citizen of Winnipeg in June of 1901, when Thomas C. Keenleyside proposed a new series of readers (practice books to improve reading proficiency) designed specifically to promote patriotism among Canadian schoolchildren. "In this connection," Keenleyside enthused, "I well remember an account of the battle of Queenston Heights that used to be in one of our old Ontario readers, in my schoolboy days. How it thrilled me whenever I read it then, and the memory of it is still strong within me. How inspiring it was to visit Brock's monument years afterwards."[116]

Boring textbooks had long been recognized as an impediment to both the teaching of history and the indoctrination of patriotism.[117] Occasionally, the problem rated space in the press. Such was the case in January 1894, when the *Educational Journal* came out in support of well-written biography as probably the "most pleasing as well as the most profitable" form of historical work. In a lengthy editorial, James E. Wells conceded that primers "and compends [compendiums] of history, such as the text-books generally used in the schools and colleges, are necessary, perhaps—we are not even sure of that—but no one will ever become

even tolerably versed in history, much less in teaching it, who confines himself to these as his sources of information."[118] As Wells then observed,

> The teacher who limits his historical reading to such compends, cannot hope either to enjoy the study himself, or to arouse any enthusiasm in his pupils, whereas he who has read widely and familiarized himself with the personalities which have had most to do with shaping the history of their respective times and countries, and with their environments, political, social, and material, must be dull indeed if he cannot manage to keep the enthusiasm of the history classes usually up to the boiling point. He will always have at hand a fund of illustrative anecdote and incident which will enable him to give to the events narrated that air of reality which is so important a factor in keeping up the interest of the young.[119]

The importance of biography as an interesting adjunct to the study of history was inestimable, as the former would encourage the latter, or so it was thought by the country's leading educationists.

Whether or not biography alone could actually inspire the average student to embark on a career of historical inquiry, there was a growing belief that biography made history more interesting to young Canadians. Certainly, this was the expressed attitude of the *Globe*'s literary critic after reviewing a Canadian military biography in June of 1894. The book, written by Mary Agnes FitzGibbon of Toronto, was *A Veteran of 1812: The Life of James FitzGibbon*, and it came highly recommended. Much of the appeal had to do with her grandfather's reputed standing as Brock's favourite sergeant, his exploits during the War of 1812, and a long association with Upper Canada. These positive and highly desirable attributes gave the reviewer good reason to believe that the "history of Canada, contrary to the popular opinion fostered by the dullest of text-books, little more than chronological lists, is peculiarly susceptible to realistic and picturesque treatment. The several biographies—of men prominent in political and military circles in the past—which have appeared from time to time, are earnest of the profound interest our history is capable of arousing when the personal element is infused into it."[120] Yet, authorized Canadian history textbooks continued to be rather tedious productions, despite the patently obvious solution. What educationists in Canada

needed was someone who could write such an engaging textbook, and there was no better candidate for the job than Agnes C. Laut.

Although resident in the United States since 1904, Laut was a Canadian-born and devoted nationalist who wrote extensively about her native land.[121] She was also a prolific historian whose books brought generally positive comments from the *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada*. And Laut had proved herself capable of writing a captivating history textbook for Canadian students, as the publication of her *Canada: The Empire of the North* demonstrated in 1909. "To re-create the shadowy figures of the heroic past," she confidently began,

> to clothe the dead once more in flesh and blood, to set the puppets of the play in life's great dramas again upon the stage of action, frankly, this may not be formal history, but it is what makes the past most real to the present day. Pictures of men and women, of moving throngs and heroic episodes, stick faster in the mind than lists of governors and arguments on treaties. Such pictures may not be history, but they breathe life into the skeletons of the past.[122]

Laut had a very definite type of book in mind when she began work on her manuscript, and it was not another compendium of data and statistics "as have made Canadian history a nightmare to children."[123] Laut's avowed purpose was to write "a story—*story, not history*—of the romance and adventure in Canada's nation building as will give the casual reader knowledge of the country's past, and how that past led along a trail of great heroism to the destiny of a northern empire."[124] No matter how hesitant she was to admit it, Laut did in fact write history, and a type of history that imperialists could heartily approve. So, too, could educationists, as Laut's storytelling style was well-suited to easily distracted young readers. One such example was her graphic account of Brock's death:

> He had dismounted and was scrambling over a stone wall. "Follow me, boys!" he shouted to the British grenadiers; then at the foot of the hill, waving his sword: "Now take a breath; you will need it! Come on! come on!" and he led the rush of two hundred men in scarlet coats to dislodge the Americans. A shot pieced his wrist. "Push on, York volunteers," he shouted. His portly figure

> in scarlet uniform was easy mark for the sharpshooters hidden in the brush of Queenston Heights. One stepped deliberately out and took aim. Though a dozen Canadian muskets flashed answer, Brock fell, shot through the breast, dying with the words on his lips, "My fall must not be noticed to stop the victory."[125]

With this one vivid passage, Laut proved herself equal to the task of writing a history textbook that would engage Canadian schoolchildren. Yet, despite the obvious need for such a talent, and the fact that she had published several major books prior to the release of *Canada: The Empire of the North*, the opportunity for a textbook commission never presented itself.[126] Laut's femininity might seem the most obvious explanation, especially given that the production of authorized textbooks was a male-dominated enterprise; still, it was not unusual for women of the time to publish histories for the educational market.[127] With the right connections, Laut would have been a strong contender to write an officially sanctioned textbook on Canadian history—this despite having been frequently criticized for a lack of historical accuracy.[128] Greater attention to detail and careful editorial oversight could have remedied her many liberties with the past; not that Laut's factual shortcomings lessened her standing with the fastidious editors of the *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada*, whose "benediction" she enjoyed. And it was the uncredited reviewer of Laut's book, perhaps one of these same editors, who got to the heart of the matter with his opinion that "the time is not yet ripe" for "that ideal history of Canada which shall embody in one consistent whole the political, social and romantic story of Canada."[129] Expressed another way, the country's leading educationists had no interest in a popular history textbook, especially one that eliminated the need for supplemental reading materials. As the success of a still relatively new series of children's books devoted to famous Canadian historical figures made crystal clear, it was educational adjuncts such as these that offered the best solution to the problem of boring textbooks.

At the end of the previous year, in October of 1908, William Briggs of Toronto announced the first volume in its Canadian Heroes Series, a new series "of popular biographies of men whose names are renowned in Canadian history."[130] This marked a significant development, as it reflected a broader educational policy adjustment in which the Ontario Department of Education embarked on a two-pronged approach to

the long-standing criticism of boring history textbooks. Retaining the traditional authorized textbooks for class instruction, the ministry also threw its considerable support behind the Briggs Canadian Heroes Series. Recognizing the need to develop a national sentiment by promoting a national literature, the ministry was highly motivated to encourage the publication of these books. Working in conjunction with the affiliated Ontario Library Association, the general plan was to provide copies to public libraries throughout the province and also to its schools as supplementary reading material.[131] By assigning and otherwise enticing students to partake of these biographies, there was no need to integrate heroic lives into the existing textbook format. Neither was it necessary to engage the services of a gifted writer like Laut to rewrite tiresome old history textbooks. Rather, it was left to Ontario's teachers to connect schoolchildren with these extra "helps."[132]

In requesting—essentially requiring—that their students purchase these additional books, teachers saw themselves as the facilitators of a worthy cause. Not only did they promote a greater interest in Canadian history, but they also helped to foster a national sentiment by indoctrinating imperial patriotism through the study and veneration of heroic role models. It was no coincidence that Briggs devoted the first volume in its new series to Brock, as "no greater hero could be selected" (at least not in Ontario).[133] As one reviewer confidently predicted, "Every boy [and girl] who reads the story of Brock's life will be a better Canadian and cannot avoid being stirred by the high patriotism which he exhibited on behalf of the country of which he was [acting lieutenant-]governor and on behalf of an empire in which he was a servant."[134] Such was the thinking at the time, and the minister of education was in full agreement.[135] This same bureaucrat, Robert A. Pyne, was also complicit in the scheme to indoctrinate Ontario's schoolchildren with patriotic extracurricular reading materials.

As the *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada* revealed in its annual issue of 1909, the idea of a book series devoted to Canadian heroes was "due, it is understood, to Mr. Leavitt, provincial inspector of public libraries."[136] Thaddeus W. H. Leavitt was a Conservative Party organizer who supported Pyne's political career, and his loyalty was rewarded after the 1905 provincial election with his appointment as head of Ontario's public library system.[137] Two years later, Leavitt did some rewarding of his own when he hired Walter R. Nursey as an assistant.[138]

Another active Conservative Party member, Nursey also had impressive writing credentials to recommend him as the author of the first volume in the series of children's books envisioned by Leavitt and encouraged by Pyne. With the high costs and inferior quality of textbooks having become a major election issue, which the Conservatives under Sir James P. Whitney used to their advantage, Leavitt's series of role model–themed readers suited Pyne's plans for augmenting a new and unified set of history textbooks—and at no cost to the Department of Education. As John A. Cooper, now editor of the *Canadian Courier*, was careful to note, the "Department is not publishing the books but have wisely made arrangements with reputable publishers who will undertake their production."[139] By this method, Pyne managed to reduce government expense while still pursuing his educational objectives.

Surprisingly, the Department of Education's precise involvement in the arrangements with Briggs drew little or no comment, despite Cooper's vague and troubling reference to "a sort of bonus system."[140] Perhaps by that time, early in 1909, it was recognized that there could be no cause for complaint—political or otherwise—as Nursey's *The Story of Isaac Brock* from the year before had proved an unqualified success.[141] Adulation was the order of the day, both for the book and its author. To the editors of the *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada*, the positive reaction to the first volume of the Canadian Heroes Series came as no great surprise. "Canada has the heroes," the unnamed reviewer granted; "all that was necessary was some writer with sufficient imagination and descriptive power to clothe their deeds in language that should attract and arrest the attention of the young. Such a writer has been discovered in the person of Mr. Walter R. Nursey. He is master of a vigorous and entertaining style, and has succeeded in telling the story of Isaac Brock's achievements in an alluring way without sacrificing any of the vital facts of history."[142] In what might have been an allusion to writers of Canadian history such as Agnes C. Laut, whose regard for the facts of history were found sadly lacking, the necessity for historical accuracy was subtly reinforced. Nursey was far from a paragon of exactitude himself, but his Conservative connections served him well, as did his colourful life experiences, which seemed to infuse his writing with just the right amount of vim and vigour.[143]

Although Nursey was assistant inspector of Ontario's public libraries when he agreed to write Brock's biography, there was nothing bookish

about him. After coming to Canada in 1865, he had every intention of becoming a farmer. But the young Englishman, who was far too restless for such a routine way of life, soon began dabbling in a wide range of other occupations (from fur trader to bureaucrat). He also found time for literary pursuits, having written or co-written several books. By 1908, the early sexagenarian decided on a new career, this time in librarianship. Along with this position there also came a book deal, and so it was fortunate for Nursey that he never lost his love of adventure or his ability to write a good story.[144] It was these qualities that placed him in good stead with Leavitt and Pyne, who were looking for someone to write a new, action-packed biography of Brock's life.[145] The imperialistic and fiercely patriotic Nursey was a shoo-in for the job, with his Conservative associates entirely convinced that he would succeed in instilling a love of country among youthful readers. Nor did Nursey fail to impress the minister of education. Pyne was absolutely delighted with *The Story of Isaac Brock*, which he praised for being "replete with action, adventure, dauntless courage, perseverance and heroism."[146] With a provincial curriculum advocating patriotic indoctrination, Pyne was adamant that "every boy and girl in Ontario should read the book."[147] Brisk sales followed as public and school libraries across the province obediently placed their orders, and, thanks in large measure to Pyne's wholehearted support for it, *The Story of Isaac Brock* was reprinted twice in 1909.[148] But coercion alone could not account for the more than four thousand copies sold by August of that year, or all the additional sales made beyond Ontario.[149]

Nursey's secret to success was his penchant for writing about the stirring events in Brock's life and his "vigorous and entertaining style," which captivated boys, girls, and even adults.[150] The book's appeal was further enhanced by numerous illustrations, some of which were lavishly reproduced in colour.[151] Thus, a poorly researched biography with mythological overtones developed into nothing less than a publishing sensation.[152] Much of the risk involved was minimized by having reserved the first volume in Briggs's Canadian Hero Series for Brock. As one of Canada's best-known historical figures, and by far the favourite in Ontario, the choice was a sound decision. For the Canadian publishing industry as a whole, Briggs's masterstroke was an important test of the book market, and one that established the economic viability of heroic biography as an educational commodity. Nursey was showered with plaudits for his part in the success, and yet he owed much of his newfound fame to the various

"authorities" he consulted. He was especially indebted to the biographers among them, whose works were used extensively in the writing of his own adventurous take on Brock's life.

The earliest biographies of Brock had come in the form of several effusive but superficial newspaper obituaries, all of which understandably began to appear soon after his death in 1812. However, given that not one of them was quoted or cited by Nursey, it seems that they were well beyond his reach.[153] Upper Canadians suffered from a similar lack of access, as newspapers were in short supply during the early decades of the nineteenth century. So, while Brock's sudden rise to fame had piqued the curiosity of friend and foe alike, much of his life was a deep mystery. But for those individuals fortunate enough to lay their hands on one of the eagerly sought-after newspapers containing an obituary for Brock, even the barest of biographical outlines helped to satisfy the sudden fascination with his life that prevailed across the colony. Tending toward eulogistic tributes, these overviews portrayed a character bathed in heroic light. In an appeal to its readers' imperial sentiments, the *Quebec Mercury* communicated from "a late London paper" that Brock

> was indeed a hero,—a hero, in the only true and in the most extensive sense, resembling what history or fable has represented, rather as the offspring of the imagination, than as a personage that could have real existence; so entirely was every great quality comprehended in his character; brave and undaunted, yet prudent and calculating; devoted to his sovereign, and loving his country with romantic fondness, but gentle and persuasive to those who were impressed with less ardent feelings.[154]

Along with expressions of admiration, there was also a good deal of mythologizing, notably where it involved the nascent but already burgeoning Militia Myth. Another Lower Canadian newspaper, the *Quebec Gazette*, seemed to foretell the rise of this invented tradition when its editor implored his readers to trust that "the recollection of him [Brock] will become a new bond of union: and that as he sacrificed himself for the safety of a community of [British] patriots, they will find a new motive to exertion in the obligation to secure his ashes from the pestilential dominion of the enemy."[155] While laudable, the idea of self-sacrifice was sullied by rumours that Brock's life was recklessly thrown away by means

of an impetuous attack upon the Americans at Queenston Heights. As Brock himself acknowledged, he possessed an overly courageous nature characterized by a dangerous tendency to do "some foolish thing" in the heat of battle.[156] This inability to repress a dangerous impulse was cited as the cause of Brock's untimely demise. But by having died a hero, Brock and his folly had long been viewed as pardonable and even commendable. As John Beverley Robinson, Upper Canada's chief justice, thoughtfully reflected in 1840,

> at the moment when the noble soldier fell, it is true, he fell in discharging a duty which might have been committed to a subordinate hand; true he might have reserved himself for a more deliberate and stronger effort; but he felt that hesitation might be ruin—that all depended upon his example of dauntless courage—of fearless self-devotion. Had it pleased divine providence to spare his invaluable life, who will say that his effort would have failed? It is true his gallant course was arrested by a fatal wound—such is the fortune of war; but the people of Canada did not feel that his precious life was therefore rashly thrown away, deeply as they deplored his fall.[157]

By the time Robinson expressed himself on the fateful command decisions made at the Battle of Queenston Heights, it was well into 1840 and Brock had been the subject of an ongoing hero worship for nearly twenty-eight years—a collective admiration that was only just beginning to be communicated through more substantial published biographies, with the earliest having already been printed in Guernsey by one of his nephews.

In 1835, Ferdinand Brock Tupper published a small book he titled *Family Records*, a collection of biographies dedicated to Brock and several other noteworthy relatives (with the life of Tecumseh thrown in for good measure).[158] Largely written at sea during a voyage off the coast of Brazil in February of 1832, Tupper's *Family Records* was mainly intended for private circulation among family and friends.[159] He might have been content with such a limited edition had it not been for a box of old papers that came to light in Guernsey during the early part of 1844. This cache, including more than 150 letters, comprised a portion of the personal effects returned to Brock's family after his death.[160] By the time Tupper

learned of these papers, they had been in his uncle Savery Brock's possession for nearly thirty years.[161] However, too painful to share and yet too precious to destroy, these sad mementoes of a deceased brother had been hidden away under lock and key, where they were all but forgotten. When Savery became incapacitated by brain disease and lay dying a slow death, his family decided it was time to turn the papers over to the rightful heir: Ferdinand Brock Tupper.[162]

A hasty perusal of this documentation revealed the first hard facts about Brock's life, and also the extent to which Tupper had been ill-prepared to write about it. Guilt-ridden by the injustice he had unwittingly committed against his uncle's memory, Tupper became infatuated with the idea of another book to right the wrong.[163] Rather than starting anew, he simply augmented his *Family Records* with various family letters in what amounted to an expanded documentary history. In 1845, Tupper published *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*[164] Before long, however, he began to feel self-conscious about the book's lack of breadth.[165] This weakness became obvious soon after publication. Having been generally well-received, Tupper's account of his uncle's life brought numerous contributions of additional material on the subject.[166] Both gratified and encouraged by these positive developments, Tupper was soon gearing up for a second edition. Much of this enthusiasm, he admitted, was also fuelled by his resolve to uphold Brock's rightful claim as the conqueror of Detroit, a title that was then in danger of being ascribed to an undeserving subordinate officer.[167] Bound and determined to honour his uncle's memory with a "literary monument," Tupper turned his hand to another round of revisions.

The second edition, enlarged by nearly a third of the original book's size, was published in 1847 and garnered as much praise as the previous version.[168] Much of this success was due to the Loyalist tradition and the Militia Myth, which celebrated the refugees of the American Revolution as the founders and defenders of Canada.[169] These belief systems also served as strong arguments for imperial unity, and central to this concept was Sir Isaac Brock—both for his defence of the province and for his command of the Upper Canadian Militia.[170] Just as aging militiamen delighted in their association with Brock, so, too, did they happily exaggerate their participation in the War of 1812 until the notion became thoroughly mythologized.[171] Along with this fallacy, there also went an unquestioning acceptance that all Loyalists were highly principled and

therefore morally superior to their patriot counterparts. Of course, as is the case with all such traditional narratives, both the Loyalist tradition and the Militia Myth were based largely on preferential beliefs. But such delusional interpretations of the past worked in Tupper's favour, as his uncle's reputation as the Hero of Upper Canada melded perfectly with the Militia Myth and the Loyalist tradition. It was a winning combination, and both editions of *The Life and Correspondence* were much touted across British North America. Tupper's own reputation was no less a factor in the success enjoyed by his books. As one of Brock's family, he was seen as a logical and highly credible biographer. In reality, Tupper's weakness for idolizing Brock conformed to the invented history of Upper Canada, and he freely admitted to having committed "that common error of biographers"—namely, a panegyric treatment of his subject. At the same time, however, he excused himself as being scarcely able to avoid eulogizing one who was so well deserving of praise.[172] His daughter, Henrietta Tupper, got to the crux of the matter when she acknowledged that "my father was an intense hero-worshipper, [and] his gallant uncle was his chief hero."[173]

In an era when the biographies of great men were not known for their objectivity, Tupper not surprisingly treated Brock as someone beyond reproach. All of his decisions were sound and judicious, including the one that prompted his ill-fated charge at Queenston. Therefore, Brock's death was no fault of his own. As far as Tupper was concerned, the blame rested squarely with Sir George Prevost. After all, it was the excessively cautious Prevost who ordered the defensive stance that allowed the Americans to orchestrate their invasion at Queenston—an enterprise by which Brock lost his life.[174] Tupper's partiality toward his uncle bordered on deification, and the energy he expended in attacking Prevost's reputation might have been better spent in trying to piece together the story of Brock's childhood. But Tupper glossed over most of his uncle's early life, which he excused by citing a lack of documentation.[175] Certainly, Brock was not much of a record keeper, and neither were any of his relatives—with the partial exception of Savery, who preserved his dead brother's correspondence but little else. Notwithstanding this unfortunate family trait, Tupper had almost exclusive access to another abundant and valuable source of information: the Brock family's oral history. It was an exclusive opportunity, which Tupper seems to have largely ignored.

While Tupper's maternal uncles were either dead or dying by 1844, such was not the case when his *Family Records* was in the works during the early months of 1835. Three of Brock's nine brothers were then still alive, and each of them had an intimate knowledge of young Isaac's halcyon days in Guernsey. Of Brock's sisters, only one lived long enough to participate in Tupper's genealogical endeavours in the early 1830s. Elizabeth Brock, however, must have had many stories to tell about her younger brother. She probably shared everything she knew with Tupper, who was her eldest surviving son and the family's historian.[176] Unfortunately, it appears that he had little inclination to pursue or publish early recollections of Brock, unless they somehow reinforced the legend of a boy destined for greatness.[177] It was for this reason, perhaps, that much of Brock's youth was consigned to obscurity. Tupper was also well positioned to record Brock's early military career, as a number of his old army friends and acquaintances were still living and thus could have been solicited for their reminiscences. And while Tupper did make the effort, he did so in a fairly selective manner and with only mixed results—that is, until he began exchanging letters with James FitzGibbon.

This old veteran of the War of 1812 was reputed to have been one of Brock's favourites, suggesting a source of many interesting anecdotes.[178] Unfortunately, Tupper's line of questioning was largely confined to seeking clarification, which did not allow much room for elaboration on the part of a willingly reminiscent FitzGibbon.[179] In 1855, when he was in his mid-seventies, FitzGibbon reflected on the "long distance of time" and how it enticed him to "say much without reluctance."[180] But earlier, whenever he was pressed to give his version of events connected to the War of 1812, FitzGibbon had to catch himself before his honesty got the better of him. "I could not refrain from telling all the truth," he explained, "and this would expose to public blame, if not shame, some whom I would fain not wound."[181] John B. Glegg shared the same sentiment but never managed to overcome it. Whereas an aging FitzGibbon was eager to impart his martial memories of the past, Glegg became all the more reticent as he grew older.[182] There was a time, however, not long after Brock's death, when Glegg toyed with the idea of publishing a memoir of his general's valuable services. He even went so far as to write a preface.[183] But then he began to feel uneasy about certain "necessary allusions" to Sir George Prevost, who was then governor-in-chief of British North America and captain general commanding the military forces therein. On the advice

of "some military friends in high stations," Glegg decided to lay down his pen.[184] It was a great pity. As Brock's former aide-de-camp, his insights would have been invaluable. Tupper himself had no doubt about it, and he even went so far as to acknowledge that it was Glegg who should have written Brock's memoir.[185]

The task fell instead to Tupper, who had no qualms about casting aspersions in order to safeguard Brock's honour. Prevost was faulted at every turn for his various failings, both real and imagined, and for which there was little repercussion suffered by his detractor.[186] But in similarly criticizing Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe and the officers of the 41st Regiment, Tupper found himself subjected to a severe reprimand.[187] Still, he felt no less duty bound to protect his uncle's good name. It was an obligation he took very seriously, as any perceived impugnation of Brock's character was viewed as an attack upon his entire family, including the Tupper branch. The only defence Tupper could claim for the various attacks he made on his uncle's associates was a skewed allegiance to the principles of an honest and objective historian.[188] Such a claim did little to assuage wounded feelings, and despite his professions of fairness and impartiality, Tupper's overly defensive treatment of his uncle's reputation resulted in a rather slanted biography. This mark against it went largely unnoticed in Canada, where Tupper's eulogistic approach to Brock's life was in keeping with misconceptions arising from the Militia Myth and Loyalist tradition. It proved highly useful in this regard. But had Tupper been less engrossed with glorifying his uncle's reputation, he might have elaborated on the lesser-known aspects of Brock's life for an even greater appreciation of the man. Even so, his *Life and Correspondence* was—and remains—essential reading for Brock scholars and students of the War of 1812.

As Brock's nephew and the author of his uncle's first book-length biography, Tupper was recognized as the leading authority on the Hero of Upper Canada. This perception helped to dissuade other would-be Brock biographers, and continued to do so for nearly half a century after the second edition of Tupper's *Life and Correspondence* was published in 1847.[189] It was a remarkable feat, considering that Tupper died in 1873 and could not possibly object to a new take on his work.[190] But the news of Tupper's death was not widely reported in Canada, which might help to explain why the next full biography of Brock did not appear until the early 1890s. Tupper's books were by then long out of print, and yet his

uncle's accomplishments were no less relevant to Canadians, having been perpetuated in various commemorations and histories of the War of 1812. That Brock's life continued to fascinate Canadians was also evidenced by a number of published biographical sketches. One of the earliest was written by Henry James Morgan for his *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians*, a biographical dictionary he published in 1862.[191] Morgan, who later become a founding member of the Canada First movement, was a young sessional clerk in the Legislative Assembly of the United Province of Canada (the colony that came to encompass pre-Confederation Ontario and Quebec). Conservative, patriotic, and imperialistic, Morgan firmly believed that the biographies of great men were the best gauge of national character.[192] Brock's glorious life was a prime example, and one that called for a likeness to accentuate his important place in Canadian history.[193]

Accordingly, in June of 1861, Morgan sent a letter to Guernsey in hopes of obtaining a copy of Brock's portrait.[194] But Tupper, who was still alive and overly protective of his uncle's legacy, claimed to have no knowledge of the now famous profile portrait by the Dutch itinerant artist Gerrit Schipper.[195] A miniature showing Brock as a young ensign, which Tupper seems to have preferred for some reason, was offered up instead.[196] Morgan, however, was apparently unimpressed with the alternative, which held no particular significance to Canada, and so he went ahead with the publication of his *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians* without a portrait of Brock. Such was the reach of Tupper's influence.[197] As Brock's de facto literary executor, he was able to suppress a portrait of his uncle simply because it was not to his liking. But the inordinate amount of control Tupper exercised over Brock's life story, while it might have deterred full-length biographies, did nothing to discourage shorter accounts.

In April 1877, Brock's life became the subject of a feature article in the Toronto *Globe*.[198] The author was John Charles Dent, the *Globe*'s editor and a reform-minded Liberal who was well-known for his "hankerings after independence."[199] Dent's brand of nationalism had the potential to displease imperial-minded Conservatives, especially as they looked upon Brock as their particular hero.[200] After all, Brock's noble death "saved Canada for the empire."[201] Seizing upon the inspirational effect of this heroic deed, imperialists put Brock's fame to good use in making a diverse population proud to be both Canadian and British.

It was a modus operandi that worked extremely well in Ontario, where young people were taught to be proud of this duality through a school curriculum espousing patriotism and loyalty.[202] As the British hero of the War of 1812, Brock became a role model for the students of Ontario's public school system, and it was no coincidence the deputy minister of education for Ontario was a "staunch Conservative" with strong imperialist leanings.[203] He was also a great admirer of Brock, and during his long tenure, Dr. George John Hodgins never missed an opportunity to extol the virtues of Sir Isaac Brock—most notably in the textbooks and other reading materials he authorized. But Brock was no less a hero to the English-born Dent, whose Whiggish interpretation of history chronicled Canada's rise to greatness through the biographies of its leading citizens. Like Morgan before him, Dent had to rely on Tupper's *Life and Correspondence* for much of his information on Brock. But when it came to style and presentation, Dent was beholden to no one but himself.

With a background in journalism, Dent knew the importance of a lively prose in catering to the masses. He was also alert to new trends in the publishing industry, such as when pictorial books became all the rage. Quick to follow suit, Dent was the first of Brock's biographers to make use of illustrations, an innovation that included the profile portrait, which Hodgins had only recently managed to secure. Having been motivated by a determination to display Brock's portrait in Toronto's Educational Museum, Hodgins made his own inquiries in Guernsey.[204] His request, received not long after Tupper's death in 1873, was well timed for its purpose and brought about the desired result. Hodgins, who was unaware of the peculiar situation involving Brock's likeness, had attained the very thing that Morgan was denied: a photographic copy of the profile portrait by Schipper. Though rendered in a crude line drawing, the facsimile gave many Canadians their first view of the hero's noble visage. What they saw was an officer of the British Army, their country's saviour, and the very embodiment of imperialism. A few years later, Dent published another version of the same portrait in colour. This chromolithograph accompanied a reprint of Dent's article in *The Canadian Portrait Gallery*, a four-volume set he began publishing in 1880 to commemorate the lives of Canada's leading personalities.[205] But in attempting to elaborate upon Brock's life, Dent's write-up fell victim to some dubious oral traditions. Among them was the old story about an engagement to the daughter of an Upper Canadian Militia officer, another myth that served to blend

Brock, the Militia Myth, and the Loyalist tradition.[206] Without the editorial control of later and more authoritative productions, such as the British *Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, all sorts of misconceptions began to taint Brock's life.[207] A degree of original research might have improved Dent's historical accuracy, had Brock been the sole focus of his interest. But for Dent and Brock's other early biographers, there was far more at stake. It was nothing less than the fate of a new nation.

Canada's place in the British Empire was the defining feature of the country's nationalistic ambition in the second half of the nineteenth century, and it was against this backdrop that an aging lawyer from Toronto began researching Brock's life and times. With his retirement in 1881, David Breakenridge Read was free to indulge his passion for Ontario's history.[208] Several books were published as a result, starting with *The Lives of the Judges of Upper Canada and Ontario*.[209] This "judicial history," as he termed it, was published in 1888 and soon became a classic in Canadian legal historiography.[210] Two years later, Read followed up with a book about Ontario's first lieutenant-governor, John Graves Simcoe.[211] A biography of Brock seems to have been a natural progression.[212] Although not a lieutenant-governor per se, Brock acted as such when he served as president of Upper Canada during the absence of Francis Gore. This administrative aspect of Brock's life intrigued Read, coinciding as it did with one of the more interesting phases in the early history of Ontario's governance—namely, the War of 1812. Moreover, the "old regime of toryism" appealed to Read's sense of self-identity, given that he was a lifelong Conservative.[213] Yet, when his *Life and Times of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.* was published in 1894, it was remarkably non-partisan.[214] It was also fairly dull, which apparently caused one literati to describe the book as "historical rather than biographical."[215] But Read saw no need for a gripping tale, just an accurate record in "compact form."[216] There was consequently a strict adherence to the facts, and only occasionally did this lawyer-turned-historian share his imperialistic views. The most conspicuous lapse is found in the conclusion, where Read expressed his fears about a repeat of the War of 1812. Emphasizing the necessity for military preparedness, he pointed to Brock's spirited defence of Upper Canada as a valuable lesson for the up-and-coming nation.[217] There was also a special message for the young people of Canada, especially the boys. "Of late years," Read observed, "it has been the custom of the school-boys to

go through military drill, in regimental form, on the anniversary of the Battle of Queenston Heights."[218] Read thought it

> a good custom this. The meeting together of the boys in this way incites in them a spirit of patriotism, a love of country, obedience, discipline and respect for authority—all essentials for the formation of the grown-up man as a good citizen and loyal subject. There is nothing in it at which anyone should take offence, even though he be a subject of some other land. Every country has days in which the national pride is excited and sometimes exalted, in no country more so than in the United States, who made war on England and Canada in 1812. Canada is a country of peace—may it ever remain so—but that is no reason why her red-letter day should not be duly remembered and patriotically celebrated.[219]

Read certainly toed the line in terms of Conservative, imperialist, and United Empire Loyalist doctrines, although he was not, strictly speaking, a Loyalist descendant himself. And while his book received generally favourable reviews, it did not enjoy a broad popular appeal.[220] This well-meaning attempt to instill patriotism, while at the same time igniting a new spirit of militarism, was lost on most Canadians, and particularly the younger variety. Still, with Tupper's *Life and Correspondence* long out of print, Read's *Life and Times* became the main source of reference on Brock's life. On the surface, this distinction might appear well-deserved, as Read was the first of Brock's biographers to make use of the British military records acquired by Canada's fledgling national archives.[221] Unfortunately, his archival interest did not extend much beyond the records he found concerning the construction of Fort George. To his credit, however, Read saw the importance of historical context, and he wrote with an according degree of inclusiveness, as the space he allotted to Brock's Indigenous allies would attest. Yet, his comprehensive approach made for a rather disjointed text, which precluded any belletristic aspirations he may have entertained.[222] Read's successor was far more adept at writing, and by the deftness of her pen she was able to bring forth the most literary treatment of Brock's life.

Lady Edgar, who began life as Matilda Ridout, was born into a prominent old Toronto family of loyal colonial officials—a conservative

dynasty who took great pride in their imperial preferences and also their associations with Sir Isaac Brock.[223] Edgar's grandfather was the surveyor general of Upper Canada during Brock's administration of the province, and her father served in the York Militia during the War of 1812, as did two of his brothers.[224] Brock's civil and military contributions to Upper Canada were important aspects of the Ridout family history, and the old letters handed down through several generations instilled young Matilda with a strong sense of ancestral pride. This same correspondence would eventually give rise to her writing career. In the late 1880s, after twenty years of marriage and the birth of her last child, she began editing a selection of documents from the Ridout papers.[225] The manuscript arising from this "labour of love" was notable, especially for the fascinating glimpse it offered into the early history of what become Ontario.[226] Published in 1890 as *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War, 1805–1815*, Edgar's book was soon greeted by positive reviews confirming her proficiency as a writer and historian.[227] The political career of her husband, the Toronto lawyer James D. Edgar—which contributed to his knighthood in 1898—forced a supportive and now titled Lady Edgar into literary hiatus.[228] Bright's disease made her a widow the following year. After some three months of intense mourning, including several seances, Edgar's depression gradually lifted as she resumed her pursuit of genealogical and historical interests. The signing of a book deal in 1901 marked a return to historical publishing.[229] This positive step was largely influenced by one of her sons, who happened to be co-editor of the Makers of Canada series sponsored by the George N. Morang Company of Toronto.[230]

The inspiration for this series originated some eight years earlier, in about 1893, when it occurred to Morang "that Canada had reached the point when it was necessary that some such series should be published."[231] With an idea that the history of Canada should be taught through the "lives of the men who have laid broadly and deeply the foundations of the country," Morang viewed the purpose of his new Makers of Canada series as both national and patriotic in scope and character.[232] Designed for a popular adult readership, it was the first such Canadian attempt, and after the initial title was issued in 1903, hopes were entertained that the series would serve to unify the country by forming "a spiritual bond between the provinces."[233] The decision to include a biography of Brock early in the series was likely inspired by the well-known fascination of

mainly English-speaking Canadians with his storied life. While also possibly influenced to some degree by the favourable if somewhat muted reaction to Read's biography of Brock, the choice of his story for one of the opening volumes was actually something more than a shrewd marketing ploy. There was also a hint of nepotism at play.

As co-editor of the series, Pelham Edgar lobbied for his mother's participation, and there was no question as to which biography she would be assigned. The Ridout family's association with Brock made Edgar the logical choice to write his life story. Accomplished without the need for moral instruction, as was so obviously the case with Read's biography of Brock, the patriotic lessons imparted through Edgar's prose were more subtle, sophisticated, and yet no less imperialistic. With these favourable characteristics, the book was bound to please. Published in 1904 to generally positive reviews, several reprints of *General Brock* confirmed Edgar's flair for writing and her innate ability to skillfully blend biography and history for a narrative steeped in romance.[234] That she did so in a relatively accurate fashion, however, was not the result of any great diligence on Edgar's part.[235] Having gone to England with a view to conducting historical research, she spent much of her time there socializing.[236] She compensated by relying on published sources, and the one most frequently consulted was Ferdinand Brock Tupper's *Life and Correspondence*. Clearly, original research was not a great concern to Edgar. Nor was it much of an issue for Brock's next biographer, or even the biographer's publisher.



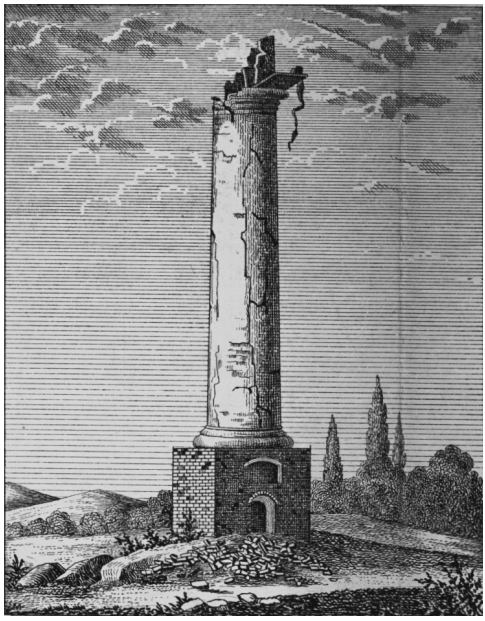
1. Dating to 1816 and long thought to be the numismatic tribute of some patriotic Canadian merchant, the Brock token (or copper) was actually a counterfeit used in a fraudulent scheme that originated in the United States. It passed for a halfpenny token throughout the Canadas, where, if nothing else, the dedication to Brock helped to glorify his memory.



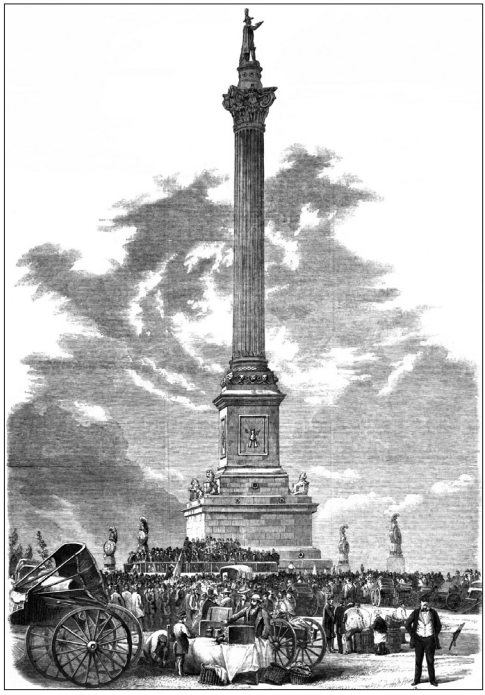
2. Issued by the Home Bank of Canada between 1904 and 1920, this five-dollar note was the only paper currency in Canada to bear Brock's effigy. The positive association was relatively short-lived, however, given that the bank failed in 1923.



3. Completed more or less in 1827, Brock's first monument was featured in a drawing eleven years later by the English artist William H. Bartlett. The detail reproduced here is part of the image that was subsequently engraved, published, and widely distributed.



4. Vandalized with explosives in April of 1840, Brock's Monument presented a very sorry sight and continued to do so until it was finally demolished in 1853—the same year that American cartographer Samuel Geil included this vignette of the ruins in his *Map of the Vicinity of Niagara Falls*.



5. This engraving, depicting the inauguration of Brock's second and current monument on 13 October 1859, appeared in the *Illustrated London News*. It was reproduced from a photograph taken by Robert Milne of Hamilton, Canada West (now Ontario).



6. Many patriotic picnics were held in the shadow of Brock's Monument, and to varying degrees of veneration for the Hero of Upper Canada. Included was an outing of the Toronto-based York Pioneer and Historical Society in July of 1871. This detail is from a photograph taken by William E. Wright, who attended the event from what is now Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario.



7. Based on a drawing by Major James Dennis of the 49th Regiment of Foot, and published in 1816 for James Jenkins's series of engravings entitled *The Martial Achievements of Great Britain and Her Allies*, this print by the British artist and aquatinter Thomas Sutherland illustrates the various stages of what became known as the Battle of Queenston Heights. Apparently sold as individual plates, the image represented Brock's death as an inspirational factor in the British victory and served as an early visual reminder of his heroism.



8. In 1896, eighty years after the Sutherland engraving of the Battle of Queenston Heights was published, a young Canadian artist produced this chromolithograph as a supplement to the Christmas edition of *Toronto Saturday Night*. Although John D. Kelly's portrayal of Brock's death was hopelessly romantic and completely inaccurate, it was also poignantly patriotic and extremely popular.

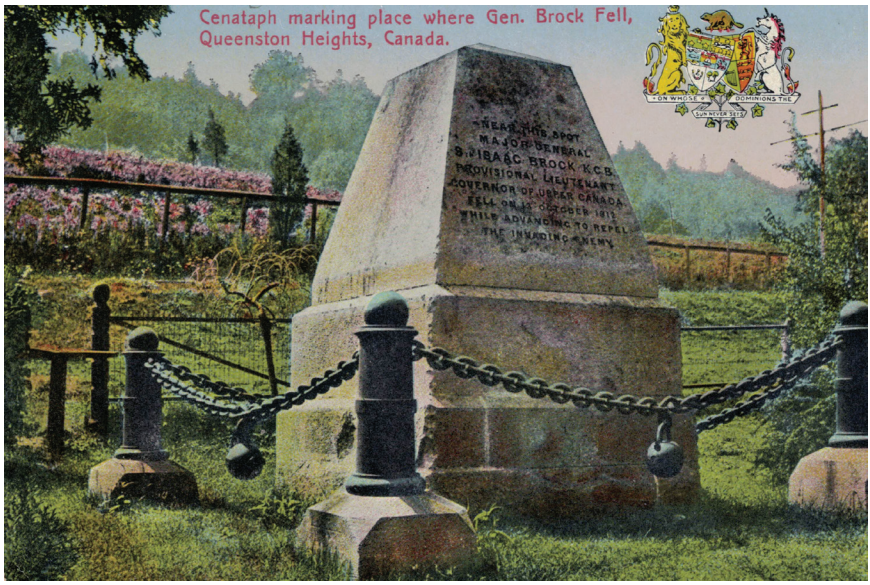


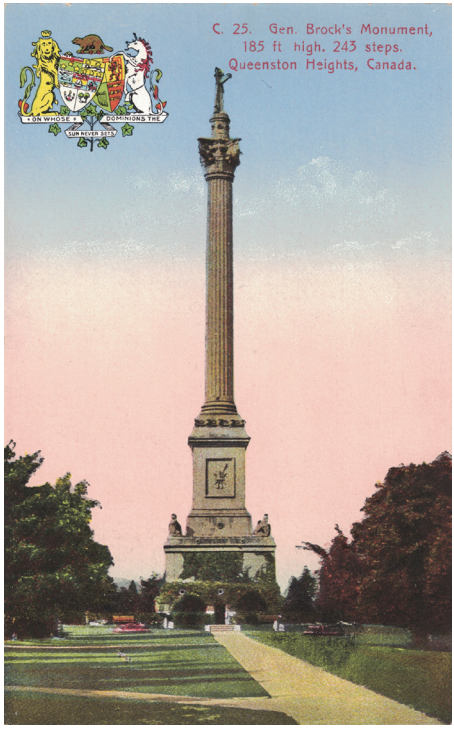
9. Illustrations, such as this watercolour by Canadian artist Charles W. Jefferys, helped to make Walter R. Nursey's 1908 *Story of Isaac Brock* an appealing book for young readers. Such heroic depictions also enhanced Brock's role model status, no matter how much historical liberty was taken with them.





10, 11. Stereoscopic views provided a three-dimensional effect to photographic images of tourist attractions and historic sites, including these scenes dating from early in the twentieth century. The first stereograph illustrates the prospect looking up toward Brock's Monument from the obelisk-style cenotaph that marked the spot, or rather the very general area, where Brock fell. The second shows a portion of the stone house where Brock's body was sequestered during the Battle of Queenston Heights. Despite the misleading caption, Brock actually died on the battlefield nearby. Although frequently inaccurate, the descriptive information provided by stereographic publishers was meant to complement the views they offered. Additional context, no matter how flawed, helped to pique viewer interest in the subject matter—which in these instances was Brock-related.





12, 13. Postcards offered an alternative to stereographs, and in the Niagara tourist region this meant a wider selection of souvenir images commemorating Brock. Views of his monuments at Queenston were frequently produced by local printing entrepreneurs like Frank H. Leslie of Niagara Falls, Ontario, who was responsible for each of the specimens reproduced here. These early views, dating from circa 1910, marked a novel and booming demand for Brock-related postcards.



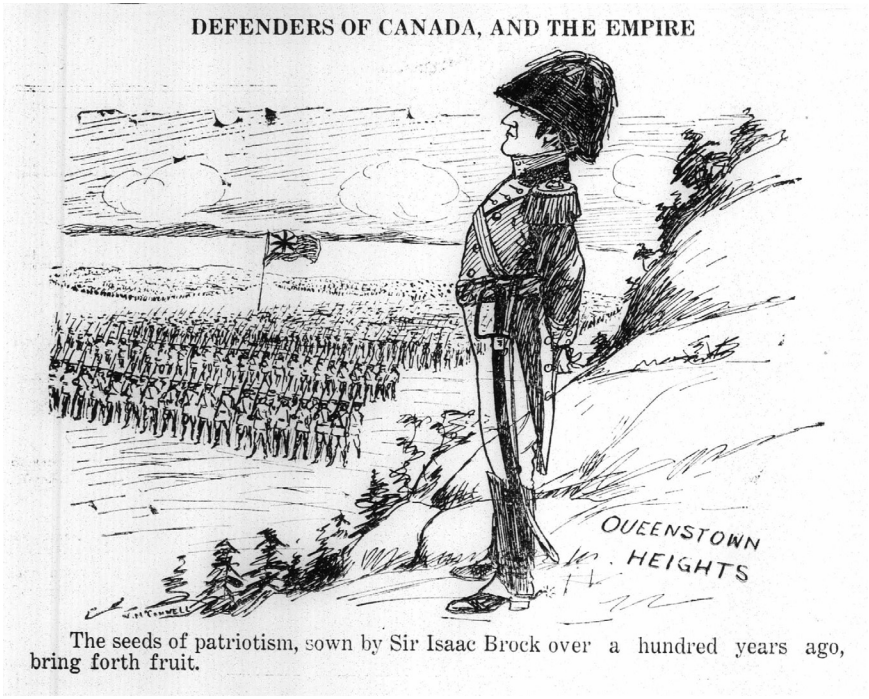




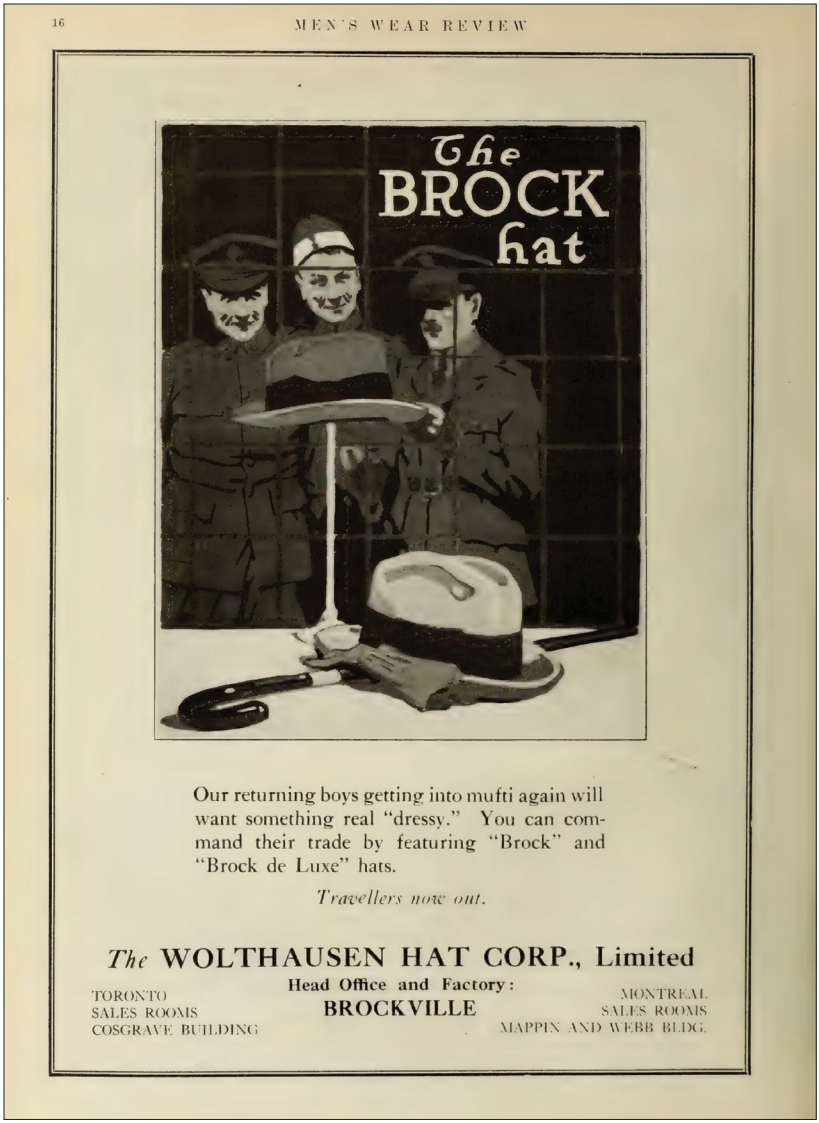
14, 15, 16. Brock's patriotic appeal might have been enhanced from an early date after his death through the use of heroic imagery, except that his sole authentic portrait as a high-ranking British officer was unknown in Canada until the mid-1870s. Portrayed by Gerrit Schipper sometime between 1809 and 1810, Brock (upper left) is shown wearing the uniform of a brigadier general and staff officer. This finely rendered pastel profile was initially replicated with relatively faithful copies, such as Frederick Brigden's engraving, which appeared in an issue of the Toronto *Globe* in 1877 (right), and John Wycliffe Lowes Forster's commissioned oil painting dating to 1894 (lower left). However, artistic licence soon began to transfigure Brock's appearance, and these liberties have long since given Canadians a confusing array of idealized portraits to fuel their love of country.



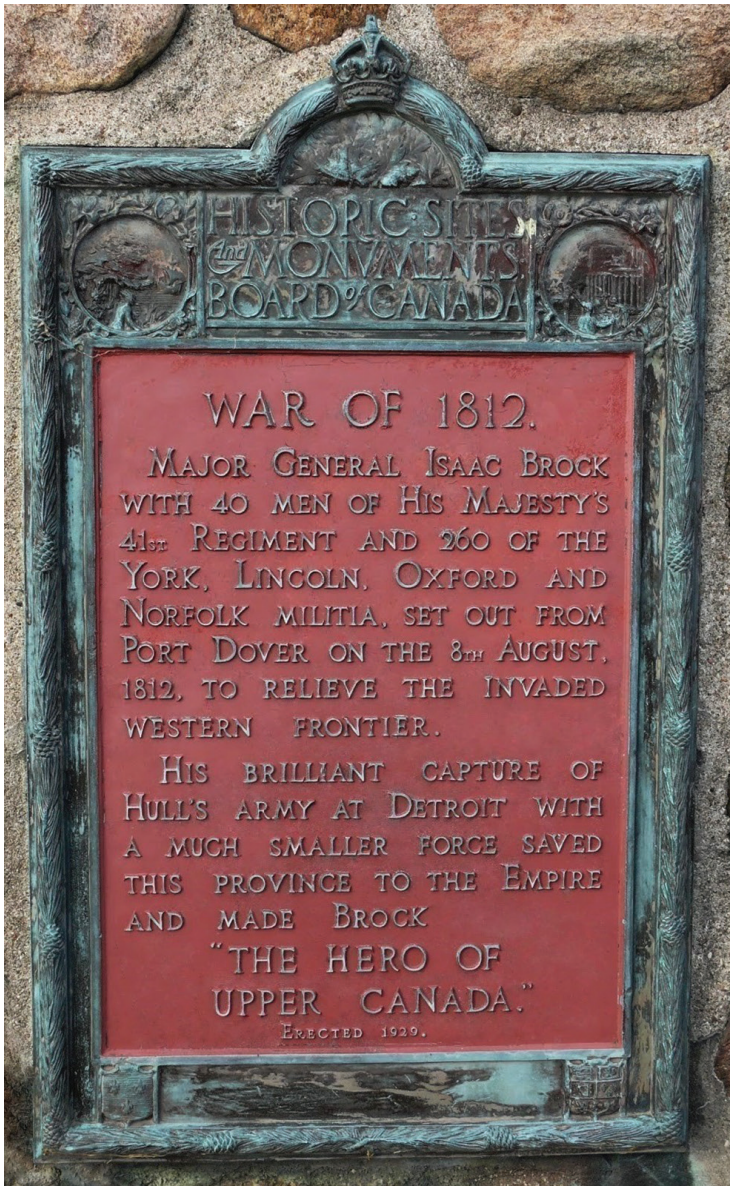
17. Anniversaries of the Battle of Queenston Heights were fitting occasions for the commemoration of Brock's heroic death, especially when they marked an important milestone. Such was the case in 1912, when a centenary celebration of some two thousand attendees was held at Brock's Monument. Patriotic speeches were the main component of the day's activities, and here Toronto lawyer and politician Angus Claude Macdonell—a relative of Brock's provincial aide-de-camp who was killed in the battle—is shown doing his part for Brock.



18. During the First World War, despite Brock's long-established recognition as a patriotic icon to Canadians, particularly those in English-speaking regions of the country, little use was made of his heroic defence of Upper Canada for propaganda purposes. A rare exception was this editorial cartoon from a 1915 issue of the *Brantford Daily Courier*, which utilized Brock's inspirational potential to show support for the British Empire's war effort.



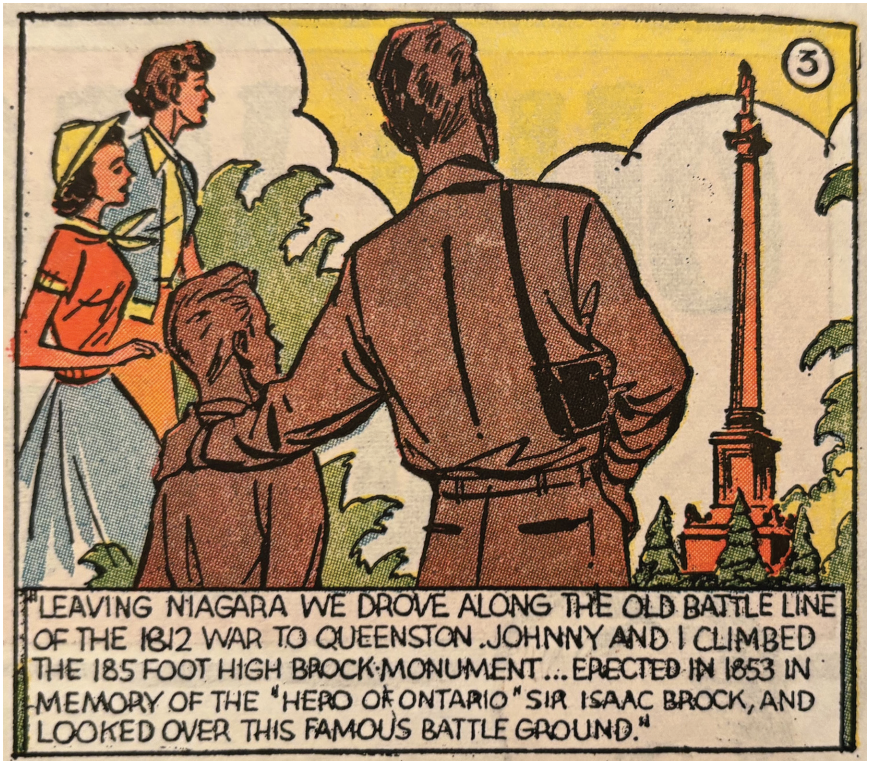
19. Curiously, while the Canadian government failed to take full advantage of Brock's enduring popularity during the First World War, a German immigrant and hat manufacturer operating out of Brockville, Ontario, did just that by naming a new line of men's headgear after the heroic British general. Capitalizing on a form of deceased celebrity branding, Frederick Wolthausen came up with a patriotic series of advertisements to promote his Brock Hats, including this one from 1919 that was directed toward returning war veterans.



20. As chairman of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, an advisory body tasked with recommending heritage designations, historian Ernest A. Cruikshank envisioned this plaque as the first in a series commemorating the audacious expedition that led to Brock's capture of Detroit in August of 1812. Dating to 1929, but unveiled the following year, this elaborately designed bronze marker helped Canadian and other tourists visualize Brock's heroic deeds within the Ontario landscape.



21. As was the case during the First World War, the Canadian government's propaganda messaging during the Second World War made no reference to Brock. To some degree, however, O'Keefe's Brewing Company took up the slack with this patriotic advertisement dating from 1944. One of a series, it utilized Brock's heroic legacy to encourage Canadian support for the war effort through the purchase of war bonds.



22. In the early 1950s, when an imaginative comic book approach was utilized to promote Ontario tourism, Brock's Monument featured prominently in a fictitious autobiographical travelogue.



23. At the time of the sesquicentenary of the Battle of Queenston Heights in October of 1962, a local reservist portrayed Brock in a parade celebrating the event. Major George Greves cut a dashing figure, and while the uniform he wore for the occasion was a reproduction, the cocked hat was reportedly the original on loan from the Niagara Historical Society (now the Niagara-on-the-Lake) Museum.



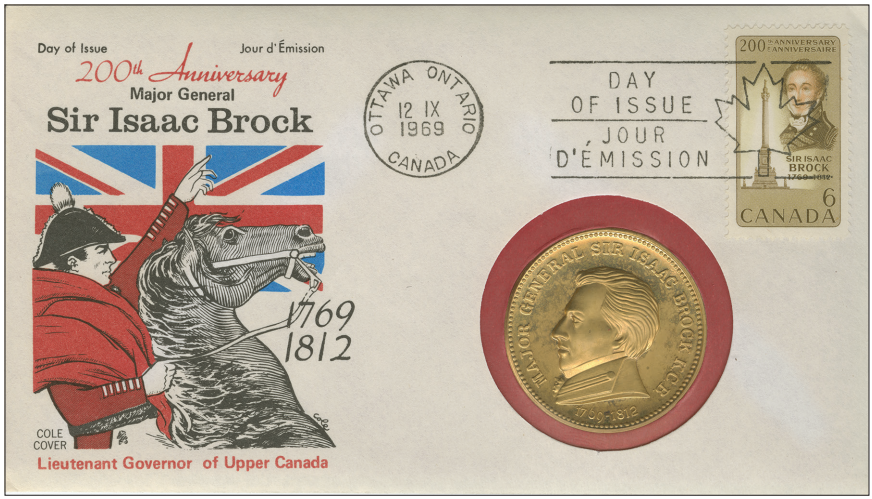
24. In keeping with a long tradition dating back to Brock's first interment on Queenston Heights, solemn speeches were delivered at his monument during the sesquicentenary commemoration in 1962. The keynote speaker was Ontario's lieutenant-governor, J. Keiller Mackay. Flanked by various dignitaries, he addressed several hundred spectators with fitting remarks to remind them of Brock's prominent place in Canadian history.



25. This advertisement for the Toronto-Dominion Bank, which appeared in several issues of *Maclean's* for 1963 and 1964, appears to show a museum display of Brock memorabilia. It was actually part of an elaborate photoshoot meant to promote the bank's commitment to customer service, and one that presented Brock in a very favourable light.



26. During a visit to Canada in 1965, one of Brock's collateral descendants brought along a much-prized family heirloom: the ceremonial war club reputedly presented to Brock by the Shawnee war chief Tecumseh at Detroit in 1812. Although Captain Michael H. T. Mellish (left) and Brock University President Dr. James A. Gibson (right) treated the war club with all the respect and reverence due an important artifact from Canada's colonial past, there is now speculation that it might actually have been presented to one of Brock's brothers by a delegation of Huron-Wendat chiefs that visited England in 1825. In many circles, however, the war club remains a potent reminder of Brock's continued high standing among Indigenous peoples.



27. In anticipation of the 1969 commemorative stamp marking the bicentenary of Brock's birth, an array of specially illustrated "philatelic covers" were produced to coincide with the first day of issue. Ranging in complexity from hand-drawn envelopes to professionally printed cachets, the most elaborate was that designed by Robert Cole of Ottawa. Unaware of the inaccurate likeness of Brock in the stamp, medallion, and vignette, collectors eagerly snapped up these postal souvenirs and in so doing helped to perpetuate Brock's enduring popularity.



28. Thanks to Doug Geddie, who was Brock University's director of marketing, communications, recruitment and liaison during the 1970s and well into the 1980s, this eye-catching poster was commissioned to raise awareness of both the institution and its namesake. Released in 1978 and heavily influenced by both American and British army recruitment posters of the First World War, the poster's artwork was undertaken by Barbara Bedell of the St. Catharines, Ontario, advertising agency Etcetera. After nearly fifty years, it remains a popular and much sought-after souvenir.





29. One of the main events of the War of 1812 bicentenary celebrations was the military re-enactment of the Battle of Queenston Heights, which was held on 13 October 2012. With approximately one thousand re-enactors manoeuvring amidst volleys of musket fire and the occasional blast of a cannon, the hour-and-a-half-long extravaganza proved immensely popular with the audience of some fifteen thousand spectators. A major feature of the entertainment was Brock's ill-fated charge and heroic death, as interpreted by Scott Finlay of Parks Canada.







30. The bicentenary festivities were crowned by a magnificent display of fireworks over Brock's Monument. Despite a rainy and wet evening, the pyrotechnics proved impervious to unfavourable conditions—much like Brock's enduring popularity.

4

Perpetuating Patriotism

As with Lady Edgar and most of the other Brock biographers who followed her, Walter R. Nursey's decision to write about the famous general was mainly publisher driven. In such cases, it was the publisher who went in search of an author, and the resulting deadlines imposed on these contractual Brock biographers further impacted the research limitations that invariably led to literary regurgitations of Tupper's well-worn book. So it was in 1908, with Nursey's *Story of Isaac Brock*. Coming just four years after the phenomenal success enjoyed by Edgar's *General Brock*, specifically, and George N. Morang's Makers of Canada series, generally, William Briggs had decided to follow suit with a similar biographical series—but one that was geared toward children rather than adults.[1]

While textbooks and other reading materials had long been a staple of Canadian publishers, the introduction of supplementary reading materials in the form of historical biographies about heroic figures, and especially those who inspired patriotism in the classroom, offered a new revenue stream. In what, to publishing industry observers, was likely a perfectly understandable business decision, Briggs moved to secure market share by announcing the launch of his Canadian Heroes Series. Starting off with Nursey's biography of Brock was a safe bet, as was having it published under the auspices of the Ontario Library Association and promoting it as part of a series designed for an educational market. Yet, despite its scholastic context, the book's depth of research was of no particular consequence to either Briggs or Nursey; what really mattered was a suitable storyline—something that would resonate with both the sponsoring client and the target audience. For Briggs, this meant solid lessons in patriotism for children, and Nursey's engrossing narrative served to inspire the rising generation that they should do their duty by behaving as good citizens. This responsibility he emphasized by drawing

a comparison between the past and present. Firmly situated within the Loyalist tradition and Militia Myth, Nursey assured his young readers that the influence of Brock's life was more far-reaching than most Upper Canadians could suppose: "It aroused in the people not only the questionable human desire to avenge his death, but an unexpressed resolve to emulate his high manliness, his fixity of purpose, and his well-ordered courage in defence of the right. It remains for the youth of Canada to proudly cherish the memory of Isaac Brock, and to never lose an opportunity to follow the example he set for them by his splendid deeds."[2]

Although Briggs's success with the Canadian Heroes Series did not extend beyond a second volume on the life of Tecumseh, the idea of educational reading materials with a patriotic theme probably inspired Morang to come up with a children's series of his own. In the spring of 1912, with the centenary of Brock's death not far off, Morang launched what he called the Chronicles of Canada for Boys and Girls.[3] Given the advance notice that this new series would glorify the country's greatest heroes, it came as no surprise that Brock's biography would be among the first to be released that same year.[4] Although a successful publishing house, Morang and Company was heavily in debt, and the effect was evident in its new series.[5] Unlike the high-quality books published by Briggs, those in the Morang series were cheap by comparison. But there was no skimping on the contents, and so Thomas Guthrie Marquis was chosen to write Brock's next biography.[6]

Marquis was one of Canada's most gifted authors, and having written a short sketch of Brock's life in 1893, he was well familiar with the subject.[7] He was also an imperial federalist, which was not a particularly unusual frame of mind for the time—except that he was also known to have ardently and publicly hoped for Canadian independence.[8] With much of the country's English-speaking population still fiercely imperial in its outlook, this preference might have led to a controversial backlash. But in acknowledging that Canadian independence required "the consent of the motherland," Marquis managed to moderate his stand to a call for greater self-determination within the British Empire.[9] His revised view of the country's future seemed to imply imperial federalism, which would have been acceptable to most of his fellow English-speaking Canadians. And along with Brock's other biographies—namely, those conceived for young readers with an educational purpose in mind—Marquis's had an appropriately patriotic lesson for the children of Canada. It was on the

importance of Canadian unity, and good use was made of the Brock token as a pedagogical prop:

> In 1816 a coin intended for circulation in British North America was issued from the Royal Mint. On one side were the words, "Sir Isaac Brock, the Hero of Upper Canada." This was the way the people of Canada had spoken of the great soldier since the capture of Detroit, and the issue of this coin shows in what esteem he was held by the home government. It would be more fitting had the words been, "the Hero of Canada." That Brock truly was. His influence was felt not in one province alone, but throughout the whole of British North America.[10]

Of course, the "coin" Marquis used to demonstrate his point is now known to have been an American counterfeit. Even so, the slug's patriotic design strengthened Marquis's conclusion that, thanks to Brock, Canada had been saved to the British Empire. Indeed, without Brock's "wisdom and daring and untiring energy it would have fallen into the hands of the troops from the United States."[11]

Unfortunately for Marquis's well-intentioned attempt to promote the idea of Canadian unity to a junior readership, his book failed to excite much interest. Little notice was taken of *Brock: The Hero of Upper Canada*, except by a disapproving academic at McMaster University (then located in Toronto).[12] In lamenting how a renewed interest in the War of 1812 had failed to produce a "freshet of historical literature" based on original research, William Stewart Wallace made no attempt to hide his disdain for this latest biography of Brock.[13] It gave the appearance of being a "pot-boiler," meaning an uninspired commission piece.[14] Wallace was severely disappointed, and another leading Canadian historian was of a similar mind. Along with Wallace, George M. Wrong was co-editor of the *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada*, and together they considered it a pity that Marquis had made "the mistake of glorifying Brock to an excessive degree."[15] This charge was certainly merited, but no one could have glorified Brock more than Nursey himself had done only a few years earlier.[16] However, the blame for a decidedly unpopular book rested squarely with its author. Ironically, by refusing to ply the children of Canada with similar glorifications based on the legends and myths associated with an excessive hero worship, Marquis provided a far

better introduction to Brock's life. But when it came to connecting with a young audience, Marquis the littérateur was no match for Nursey the adventurer.[17] As salt to the wound, Nursey's *Story of Isaac Brock* had been out of print since 1909.[18] Thus, the way was clear for another juvenile account of Brock's life. And the upcoming Brock Centenary was a golden opportunity to promote Marquis's book, as the launching of books tied to important anniversaries helped boost sales. Moreover, the marketing of heroic biographies for educational purposes was still seen as a lucrative business strategy for trade publishers, and it was no less so for a popular adult readership.

While reprints of Lady Edgar's *General Brock* still dominated that sector of the book market in 1912, the situation gradually began to allow for some competition.[19] Six years later, during the final year of the First World War, the Macmillan Company of Canada published a small book entitled *Sir Isaac Brock*.[20] Its author, Hugh S. Eayrs, was a recent immigrant from England and the most ambitious salesman in Macmillan's education department.[21] He was also the most handy with a pen, and while he had no great interest in writing about Brock's life, the assignment was a good opportunity to advance his career. It was really the company's president, Frank Wise, who wanted to publish a biography of Brock, and this for the sake of Macmillan's new Canadian Men of Action series. Ignoring wartime shortages and rising production costs, Wise was determined to take advantage of a booming Canadian book market that developed, in part, as a nationalist response to the conflict raging in Europe.[22] But despite the favourable economic conditions, Eayrs's book failed to generate much interest. With its revision and reissue in 1924, however, it received the *Globe*'s commendation for having "briefly and interestingly sketched" the main incidents of Brock's life, and "with enough anecdote and color to sustain the reader's zest."[23]

A more enthusiastic reaction came with the critique offered by the influential *Canadian Historical Review*, which continued the good work of the recently discontinued *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada*. Although cursory in its treatment, Eayrs's *Sir Isaac Brock* impressed Charles H. J. Snider, a Toronto journalist and noted Great Lakes historian, who gave his hearty approval to this overview of Brock's life. For Snider, the "very fact that most of the narrative, except the closing incident of the general's life, is new to the reader, proves that such a series has been needed."[24] But what Snider saw as new material was merely

additional and not original. Besides giving Eayrs more than his due, Snider used his review to express dissatisfaction with historiographical trends in general: "The preoccupation of historians with constitutional issues, though explicable enough, has too often produced history which to ordinary people, who are not concerned with the origin of institutions, seems dull."[25] But a "sympathetic study of a national military hero," like that produced by Eayrs, "was calculated to make Canadians aware of other aspects of their past."[26] Furthermore, as Snider found, there was "something dramatically complete in this story of an ambitious Englishman, who accepting reluctantly the necessity of passing his time in Canada where professional opportunities were few, protected the country from invasion by his military skill, and ended his career gloriously on the field of battle."[27]

Snider's review was heavily influenced by Brock's heroism, the Militia Myth, and the Loyalist tradition—just as it would have been had he written about Eayrs's biography of Brock prior to the outbreak of the First World War. Despite the psychological fatigue caused by four years of carnage on the battlefields of Europe, Canadians in 1924 were no less receptive to stories about their earlier war heroes.[28] Those written for children were especially important. As the First World War had graphically demonstrated, biographies of role models like Brock were crucial to ensure not only future generations of good citizens, but willing army recruits eager to defend king, country, and empire. Such was very much the case after war was declared in August of 1914. While school cadet training, scouting, and other organized patriotic youth activities played a major role in militarizing the attitudes of boys and girls in the decades leading up to the First World War, the Canadian publishing industry constituted another potent source of indoctrination. It did so with the tacit approval of provincial departments of education, particularly in Ontario as much of the Canadian publishing industry was centred in Toronto.[29] It was also a seamless process, according to Susan R. Fisher, a professor in the Department of English at the University of the Fraser Valley. Fisher's 2011 book *Boys and Girls in No Man's Land* revealed that, as the country's "pre-war curriculum was already suffused with imperial nationalism and a reverence for military heroes, there was no need for drastic change when war broke out. Canadian schools quickly took on the task of teaching the war and of preparing their students to take their place in it."[30] Complementing the approved textbooks and other reading

materials were the innumerable fictional adventure stories, all of which formed a popular niche market in the British trade publishing market well in advance of the war.

When written in the engaging style of George Alfred Henty, the popular English boys' novelist, full-length books and magazine articles were highly effective in priming the empire's children for military service. In *Sons of the Empire*, published in 1993, Robert H. MacDonald, an English professor at Carleton University, encapsulated the relationship between popular culture and patriotic duty:

> Popular imperialism fed on images of heroism and military triumph. It spoke of conquest, it used a myth of history to justify the inevitable progress of empire. This ideology reached into all corners of late-Victorian and Edwardian life, colouring dozens of activities, from big-game hunting to athleticism. Children, and boys in particular, were obvious targets; a vast patriotic literature was directed precisely at them. Healthy boys needed tales of action; stories should be "manly," and "red-blooded." Boys' magazines like *Chums* exploited the excitement of military action, history was presented as a "Romance of Empire," and innumerable fictions detailed a repertoire of heroic deeds.[31]

The extent to which adventure stories could influence impressionable young minds was remarkable, and nowhere was the militarizing potential of children's literature more evident than in the recollections of an old Cape Bretoner. When Howard Reid of Sydney, Nova Scotia, was asked about his participation in the First World War, and specifically his motivation for enlisting, his response came with a degree of hesitancy. "Well, that's a conundrum," Reid answered.[32] But soon enough he supposed it had something to do with the fictional stories he read about boys his age who embarked on various adventures to preserve and protect England and the British Empire.

As MacDonald contextualized, the "language of these stories was xenophobic, masculine, and jingoistic; it is hard not to see it having a powerful effect on a young reader."[33] Reid admitted as much: "I read those stories, and they did something."[34] In his 2014 *Manliness and Militarism*, Mark Moss, a historian at Toronto's Seneca College, provided further evidence of the influence publications like *The Boy's Own Annual*, *Chums*,

and Henty's books had on Canadian boys—particularly those among them who reached manhood in time to be caught up in the horrors of the First World War. One such specimen was Torontonian Larry Nelson. Like Reid, he remembered enlisting for the sake of travel and adventure, his interest in such things inspired mainly by the thrilling stories he read as a boy.[35] Nelson's experience was not unique, juvenile reading material clearly having been designed to provoke a patriotic reaction, especially among boys of the British Empire. Much the same approach was used by those Brock biographers who wrote for the purpose of inculcating children and young adults by way of entertaining narratives. Together with constant reminders of his worth, in school or society generally, Brock remained arguably one of the best-known and most popular military figures in Canadian history.

Brock's heroism was put to good use in promoting the war effort, and most notably at recruitment rallies across the country. Although references to his exploits were verbal and therefore ephemeral, they sometimes appeared in newsprint for the benefit of a wider audience and were thus preserved in the process. Many were typical patriotic bombast, but an especially flagrant example was discovered during an investigation of Torontonians' reactions to the First World War.[36] In *Our Glory and Our Grief*, Ian Hugh Maclean Miller—who when he published the book in 2002 was a policy officer with the Department of National Defence—documented an insidious attempt to coerce enlistments. After one such call to arms, a recruitment rally held in July 1915, Helen Ball used her popularity as a columnist with the *Toronto Daily News* to persuade her women readers that it was incumbent upon them to convince their husbands and sons to join the Canadian Expeditionary Force. As an attendee of the rally, Ball was able to draw a potent parallel for her readers by recalling what she thought during the proceedings: "You knew that men and women were thinking back to those who made Canada a reality, and Brock, the hero, so long dead, yet gave his inspiration to the living to do their part."[37] Just as Brock died while doing his duty in a distant land, Ball expected the same willingness for sacrifice from the men of Toronto—and she was not the least bit conflicted in seeking the coercive support of their wives, mothers, and daughters. In summarizing Ball's lengthy report of the rally, Miller highlighted the role women often played in reinforcing martial masculinity during wartime:

> Women knew that they would be ashamed, she argued, if the men belonging to them were not among those who had upheld the honour of Canada: "Yes, even if they were left lying in rough graves in France, you knew last night you could bear it better than having a shirker by your side." The ultimate sense of pride was felt by a woman at the rally, Ball related, when she could look up and see "her husband or her son, little more than a boy, standing facing that vast throng of people, while they cheered him to the echo." Ball reminded Canadian women that they were of the stock of Laura Secord, could endure hardships unflinchingly, and could not allow their men to be shirkers by tying them to apron strings.[38]

While the frequency with which Brock's memory was invoked to ensnare young recruits can never be known, it was likely frequent given that Ball thought the desired results in terms of recruitment could be achieved by playing on the general's strong popular appeal. And nowhere did this heroic branding become more evident during the war than in Berlin, Ontario.

It was perhaps inevitable that a community bearing the name of an enemy's capital would come to serve as a lightning rod for controversy, especially as news about the First World War became increasingly gruesome. The ethnic German population of Berlin, a city of approximately fifteen thousand people in the hinterlands of southwestern Ontario, reacted to the outbreak of hostilities by throwing their support behind various displays of their community's loyalty to Canada.[39] Time and again, they rose to the occasion with generous financial donations to the local patriotic fund. Despite this and other tangible demonstrations of allegiance, anti-German sentiment (which had existed prior to the war but became more pronounced after its declaration) was directed against symbols of the community's deep attachment to *das Vaterland*. Along with the toppling of a bust of Kaiser Wilhelm I, there was also the ransacking of a German singing society's clubhouse. But the damage inflicted upon these cultural icons paled in comparison with the patriotic vengeance against Berlin's nominal identity. Although calls for the city's renaming had begun as early as November 1914, it was not until reports of German atrocities became rampant that serious consideration was given to the matter of a new moniker.[40] Heightened by British propaganda, the news

of German massacres, gassings, sinkings, and executions reflected badly on Berlin—and its manufacturing sector was especially sensitive to all the bad press. In February of 1916, the Berlin Board of Trade reacted by proposing a name change.[41] What followed was a petition to the Berlin City Council signed by over one thousand ratepayers, which prompted a request for provincial legislation to legitimize the name change. At the same time, a committee was established to investigate a possible amalgamation with the adjacent—and more fortuitously named—town of Waterloo, Ontario.[42] This strategy meant that either way, the controversy over Berlin's name would be resolved.

In April of 1916, after the provincial government refused to intervene, another attempt was made to change Berlin's name, this time by a civic organization known as the British League. The result was sweeping legislation allowing any municipality the right to change its name based on the decision rendered by a majority of its voters.[43] During this same period, upwards of five thousand alternate names were suggested as suitable replacements for Berlin.[44] An early contender was Brock, and Lottie Moyer of Berlin provided the following bare-bones justification for her choice: "He was a noble general and no place has ever been named after such a splendid man."[45] Unfortunately for Moyer, her argument was undermined by the recently incorporated village of Brock, Saskatchewan, as well as a long-established township in Ontario bearing the same name, and also by the historic town of Brockville, Ontario.[46] But it hardly mattered that Moyer had misspoken. Honouring Brock over Berlin was a popular notion among the Anglo-Canadian citizenry, and so minor adjustments were contrived (such as Brockton, Brockhowe, and even Brockwack) to keep his name in the running.[47] In an attempt to reduce the sheer number of submissions, Berlin City Council appointed a special committee to select the most prospective entries. By the end of May, the committee presented council with a list of just six names—none of which, shockingly enough, included Brock or its various incarnations.[48] However, the public reaction to these names (Huronto, Bercana, Dunard, Hydro City, Renoma, Agnoleo) was so negative that Berlin's city councillors usurped the committee's authority and compiled a revised slate.[49] Before they could put their selection to the test, however, the lingering question of amalgamation came to the fore in June of 1916. When it was learned that any such agreement was contingent upon the acceptance of Waterloo's name, the city council promptly voted against amalgamation

and produced a new batch of toponymic choices. Heading the list was Brock, but the last-minute addition of a new name made for some stiff competition.[50]

The death of Britain's secretary of state for war earlier in the month made him a worthy namesake to many of Berlin's pro-British residents, and Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener, 1st Earl Kitchener, was certainly a popular public figure in keeping with the times. Yet, there was at least one Berliner who saw the importance of having a less polarizing source of patriotic inspiration. According to a "Ratepayer," the name Brock was to be preferred, and not solely for his reputation as the defender of Upper Canada. As this person acknowledged, "Kitchener was a world figure," but "the taking of his name by the community, in view of the wish to bridge the present chasm, would be a mistake. Healing ointment ought to be applied. I believe 'Brock' would be the right thing to apply."[51] It was sage advice, in spite of the mixed metaphor. Unfortunately for "Ratepayer," the chasm was already too wide and the ointment not sufficiently efficacious. When the votes were tallied, Brock came in a close second.[52] While it was the lowest vote ever polled in the city's history up to that time, the outcome still attested to the appeal of Brock's name and Brock himself. Had Kitchener not met with an untimely end in June 1916, Berlin's new name might have been far less divisive. As it was, however, opposition to the renaming of Berlin continued until a bylaw enacted at the beginning of September made the change to Kitchener official.[53]

As events in Berlin demonstrated, Brock was still held in high esteem among the city's pro-British population, and a majority of the ethnic German segment of the population likely preferred Brock over Kitchener as well, if only because Kitchener was the man leading the war against their homeland. Beyond Berlin, the high degree of public respect for Brock was no less manifest, and yet, notwithstanding the occasional reminder for recruiting purposes, the heroism that made him famous was underutilized in promoting Canada's war effort. Whereas Kitchener's martyrdom was swiftly and widely exploited for propaganda and recruitment purposes, Brock remained primarily a role model for schoolchildren and a patriotic trope for their elders. The Canadian government's seeming lack of interest in mobilizing Brock's heroic reputation for enlistment purposes was perhaps intentional, given the scope and nature of the conflict raging on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. The First World War was propagandized as a just war in defence of the

British Empire, and the story of Brock's heroism fell somewhat short of that narrative. It was not relevant that he had defended the same empire in North America during a war with the United States just over a hundred years earlier, especially when the former enemy was now a potential ally. Nor was there any point in promoting long-dead colonial heroes, like Brock, when their exploits were limited to one corner of the empire.

While Brock's name was instantly recognizable throughout much of Canada, it counted for less than nothing across the rest of the British Empire—a sad reality that extended to the very heart of imperial military operations in London, England. As one Canadian scholar discovered in 1901, the War Office was completely unaware of Brock. Although a number of its staff were eager to assist, they had to admit that "we never heard of such a person."[54] But even if most Canadians knew of Brock, the finer points of his martial achievements often escaped them. Included among this number was the trolley car driver, or "motorman," who managed to frustrate an American tourist at Queenston back in the summer of 1896. As the trolley rolled past Brock's Monument, the inquisitive tourist—a sightseeing journalist—asked who Brock was. With a wry grin, the tactless motorman simply replied that Brock "licked the Yankees in 1812." When the tourist asked where, he was told, "Darned if I know, but they say he licked 'em."[55] Not unlike the motorman, Canadians generally knew of Brock and held a favourable opinion of him, but the extent of their knowledge was often embarrassingly deficient. There was a far greater awareness of Lord Kitchener, whose own wartime achievements on behalf of the British Empire were not limited to any particular colony. Rather, his fame was far-reaching, and the news of his loss in the sinking of HMS *Hampshire* during a diplomatic mission to Russia sent shock waves throughout Britain's imperial domain. The propaganda value of his sacrifice was soon put to good use in raising troops for the British cause. Although Brock suffered a similar type of sacrifice, the patriotic effect it generated was largely limited to Canada and the country's English-speaking population. Brock's sacrifice was also historical in nature, and after the passage of more than a century, it was not always treated with the same degree of reverence as that afforded Kitchener's more recent passing.

In June of 1917, a party of 160 convalescing soldiers was treated to a day's outing to Queenston Heights. Accompanied by "mothers, wives and lady friends," the veterans enjoyed a steamship voyage across Lake

Ontario as they sang along with an orchestra playing patriotic tunes. With Brock's Monument soon towering high above them, a reporter for the *Globe* fantasized about the general's statue coming to life in response to the heartwarming scene of maimed soldiers, "broken in all but spirits, gathered on the heights to spend the day in boyish freedom with the sky and the green earth."[56] Looking down from its lofty pedestal, the limestone figure "might well have turned its strong heart to flesh and sent the warm blood of life coursing through its cold frame."[57] The veterans, while they could respect and admire Brock, were feeling far too light-hearted for any such romantic notions, and one witty soldier thought nothing of having a good laugh at the dead general's expense. On the trolley car coming up from the wharf and through Queenston, a dilapidated stone house was pointed out as the place where Brock's troops had sequestered his body. By 1917, however, it was commonly and mistakenly thought that Brock had died in this house. Considering that its roof had fallen in, Brock's demise was hardly a surprise to the witty soldier who cleverly remarked, "No one could live in that place."[58] This jest, however, was not indicative of a broader attitude among Canadians toward Brock or his military reputation. Despite the passage of one hundred years and the country's heavy involvement in the First World War, there was no similarly high-ranking Canadian Army officer who garnered as much respect or admiration among the general populace. Included in the mix was Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Currie, head of the Canadian Corps and the soldier now regarded as Canada's greatest military commander. For all his battlefield acumen, the unprepossessing Currie lacked the charismatic attributes of a dashing hero like Brock. In this sense, at least, there was no comparison—even if the Catholic bishop of London, Ontario, tried to force one in October of 1918.

Speaking at a charity event in Windsor, Ontario, Bishop Michael Francis Fallon told an audience of four thousand people that Currie had borrowed the tactics of Brock. Elaborating on the British ruse at Detroit, by which British and Indigenous forces appeared to be massing in greater force than was actually the case, Currie, according to Fallon, used a similar trick to fool the Germans into thinking that he was moving north instead of south to the French city of Amiens.[59] The bishop spoke with great authority, since he was recently at the front and had remained in communication with Currie after his departure. Yet, even if Currie's strategy had in fact been influenced by Brock's victory at Detroit, as the bishop

publicly claimed, there was little or no positive effect on his image back in Canada. Falsely accused of having callously ordered thousands of troops to risk their lives in needless battle, Currie returned from the war under a cloud. After finally taking legal action in 1928 to exonerate himself, and despite having won his case, Currie's reputation remained checkered.[60] And regardless of the generally positive press coverage he received after the trial, Currie failed to win the hearts and minds of the nation. Many Canadians continued to look upon him with contempt and were likely to have rejected any suggestion that Currie's command of the Canadian Corps in Belgium and France was somehow comparable to that of Brock on the Detroit frontier, regardless of what the Catholic bishop of London had to say in the matter. Unfortunately for Currie, he was disadvantaged by the type of battle he was forced to wage.

Unlike Brock, who bluffed his way to victory at Detroit with only minor casualties to the small force of British regulars and Upper Canadian militiamen he commanded, Currie, facing a more determined foe in a series of major actions, suffered heavy troop losses. Ironically, Brock, for all his gallantry on the field, could not have done better under similar circumstances. This is because the First World War was predominantly one of attrition and trench warfare; it was also a war of the common soldier, and one in which generalship had come to be gauged by effective management. For this reason, rather than any display of courage or charisma, Currie would go on to win the respect of his country. But no matter how successfully Currie defended his command during the First World War, Canadians still looked upon Brock as their patriotic idol—just as they had been taught to do from an early age. While his sacrifice on the battlefield had been underutilized for recruitment purposes during the conflict, Brock's heroism still held great appeal to civilians on the home front. Indeed, as one particularly astute captain of industry realized late in the war, the mere mention of Brock's famous name could also be used to turn a tidy profit.

The concept was by no means original, and Canadian manufacturers were known to occasionally promote a given product line by making shameless use of Brock's name. It was all for the sake of boosting sales, and this early form of deceased celebrity branding could be quite effective. It could also be somewhat tortured, as the Thomas Upton Company of Hamilton, Ontario, demonstrated in an advertising campaign dating from 1900: "Those who are familiar with General Brock's Monument,

from a distance, are vastly surprised at its proportions when they get close enough to grasp them. Those who are familiar with the name and high reputation of Upton's Marmalade are equally surprised when they learn how surpassingly good it really is."[61]

Utilizing Brock's name for advertising purposes was a no less attractive proposition nearly two decades later, when Frederick Wolthausen, the astute captain of industry mentioned above, used a similar sales gimmick to introduce a new line of men's hats in 1918.[62] Resembling something between a bowler and fedora, the new design was a gamble. But by naming this hybrid after the ever-popular Brock, Wolthausen probably hoped to reduce the odds of a fashion flop. The fact that this headgear was manufactured in Brockville, Ontario, might have provided some of the inspiration behind Wolthausen's choice of names. More likely, it was an opportunity to tap into heightened patriotic sentiments arising from the First World War. In May 1919, Wolthausen ran a full-page advertisement in the *Men's Wear Review* featuring several soldiers admiring a display of Brock Hats through a store window. There was nothing ambiguous about the target audience, certainly not to those potential wholesale customers who read the advertiser's copy: "Our returning boys getting into mufti again will want something real 'dressy.' You can command their trade by featuring 'Brock' and 'Brock de Luxe' hats."[63] The most compelling rationale behind this bold marketing strategy can be found in the research of a military historian at the University of Western Ontario. In his 1997 book *Death So Noble*, Jonathan F. Vance explained the Canadian soldier's special affinity for Brock:

> The War of 1812, particularly the death of General Isaac Brock at Queenston, was also a popular historical event to provide context to Canadian achievements in Flanders. Like Wolfe, Brock had died "on the field of honour, in the hour of triumph" and, what is more, he had died defending Canada from foreign invaders. These facts made the War of 1812 an obvious analogy. One observer noted that the men of the CEF [Canadian Expeditionary Force] were animated by "just the same fine steadfast courage as carried their forefathers up the hill at Queenston Heights."[64]

Wolthausen was likely motivated by a similar sense of patriotic duty, combined with a healthy desire for financial gain. However, honouring

Brock with a line of hats was perhaps also a means of self-preservation in a potentially hostile environment.

As a German American immigrant who came to Canada in 1904, Wolthausen might have felt a need to demonstrate his loyalty to the British Empire as the First World War dragged on from one year to the next.[65] And it was probably not a coincidence that his patriotic Brock Hats were introduced within two years of Berlin's acrimonious name change debate in 1916—during which proceedings the Brock option remained one of the more popular. Another possibility reveals itself in Wolthausen's style of advertising, which suggests that there was a personal element in his decision to name men's hats after a dead British general: He could identify with Brock. Like the Hero of Upper Canada, Wolthausen had faced his own enormous challenges, and in 1928 he recounted his accomplishments for the *Globe*'s readers: "A small unknown factory . . . fighting doggedly against odds which daily threatened disaster . . . courageously marking their product 'Made in Canada,' at a time when imported hats flooded the market . . . struggling under handicaps of poor equipment and meagre finances . . . this is the early history of the Wolthausen Hat Corporation."[66] Just as Upper Canada had faced an American takeover during the War of 1812, Wolthausen was nearly overwhelmed by foreign competition. But like Brock, he was determined to mount a strong defence. "Armed for the fight," and "with little more than his thorough, practical knowledge of hat manufacturing, pluck and determination to win, Mr. Wolthausen now has the satisfaction of seeing his firm dominating the Canadian market and merchandising their hats to almost every corner of the British Empire . . . to the Orient . . . and to South America."[67]

Patriotism was central to Wolthausen's marketing strategy, and it clearly contributed to the tremendous popularity of his Brock Hats during the 1920s. Of course, strong sales were ultimately dependent on style and quality. Fortunately for Wolthausen, his Brock Hats were well-made fashion statements. The result was a business enterprise that was both a sartorial tour de force and a fitting homage to the man who inspired Wolthausen's new style of hat, which he proudly termed "A Canadian achievement."[68] Looking to further capitalize on this highly profitable business model, Wolthausen's advertisements went beyond mere name recognition to include unmistakable allusions to Brock—the most obvious being images of his monument.[69]

This type of heroic commodification worked as well as it did because a majority of Canadians still maintained a strong imperial attachment, which Brock personified by having saved Upper Canada for the British Empire. Despite the social upheaval caused by the First World War, the Militia Myth and Loyalist tradition continued to influence Canadian society, and not only in Ontario. A telling example of the pervasiveness of these old colonial sentiments can be found in the court proceedings of one of the several men tried for instigating the Winnipeg General Strike. In November of 1919, Robert Boyd Russell, a Scottish immigrant, railway machinist, and fervent socialist, found himself charged with six counts of seditious conspiracy for his part in the strike. Among other things, he was accused of conspiring to instigate unlawful general strikes by enticing workers "to break [their] contracts and desert from their service and duties."[70] The most serious accusation was that Russell intended to foment revolution against the Government of Canada. In his charge, Judge Thomas L. Metcalfe discussed the socialist aspect of the trial. He also led the jury toward a guilty verdict by playing on their sense of moral duty. After assuring them that socialism itself was not illegal, Metcalfe did his best to cast it in a threatening light, and to Russell's detriment. He did so by effectively invoking the Militia Myth and the Loyalist tradition. "If a man's ideal is socialism," Metcalfe advised, "that is not illegal." But, "after hearing the evidence of what socialism is, may we not remember the words of that illustrious countryman of Mr. Russell [Sir Walter Scott], and ask ourselves, 'Breathes there a man with soul so dead, who never to himself has said, this is my own, my native land.'"[71] It was then that the judge reached his peak: "What did our forefathers fight for at Queenstown [*sic*] Heights? For what did they fling back the Americans from the ramparts of the city of Quebec and roll them down the snow clad cliffs? What do you think of patriotism? What do you think of allegiance to your country?"[72] After some further expounding, moralizing, and downright social engineering, Metcalfe asked the jury, "If a man won't fight for his country, as our forefathers fought at Quebec and Queenston Heights, will he fight for his fireside?"[73] There was no need to complicate matters by identifying the leaders of these fighting forefathers, and in the case of Queenston Heights the inference to Brock was obvious.

The outcome of Russell's trial was no less obvious, and the verdict was a two-year prison term. It would seem that Metcalfe's patriotic lecture had the desired effect. Just as the militiamen of Upper Canada had

rallied around Brock to defend their country against American republicanism, a majority of the jurors appear to have been unduly influenced by the comparisons Metcalfe drew between past and present. In their own way, these jurors were defending the country—not against American Manifest Destiny, but against the socialism of disgruntled Canadian workers. Writing about the Russell case many years later, criminal justice historian Desmond H. Brown explained that Metcalfe "was obviously well read in Canadian history and saw himself as a Canadian patriot."[74] This "gave his appeal to the patriotism of the jurors a very authentic ring when he encouraged them to help him to stem the tide of red revolution, which he believed was sweeping down to inundate Canada, with Russell and his co-defendants on the crest of the wave. That his belief was wrong is beside the point; it was the view of the majority, and he reflected it faithfully."[75]

To ensure the prosecution's success, Metcalfe stressed his opinion that if socialist "sentiments are to be brought about by illegal strikes, by force exercised thereby, by terror, by combinations of soldiers and workmen, by speeches at soldiers[']s and workmen[']s councils, or by unlawful means it is a crime and it is seditious."[76] It was certainly made to look as though the conservative and imperial nature of the country was under attack. But the value system perpetuated by the Militia Myth and Loyalist tradition was too firmly entrenched to be quickly or easily overturned. By the time of Russell's trial in 1919, the inherently Anglo-Ontarian and largely protestant world view had come to dominate all segments of Canadian society. Along with it came a high regard for Brock, whose heroism symbolized the country's firm attachment to Britain. It was the same engaging ideology that originated in Upper Canada and, reinforced from one generation to the next through a well-honed process of educational inculcation, was exported to the rest of Canada through a publishing industry centred in Ontario.

The patriotic shaping of young minds had become well-established by the end of the First World War, with Brock's contribution to the Canadian historical narrative formally introduced in the classroom, reinforced in textbooks, and highlighted during school exercises. The same cycle was extended beyond Ontario, supported primarily through the medium of reading materials authorized by that province's Department of Education and adopted for use in other educational jurisdictions across the country.[77] This Ontario-centric influence over

the publishing industry ensured that Brock remained the preferred role model for Canadian children. The only exception to the rule was in the province of Quebec, where the French-speaking population placed greater emphasis on their own heroes (particularly Adam Dollard des Ormeaux).[78] But even so, there was a grudging respect and admiration for Brock—not because he saved Canada for the British Empire, but rather for his having kept the Americans at bay. While Charles de Salaberry, who repulsed an American invasion at Chateauguay in October 1813, was French Canadian and understandably more deserving of their affection, Brock could still be forgiven his unfortunate connection with *les maudits Anglais*. By thwarting American designs on Upper Canada, and by extension Lower Canada, he inadvertently upheld the British Parliament's Quebec Act of 1774 along with its concessions to the conquered inhabitants for the preservation of their religious and legal rights. Regardless, a strong sense of French Canadian nationalism prevented the same level of overt enthusiasm among the Québécois for Brock that permeated the entirety of English-speaking Canada. But an aged seigneur who had actually known Brock felt not the slightest compunction in paying his respects to the British general.

In his *Mémoires*, published in 1866, Philippe-Joseph Aubert de Gaspé recalled an incident that occurred prior to the War of 1812. When a British Army officer was heard to disparage French Canadian manhood by claiming it would be useless to give "Canadiens" (meaning the Lower Canadian Militia) arms, as they lacked the courage to use them, Brock was said to disagree vociferously. Having faced Frenchmen on the battlefield, he could vouch for their bravery. That they were trained regulars as opposed to raw militia had little bearing, and Brock attested to the worth of the French Canadian militiamen by asking rhetorically, "does not French blood flow in their veins?"[79] While this passage suggests a certain tailoring of history, de Gaspé was nonetheless esteemed a reliable source.[80] However, he took considerable liberty by asserting that Brock could just as easily have claimed French blood for himself.[81] Genealogically, it was feasible enough: Brock hailed from Guernsey, one of Britain's Channel Islands, off the coast of France. Indeed, many of his ancestors were of French extraction, and whether or not de Gaspé knew it for an absolute fact, the explanation he provided regarding the source of Brock's heroism tended to resonate with French Canadians. Such was certainly the case with Pierre-Georges Roy, a prominent journalist, historian, and the

soon-to-be first chief archivist of the province of Quebec. Inspired by the insight de Gaspé provided, Roy used the 1919 publication of his *Les petites choses de notre histoire* to definitively state that "General Brock had French blood in his veins and he was proud of it."[82] With a slight rejigging of de Gaspé's original meaning, Roy had transformed the British general into a more relatable hero while also reinforcing the idea that Canada was founded and preserved by people of the same racial stock. In this way, French Canadians were encouraged to look favourably upon Brock, thus fostering an attitude that was consistent with the treatment he received in both the French- and English-language history textbooks read by students throughout *La belle province*.

Beyond Quebec, history textbooks produced in Ontario were also endorsed for use in other provinces. Whether in the Maritimes or the West, these textbooks helped export the story of Brock's heroism from the publishing houses of Toronto to far-distant and remote school boards. Along with Brock's heroism, there also went the Militia Myth and the Loyalist tradition—sub-themes either inspired by the War of 1812 or fostered by it.[83] Yet, the reaction to the spread of Ontario's historical memory was by no means uniformly accepting. As Canadian historian Keith Walden pointed out, the war was distinctly Upper Canadian or Ontarian in the traditions it created: "Maritimers, for example, took some interest in the war but never ascribed to it the significance that the Upper Canadians did."[84] Brock failed to evoke the same emotional response in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, or Prince Edward Island as he did in Ontario, and the Militia Myth fared no better. The Loyalist tradition, however, melded nicely with the East Coast's own Loyalist legacies and was therefore more germane. In the West, large numbers of migrants from Ontario helped to ensure that the heroics, myths, and traditions of the War of 1812 remained relevant precursors of Canadian Confederation.[85] As the most politically dominant province in Canada, Ontario's history was effectively that of the new nation-state as it expanded across the British North American continent; and the English-speaking diaspora from east of the Great Lakes viewed their history as part of a greater imperial continuum.

Recognized as the man who saved Canada for the empire, Brock was a potent reminder of the burgeoning nation's determination to remain British. Despite the heavy toll in human life exacted by a close alliance with Britain during the First World War, imperialism retained a strong—if unquantifiable—appeal among most Canadians. Phillip Buckner

concluded that "the war did not lead to widespread disillusionment with the empire, though it did greatly increase a sense of Canadian consciousness."[86] Nor was there any apparent contradiction between the two concepts. During a speech to the Imperial Press Conference at Ottawa in 1920, Sir Arthur Currie stressed that it was possible to be thoroughly loyal to the empire while at the same time being intensely Canadian.[87] Evidence of Currie's conviction was especially evident in the country's Empire Day celebrations, with those in Ontario leading the way. The most elaborate patriotic displays were those organized by the schools of Toronto. With over four thousand school cadets parading in 1918 and the same number in 1919, the idea of imperialism obviously remained just as popular there as ever.[88] Despite little if any mention of Brock in the press coverage of this annual event, it was generally assumed that his memory would be prominently commemorated during Empire Day celebrations held across the country—and so it was.

In addition to imperial-themed oral recitals and musical presentations, jingoistic essay-writing contests were also imposed upon student bodies across the nation. It was during the latter of these patriotic exercises that Brock tended to figure most prominently, with excerpts from particularly noteworthy essays occasionally published in the columns of local newspapers. One standout instance involved a London, Ontario, schoolboy by the name of Norman Gilmour, who attended the Simcoe Street School and in June of 1921 won the top prize for best Empire Day essay. Much of his success can be attributed to the patriotic topic he chose for his paper, which focused on the significance of Brock's life. Brief and biased, Gilmour's overview was unabashedly patriotic—especially in the passage where he expressed the rather intolerant opinion that the "person, I cannot say Canadian, who does not hold the name of Brock with respect and reverence has no right to claim himself a citizen of that country for which Brock sacrificed his life."[89] There was no room for differing opinions, just patriotic compliance, and it was a commonly expressed sentiment throughout the rest of the school year. Besides Flag Day, which used vexillology to glorify Canada's connection to the British Empire, class time was also set aside to celebrate historic anniversaries.[90] High on the list were important military victories, with the Battle of Queenston Heights ranking alongside the most notable conflicts of the First World War. And the hero who captured the imagination of most Canadian youth was still Brock, not Kitchener or Currie. Given the high

degree of importance attached to heroism, patriotism, and the British Empire, it is little wonder that Brock remained one of Canada's leading role models for schoolchildren. Yet, for all the high praise he received in the classrooms of the nation, and despite the positive depictions afforded him in various history textbooks, or mandatory Empire Day exercises, children's literature remained one of the more effective methods of what amounted to social engineering through hero worship.

Adventure stories, especially those written in a swashbuckling style, held the attention of young readers and impressed them with the patriotic morals of Brock's heroic life. While textbook passages about it were favourable to a fault, they were also cursory and failed to inspire the imagination. Not until 1908, and the publication of Walter R. Nursey's *The Story of Isaac Brock*, did Brock the Hero of Upper Canada become something akin to a modern-day superhero. Nursey's more active and exciting treatment was immensely popular with readers, but despite two reprints the book became increasingly difficult to find. A new edition was finally released in 1923, but in the meantime a young advertising salesman from Toronto helped to fill the void with a ponderously titled *Young Canada Boys with the S.O.S. on the Frontier*, which was published in 1918.[91] Its author, Harold C. Lowrey, was mainly influenced by the new genre of boy's fiction characterized by the numerous invasion stories that began to appear in the early years of the twentieth century, and especially their clichéd theme of enemy spies whose nefarious plans to commit acts of espionage against the British Empire were thwarted by patriotic boys.[92]

Set against the backdrop of Ontario's Niagara Peninsula during the First World War, Lowrey's book tells the story of a group of boys who join the Soldiers of the Soil agricultural program and, in the course of their mundane duties as farmhands, disrupt a German spy ring's diabolical attempts to sabotage critical infrastructure, including bridges, power plants, and the Welland Canal. During a period when there were no new Brock biographies of a calibre on par with Nursey's, Lowrey's *Young Canada Boys* helped to reinforce Brock's status as a Canadian role model. But there was also an ulterior motive. Infused with occasional but pertinent references to Brock's death and the Battle of Queenston Heights, Lowrey's book aimed to prime Canadian boys for future military service. To achieve this goal, *Young Canada Boys* combined patriotism and duty in a manner that Susan R. Fisher described as alternating "between high adventure and history lessons."[93] Lowrey's penchant for

the past stemmed from his childhood on the family farm at Queenston, where elderly relatives captivated his imagination with thrilling stories from their local history, many of which dwelt on Brock's heroic death. But while the *Globe* gave Lowrey's book a good review, *Young Canada Boys* soon slipped into obscurity.[94]

Part of the reason for Lowrey's short-lived success was a reaction against militarism in Canada. For most anti-militarists, no degree of martial spirit was acceptable in the classroom as it was thought to imbue young minds with an unnatural enthusiasm for war. Both pacifist and passionate, the anti-militarists made no distinction between the militarism of Canada and that of Germany. Anything that smacked of the military, no matter how innocuous, was perceived to be a threat to peace. Included were the patriotic and imperial exercises of schoolchildren, as all such activities were looked upon as symptomatic of a warlike and extremely dangerous trend. While anti-militarist calls for action became more strident over the course of the 1920s, the growing agitation for peace was further hastened by painful remembrances of all the Canadian casualties resulting from the First World War. Well before the outbreak of that horrendous conflict, anti-militarists had raised the alarm over the threat of a society too heavily invested in the warrior ethos. Although the war silenced most of their number, some continued to make their views known as the tally of death and destruction grew ever larger. Anti-militarists lived in hope of achieving a new, more peaceful world order once the war ended. But as the Reverend George B. McLeod of Toronto's Deer Park Presbyterian Church warned in November of 1916, "it will require every atom of the moral strength of the church to prevent the military ideal being fastened upon us at the close of the war."[95] He need not have worried, since it was not long after the victory in 1918 that the anti-militarists resumed their crusade against the slightest perceived attempt to popularize war.

High on the list of priorities was cadet training, especially in Toronto, where the newly organized and pacificist Daughters of Canada (a nationalist counter to the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire) denounced this choreographed aspect of militarism in January 1920.[96] Despite the imposition of a contrarian point of view by a non-member, a woman named Lila Watt, who indelicately pointed out that Canada was a wealthy country with a relatively small population and therefore a "prize for anyone to grab who can," the Daughters of Canada persisted in their

avowed goal of anti-militarism—a progressive movement that continued to gain momentum across the country.[97] A few months later, Ontario's minister of education was met by a deputation from the Hamilton Trades and Labour Council, as well as several members of Parliament from the United Farmers of Ontario government of Ernest C. Drury. After a generalizing statement about the ideals of the people of Ontario, who were all supposedly "against militarism or military preparation from any standpoint," the visiting gentlemen "urged that military training in the public schools be replaced by modified physical culture."[98] The minister of education, Robert H. Grant, was sympathetic but cautious. Although he had come to embrace many of the United Farmers' principles, Grant was formerly a long-time Conservative—which likely explains his half-hearted response. And while the minister promised his consideration of the matter, cadet training remained a contentious issue long after the United Farmers were swept from power in 1923.

Closely aligned with cadet training were the parades and reviews held in conjunction with Empire Day festivities. Militaristic by their very nature, these ceremonial manoeuvres could hardly be passed off as anything else, and the unfortunate comments arising from the reviews held during the First World War did nothing to promote the lame excuse that cadet training was merely a form of physical exercise. In May of 1917, a militia officer verbalized his approval of the parading cadets in Toronto by observing, "they will make soldiers in no time."[99] A year later, the *Globe* echoed a similar sentiment by pronouncing them to be "the nucleus of a future army."[100] This favourable view of militarism continued unabated in 1919, when Toronto Mayor Thomas Langton Church made reference to the ongoing general strike in Winnipeg, which he did in order to justify the importance of military-style discipline for schoolchildren. Upon viewing the cadet parade, the conservative Church smugly observed that "it would do the people of Winnipeg good to see such an inspiring sight."[101] More to the point, it was a good lesson to all those alien malefactors suspected of fomenting civil disobedience. As Church boasted, there was no room for Bolshevism or socialism in Canada. Furthermore, the cadet parade was a sure sign that "we are going to have none [of it] in Toronto."[102] Church had good reason to swagger, since Toronto was the most imperial-minded city in Canada.[103] Elsewhere, the proponents of Empire Day and cadet training managed to hold their own against the anti-militarists, who criticized these blatant displays of martial tradition

without much effect. Most Canadians remained solidly imperial in their attitudes toward nationalism, which helped to stifle much of the rhetoric decrying their cherished patriotic events and institutions. But in the autumn of 1922, the institutions of childhood militarism came under a withering fire—that of a recently elected federal member of Parliament from Ontario's Grey County.[104]

As the country's first federally elected woman politician, Agnes Macphail quickly proved herself to be an uncompromising social reformer with a talent for debate and a deep-seated resentment toward all forms of militarism. Included was her opposition to the Boy Scouts, which was no less vehement. Yet, despite a forceful argument that the organization trained youth for war, Macphail's campaign against the Boy Scouts gradually petered out. However, her sniping at cadet training continued over the next several years, during which time the anti-militarists expanded the scope of their advocacy. In early 1924, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire were taken to task over the war pictures they distributed to Canadian schools, which, as children's activist Lucy L. Woodsworth asserted, "bind the brains of the little ones to think of life in terms of competitive strife, jealousy, hatred, war."[105] The reach of anti-militarist activism became such that by 1930 a Toronto rabbi, speaking on the topic of "Education for Peace," called for an end to the "latest cult of militarism, the worship of the unknown soldier."[106] Chicago-born Maurice Eisendrath was a twenty-seven-year-old pacifist who was extremely outspoken in his beliefs, which included anti-militarism in all its guises. Memorials to the war dead were no exception, and Eisendrath felt not the slightest hesitation in lecturing his audience: "If you let your children gaze on the memorials to fallen soldiers; if you let them learn martial tunes, they will become cannon fodder."[107]

Toward the end of 1930, with the controversy over cadet training still raging, an Anglican rector from Toronto came to the defence of military training for boys. Canon Henry John Cody, of St. Paul's Church on Bloor Street, had been a Conservative member of provincial parliament and the Ontario minister of education from 1918 to 1919. Not surprisingly, he supported the concept of cadet training, and during the annual service of commemoration for the Queen's Own Rifles of Canada he acknowledged that "war is not the ideal of Christ, but there is evil in the world which has to be overcome and resisted. When it came [in 1914], would we have done better for the world, or for womankind, or for human progress, if we had

idly sat and allowed the hosts of wickedness to sweep over the earth?"[108] It was a profoundly obvious insight, but one that was lost on the more fervid anti-militarists.

As their movement became increasingly radical, the fanaticism of some adherents intensified—such as Macphail's unsuccessful attempt to curtail or eliminate federal government expenditures for not only cadet training, but also the Royal Military College of Canada, and the Canadian Militia as well.[109] Then there was John W. Buckley, the Trades and Labour Council secretary in Toronto, who early in the Great Depression, and on behalf of himself and the council's executive, voiced disapproval of the "war machine" atmosphere of the relief work camps proposed for northern Ontario.[110] But as extreme as this social campaigning could occasionally become, it was seldom, if ever, as overtly anti-patriotic as that of a Hamilton Board of Education school trustee. Like other anti-militarists, Agnes Sharpe vigorously objected to cadet training, but in May 1931 she made headlines by openly expressing her opposition to the "flaunting of the Union Jack in connection with Empire Day ceremonies in the schools, and that she did not sing the national anthem ["God Save the King"] and had not done so for many years."[111] Another form of anti-militarism involved the teaching of war, and a notable incident occurred in 1935 when Robert T. Thompson, a candidate for school trustee in Toronto, expressed himself in favour of revising all textbooks that glorified war.[112] Although Thompson failed in his bid for a seat on the school board, the idea of history without a romanticizing emphasis on warfare remained a priority for many anti-militarists, especially in the years immediately following the First World War.[113]

The publication of a new history textbook that more accurately reflected the horrors of that conflict was a major issue for the anti-militarists, who were determined to neutralize the ill effects of unfettered patriotism on Canadian schoolchildren. The concept was nothing new, and one of its early advocates in 1920 was William Loe Smith. A politically active newspaperman and founding member of the United Farmers of Ontario, Smith revealed the danger of allowing education to promote militarism under the cover of patriotism. Much of his knowledge of the subject was based on the findings of Dr. Henri Béland, a French Canadian medical practitioner and federal member of Parliament. Having been incarcerated in a German prison during the First World War, Béland published an account of his experiences in 1919. Included was his impression as to

the root cause of German militarism. According to Smith's reading of Béland's reminiscences, Prussian victories over Denmark, Austria, and France culminated in a dangerous form of German patriotism that was largely directed at children. Quoting Béland, Smith described how "the standard reading books in all the German schools were full of stories of cavalry charges, the taking of cities and so on." In this cunning way, "the intellects of the youth were impregnated with principles of militarism from the first day at school."[114] Sharing Béland's findings with the *Globe*'s readers, Smith expressed his own fear that a German-style of militarism might take hold in Canada, unless a better alternative was found for the teaching of history. Smith's solution was a more social type of history: "Let us see that the schools of this province and of this dominion impregnate the mind of the rising generation with the story of the sacrificial heroism of the pioneers who transformed a forest into fruitful fields; that the services rendered by all those who in any way have made life better worth living are held up for emulation."[115] Smith was not alone in his preference for demilitarized history. Similar concerns over the perceived war-mongering content of Canadian textbooks also found expression, and some of the more effective arguments against militarism of this sort were made by a re-elected federal member of Parliament.

Speaking before a Toronto meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in January of 1926, Agnes Macphail denounced the educational literature used throughout Canada, and especially in her home province. "All history and all textbooks in Ontario have a military bias," she declared, and the result was a form of education that "teaches a strutting nationalism."[116] Macphail proposed to rectify the situation with a complete overhaul: "If we are going to go any further on the road to international harmony, we must houseclean our minds."[117] While she was mainly concerned with the patriotic treatment afforded the First World War, it is conceivable—had Macphail and other anti-militarists been allowed their way—that much of Canada's military history might have been replaced with the stories of pioneer life favoured by Smith. Although the idea of excising the glorification of war from history textbooks was never far removed from the debate over anti-militarism, such a radical proposal had little chance of success. Most Canadians saw no harm in teaching their children to be patriotic, regardless of the degree to which militarism was included in the exercise. But even if the anti-militarists had met with a broad popular support in their efforts to

eradicate the history of conflict from Canada's textbooks, it was not likely to have been a sufficient deterrence against the nation's fascination with military heroism. Brock's popularity during this postwar period of rising anti-militarism would have been sustained regardless, mainly through the reprinting of his more popular biographies—Nursey's *The Story of Isaac Brock* in 1923; Eayrs's *Sir Isaac Brock* in 1924, 1926, and 1927; and Edgar's *General Brock* in 1926, 1927, and 1928.[118] As these various reprints attest, Canadians retained a strong interest in Brock's heroic story. Yet, biographies were not the only printed means by which his popularity was kept alive; novels carried a similar effect, and Canadian writers of fiction had a long tradition of utilizing Brock's patriotic virtues.[119]

As in the case of his textbook and biographical representations, wherein Brock was always treated approvingly, his fictionalized character was only ever given a positive part to play. This favourable bias continued throughout the 1920s, with several novels featuring Brock in a heroic supporting role—mainly to help situate stories in Upper Canada at the time of the War of 1812.[120] While perhaps not as effective as a full-fledged biography in promoting an appreciation for Brock, novels nonetheless contributed to his lingering appeal. The most popular of these fictional treatments was *The Runner: A Romance of the Niagaras*, published in 1929 by a United Church minister who wrote under the name of Ralph Connor. Rev. Charles William Gordon was described by a reviewer for the *Globe* as a "teller of tales that fascinate by action, variety and virility" and whose "dominating purpose is to entertain."[121] Of all the novels Gordon had written up to that point, *The Runner* was judged to be his "most important piece of fictional writing."[122] Among his cast of characters was Brock, who was portrayed in a sympathetic tone and whose death was immortalized with a eulogistic assessment of his military ability. With dramatic flair, Gordon wrote of the great loss that Canadians had sustained in Brock's death. A descriptive account of his funeral was particularly effective in this regard:

> Through a vast throng of weeping citizens the cortege moved to the strains of martial music and the booming of minute guns, the guns of the fort on both sides of the Niagara answering each other in mournful tribute to him who for ten years had been the inspiring genius of his country's defence, hammering into an effective fighting force the farmers, clerks, artisans, and traders of

> Upper Canada, and becoming for all peoples and all ages a shining example of devotion, pure and high, to his country's good.[123]

Engrossing though it was, Gordon's description of the gun salute was not entirely accurate. The British and American cannon were not fired in response to one another, as he seemed to imply. There was no such coordination between the opposing gun crews.[124] While it appears that most of Gordon's readers were willing to forgive his literary licence, this same lack of rigour became a sore point for one of the *Globe*'s more critical correspondents. Journalist and historian Lyman B. Jackes had several complaints with the novel, one of the more egregious being its description of the presentation of a daguerreotype in 1810—some thirty years before that photographic process was invented.[125] Without saying as much, Jackes also pointed out a major shortcoming connected with these fictionalized accounts of Brock's life—namely, the novelist's bias, or the unrealistic impression of a military genius who could do no wrong. Of course, this lack of objectivity was also evident in the biographies written about Brock, as well as in the histories and textbooks outlining his great military master strokes. Nonetheless, the occasional historical novel helped to bolster an appreciation for Brock. Along with shorter fictional stories, serialized in various newspapers and magazines, such novels served to remind Canadians, both young and old, of the immense debt they owed him. These occasional refreshers, especially during the economically depressed 1930s, helped to maintain Brock's enduring popularity—as did other forms of remembrance.

Throughout a decade of severe financial constraint, Brock continued to figure prominently during Empire Day celebrations. These annual school events remained popular, even in larger cities where cost-cutting measures eliminated most cadet parades in the early 1930s.[126] There was also the unbroken reverence of patriotic organizations such as the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, and the United Empire Loyalists' Association, all of which were effective to some degree in maintaining Brock's heroic status as the funding limitations imposed by the Depression made other forms of veneration impractical. But this routine approach to celebrating Brock's memory suddenly took a new and exciting turn in 1937, when it was announced that one of his distinguished relatives would soon be making a pilgrimage to Canada.[127] In addition to claiming Brock as her great-uncle, Arabella

Stuart Howell-Jones gave every impression of being an accomplished novelist setting out on a speaking tour to promote her latest book.[128] It was good newspaper copy, and there was a patriotic angle to the story given that Howell-Jones intended to pay a visit to Queenston Heights, the scene of her relative's last battle. Nothing more newsworthy had occurred at Brock's Monument since 1929, when the large stone arm of his statue came crashing down during a violent thunderstorm.[129]

The idea of a celebrity taking time out of her busy schedule to pay familial respects to a celebrated Canadian hero held great appeal, especially among the ladies of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire. Such was the sense of occasion that a number of these patriotic women were eager to open their homes to Brock's great-niece, and Howell-Jones graciously accepted their offers of hospitality at the various stops on her Canadian tour.[130] It was all in the line of duty for the Daughters of the Empire, whose main purpose was to promote British imperialism in Canada.[131] After engagements in Quebec City, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Welland, and Niagara Falls, Howell-Jones finally arrived in Queenston to much anticipation. Being the guest of honour, it had been decided that she should lay the wreath that was specially commissioned for the occasion.[132] By this point, considerable amounts of time, effort, and money had been lavished on Brock's great-niece, and so it was probably just as well that the event's organizers had been misled as to her actual relationship with the hero being honoured. As the granddaughter of one of Brock's first cousins, Howell-Jones was in fact not a great-niece but rather a first cousin, twice removed, and someone who was more distantly related to Brock than she either realized or cared to admit. There was also a sizable discrepancy with regard to her writing career.

Howell-Jones was not the novelist initial reports claimed, and as the subtitle of her book—*A Mother's Psychic Experiences with Her Loved Ones After Their Death*—clarified, Brock's feted relative was actually a spiritualist with an otherworldly message to share.[133] However, if Howell-Jones was not the eminent personage most Canadians were expecting of Brock's descendant, she nonetheless served as the inspiration for a significant open-air tribute in his honour. Together with various dignitaries, both civilian and military, Howell-Jones participated in a well-attended memorial service at Brock's Monument. Like the 1936 veterans' reunion held in conjunction with the unveiling of the memorial at Vimy Ridge, located at the site of a major Canadian victory during the First

World War, the spectacle arranged for Howell-Jones held a significance that extended well beyond Brock and his monument. For the attendees, it was an opportunity to reaffirm the Militia Myth and the Loyalist tradition, both of which had come under increasingly hostile scrutiny from the anti-militarist movement. Indeed, there were hints of both ideologies in the speech given by a past president of the Ontario Historical Society. In it, Louis Blake Duff began by portraying Brock as a mythical hero. "His greatness was no accident," Duff declared, adding that Brock's efforts penetrated from coast to coast.[134] "The spirit of 1812," he further asserted, "has dominated Canada in every era since. Brock's monument is not here nor at Brockville, nor in St. Paul's, in old London, but rather in the hearts of ten million Canadians. If it had not been for him, you might all be singing 'Yankee Doodle' today."[135]

Perhaps mindful of the visiting contingent of "befeathered chiefs of the Six Nations' Indians," Duff added "that had it not been for their support, no one could prophesy the probable result of the War of 1812."[136] But Chief Elliott Moses sensed a disparity in what Duff said that could not be ignored. First, however, he extended a gracious welcome to Howell-Jones, and in doing so expressed great pride in the alliance between his ancestors and the British as represented by Brock. With his next breath, however, the chief voiced his frustration over the indifference exhibited toward the Six Nations warriors who fought at the Battle of Queenston Heights. Unable to conceal his disappointment, an impassioned Moses expressed himself in the following manner: "I feel we have not received recognition that should have come to our people. There is not, to my knowledge any mention of the part they played anywhere on the monuments in this district."[137] The complaint certainly merited further consideration, and yet a dedicated monument in recognition of the Six Nations was never acted upon during Moses's long lifetime. It was not until 2016, nearly thirty-eight years after he died in 1978, that the Landscape of Nations Memorial was inaugurated on Queenston Heights.[138]

Having laid her wreath at the base of Brock's Monument, Howell-Jones lingered in Canada until mid-September 1937, when she returned to her home in Bristol, England.[139] Although she spent most of her time promoting a career in spiritualist public speaking, Howell-Jones was really no more self-serving than her Canadian hosts. By taking advantage of an opportunity to celebrate Brock, no matter how questionable it began to seem, they reinforced both the Militia Myth and the Loyalist

tradition. The Howell-Jones "pilgrimage" to Brock's Monument, despite having been something of a sham, was put to good use in staging what amounted to an imperial-themed patriotic revival. In this regard, it was a great success that nothing could surpass—not even a royal visit. When King George VI and Queen Elizabeth came to Canada in May 1939, one of their stops was at Brock's Monument, where hundreds of schoolchildren anxiously awaited the empire's ultimate role models. But unlike the hyped-up ceremony held for Howell-Jones, the royal couple's visit to Queenston Heights was a comparatively low-key affair. There was only time enough for a momentary viewing from their limousine.[140] While it was important to include a royal show of respect for Brock, given the great historical significance he held for Canadians, the affair likely had to be tempered to avoid the appearance of gloating over an American defeat. Another war in Europe was looming, and the king and his consort were soon to seek the goodwill of an important ally: the United States.[141] Canadian support could be relied upon, and so there was no particular need for a lavish ceremony at the tomb of the soldier who had become symbolic of Canada's strong attachment to the Crown. Besides which, the royal couple were welcomed with numerous lavish receptions along the route of their Canadian tour, Brock's Monument being just one of several attractions pointed out to them during a scenic drive from St. Catharines to Niagara Falls. A short time later, after a brief visit to the famous cataract, it was on to the aptly named General Brock Hotel and a small dinner party. Later that same night, the royal couple boarded a special train and crossed over the Niagara River into the United States.[142]

The royal visit of 1939 offered a sunny respite from the creeping threat of war, and it was an opportunity to remind Canadians of Brock's continued relevance. Yet, while his monument featured prominently in the royal tour through the Niagara Peninsula, the nation's press took little notice of the importance that Canadians attached to Brock's memory. It was a peculiarity of the times, one in which consideration for a potential wartime ally seemingly combined with financial restraints. The result was an apparent negative impact on the production of print materials regarding Brock. As was the case during the Great Depression, no new Brock biographies were published during the Second World War, and neither were there any additional reprints of those books that had warranted re-release in the 1920s. Rising production costs were a major factor, and like the conflict of a generation earlier, the return of war caused

production difficulties for Canadian publishers. However, increased sales and a new appreciation for the nation's writers presented just as many publishing opportunities.[143] Still, there was no pent-up demand for a new book on Brock. The market was well-saturated with previously published Brock biographies, and the Canadian government had no interest in using Brock's heroism as a propaganda tool. It was almost as though the primary purpose of Brock's heroic legacy had been entirely given over to the patriotic indoctrination of Canadian schoolchildren, but with the familiar old story of Brock's daring deeds being used to reflect a new vision of Canada—one that was more independent than imperial.

Although educational reading materials still retained a nostalgic bond with Brock, especially in textbooks and school readers, a more critical approach toward his memory was beginning to find favour elsewhere. This new development coincided with the increasingly analytical approach of professional historians, but it was more likely to be found in daily newspapers than scholarly journals. While there was little academic interest in Brock, the situation was rather different in the newsrooms of the nation. Like other subject matter that offered a change from constant reports of overseas warfare, the occasional column feature about Brock's exploits helped to relieve the monotony of wartime on the home front. Such articles made for good and patriotic reading, and it was in newsprint that some of the deeper considerations of Brock first began to appear. Included among them was his engagement to a young Upper Canadian woman.

Sophia Shaw was a daughter of Aeneas Shaw, adjutant general of the Upper Canadian Militia as well as a prominent member of the colony's legislative council.[144] With Shaw's homestead located near Fort York, where Brock was domiciled during his last posting to Upper Canada, there was the potential for social interaction that rang true and lent credibility to stories about a tragic love affair involving Shaw's daughter and the dashing British general. Poignantly, they told of Brock accepting a "stirrup cup" from his young fiancée before he rode off to meet his doom at Queenston Heights.[145] Sophia Shaw was left to mourn her loss, and based on her long preference for wearing black dresses, it was generally assumed that she grieved for Brock until the day she died.[146] Stories about this excessively doleful behaviour made their way into Toronto's newspapers with increasing frequency—and for good reason. Here was a touching tale with all the trappings of a Greek tragedy: a brave knight

cut down in his prime and a fair maiden forever bereft. But even if it appeared to have more in common with romantic fantasy than historical fact, there was a tendency among English-speaking Canadians (especially those with Anglo-Ontarian roots) to indulge family traditions with Loyalist overtones. Consequently, Sophia Shaw's engagement always generated a good deal of reader interest. It also commanded a fair amount of sympathy, as a hapless columnist for the *Globe and Mail* discovered late in 1941.

John V. McAree, a native of Toronto and a man well into his seventies, had never heard the story of Sophia Shaw's romance.[147] So, when he came into possession of what he thought was "a hitherto-unpublished bit of Canadiana concerning the hero of the Battle of Queenston Heights," McAree decided to devote the better part of a column to sharing the revelation.[148] Under a suitably enticing title, "Was Brock Betrothed to a Girl in York?," he introduced his readers to Sophia Shaw. "So far as we are aware," McAree trumpeted, "her name has not been mentioned in connection with Brock, though there was a general belief that he had lost his heart to some one."[149] Having failed to find so much as a hint of Brock's intentions "in any contemporary records or in his own family correspondence," McAree decided to take his chances and "blurt it out."[150] Just over a week later, he got a public dressing down for his ignorance of Sophia Shaw's claim to fame. Making use of the jabbing title "Historical Romance Well Known," another popular *Globe and Mail* columnist berated McAree with the facts of the case. Writing under her pen name of Bride Broder, Mary White had no qualms about correcting a male colleague in the pages of the same newspaper. In very frank and slightly condescending language, she set the appropriate tone: "No apprehensiveness need be felt by any one mentioning the fact of the engagement between Miss Sophia Shaw and General Sir Isaac Brock, and our fellow-columnist (Fourth) need have no compunction about blurting out (as he said) the story. It has been spoken of in print a number of times—we have even touched on it ourselves, once or twice, when occasion arose."[151]

Despite the definitive stance White took regarding the factual nature of this important early Upper Canadian engagement, the evidence she produced in support of it was anything but conclusive. Her one and only source was an old journal article describing a charity bazaar held at York in about the year 1830, where "one of the stellar attractions" happened to be "a lady dressed in deep mourning and heavily veiled-Miss Shaw."[152] Of

course, the connection to Shaw's engagement was inferred, and McAree, whose own stance had by now hardened, was not entirely convinced it had anything to do with Brock. Although he was willing to admit his error in assuming that he had scooped everyone in the newspaper world with news of Brock's engagement to Sophia Shaw, McAree tried to save face by making it known that the story White so readily accepted was lacking in proof. He did so in a roundabout fashion, by expressing a belief "no doubt that Norman Shaw of North Hinksey, Oxford, who is writing a book [on the Shaws], will be able to publish original letters fully confirming what heretofore seems to have been little more than a family tradition."[153] It was actually a sly challenge to the myth that McAree rightly suspected.[154] But a far greater challenge to the various long-held and largely unassailable notions of Brock was that involving Roger Hale Sheaffe, and—like Sophia Shaw's engagement—it, too, made fodder for newsprint.

Sheaffe's generalship had become something of an issue several months earlier, when his much-maligned legacy was reviewed in the columns of the *Globe and Mail*. Although Sheaffe was the true victor of the Battle of Queenston Heights, he had long been stigmatized by Torontonians for his failure to defend York during an American attack in 1813. Largely overlooked and forgotten, his sad case was taken up by Fred Williams in mid-July 1941. Williams, an elderly journalist with an interest in history, wrote in recognition of the ninetieth anniversary of Sheaffe's death, bemoaning his neglect and insisting that "it must surely be possible to honor the man who turned the tide of battle and drove the enemy back into the Niagara River after they had possessed the heights all day, without detracting from the pride we all feel in Isaac Brock."[155] As Williams further enlightened his readers,

> Historians and orators write and talk their praises of Brock, but few of them have a word of commendation for the man who won the victory after Brock's death. They pass over the very important fact that if the invaders were routed that day it was due to the strategy and military resource of Roger Hale Sheaffe. Had he lived, Brock might—probably would[—]have achieved the same result, but he died in his gallant but reckless charge at the head of the York Volunteers, and it was Sheaffe who won the victory.[156]

While there was a degree of public support for Williams's radical view of the past, his proposal for a memorial of some kind for Sheaffe was greeted less than enthusiastically, especially in Toronto. Williams expected as much, given that there was still a general perception that the citizens of York had been left to their fate in 1813, but he was surprised by the persistence of this "old-time Toronto antipathy toward Sheaffe."[157] One United Empire Loyalist descendant he encountered "was most vehement in her contention that Sheaffe had 'betrayed the people of York to save his own skin.' I tried to convince her that Sheaffe, with his small force of regulars, had no alternative but to retire towards Kingston, then a much more important military post than York; but all to no avail."[158] What Williams failed to appreciate was how the long-lasting nature of this peculiar displeasure was exacerbated by an intergenerational admiration for Brock, which only served to prolong the disdain felt for Sheaffe. Temperament was often cited to explain the differing leadership styles of these two generals, and it was a local historian from southwestern Ontario who provided *Globe and Mail* readers with an exercise in contrasts that reinforced this view.

Writing from Chatham, Ontario, journalist and freelance writer Victor Lauriston concluded that "Brock was a brilliant, dashing soldier, of a type that even now is rare; Sheaffe was an extreme example of the martinet officer [or strict disciplinarian], who in those days was only too common."[159] While critical of both officers, Lauriston summed up their individual character traits with an assessment that was clearly biased in favour of Brock:

> The glorifying of Brock, the practical ignoring of Sheaffe, seems largely due to the contrasted characters of the two men. Some years before the war, Sheaffe's cruelties led to a serious mutiny at St. George [Fort George]: Brock quieted the mutiny by sheer force of personality. Brock was loved, alike by his soldiers and by the colonists; Sheaffe was merely hated and endured. Brock died gloriously at the head of a forlorn hope; Sheaffe won a methodical battle at the head of adequate forces. Brock's death filled the colony with a sense of bereavement; Sheaffe's departure filled it with a sense of relief. No man could, or did, take Brock's place; Sheaffe's place could be filled by any well-trained, resolute and

> unflinching British officer. And finally, Brock is still an inspiration to Canadians—Sheaffe isn't and never was.[160]

By looking beyond strategic considerations, Lauriston recognized Sheaffe's interpersonal failings as another reason for the snub inflicted upon him. Yet, had Lauriston placed greater emphasis on the importance of his observation about Brock's inspirational leadership, he might also have recognized the significance of the Militia Myth and the Loyalist tradition in defining the historic worth of both Brock and Sheaffe. While these traditional misconceptions promoted a positive remembrance of Brock, they also served to mitigate Sheaffe's victory. A lacklustre performance at York had nullified Sheaffe's heroism and also his usefulness in promoting patriotism for the sake of nation building. But Lauriston did not think about Sheaffe in such nuanced terms, and neither did Williams for that matter. Williams simply wanted to give Sheaffe his due, and Lauriston fancied an opportunity to engage in some military psychoanalysis for the readers of a big-city daily newspaper. Not surprisingly, the critique Lauriston offered did nothing to advance the cause of a memorial to Sheaffe. With the passage of two years, however, there was a new and exciting development in what Williams saw as a high-profile endorsement of his proposal.

In August of 1943, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill paid a flying visit to Niagara Falls in advance of his first military conference at Quebec. Accompanied by an entourage including his youngest daughter, Churchill spent an hour milling about Table Rock before setting out by car for Brock's Monument.[161] It was on the terrace of the nearby Queenston Heights Restaurant that Churchill suddenly put his Canadian attendants on the spot by raising the issue of a monument to Sheaffe. Expressing puzzlement at Brock's decision to launch an attack against the American-held heights with insufficient forces, Churchill then casually inquired as to why no similarly impressive monument had been erected to Sheaffe. The feeble explanation—that he was honoured with a marker somewhere—failed to satisfy Churchill, prompting him to speculate that Sheaffe was denied the honour "because he wasn't killed."[162] Pouncing on the remarks of "that wizard of war strategy and master of military history," Williams conjectured that "this expert opinion upon the historic battle may induce the people of Ontario to, even yet, pay tribute to the man whose brilliant tactics turned defeat into victory."[163] Unfortunately

for Williams, and despite his attempt to put Churchill's innocent or not-so-innocent remarks to good use, they failed to bring about a monument for Sheaffe.[164] Rather, the quip reverberated throughout the country without inviting much comment—except in southern Manitoba. There, a columnist for the influential *Winnipeg Free Press* took umbrage, not only with the British leader's audacity in criticizing Brock, but also his flippancy regarding "the Canadian people's sense of proportion in erecting at Queenston Heights that magnificent memorial column which broods over Niagara peninsula and sends its beneficent shadows east to the farthest tip of Cape Breton, and west to touch the blue Pacific as it laps Vancouver Island. That shadow which travels through the hearts of men."[165] While Kennethe M. Haig was irritated by the prime minister's lack of decorum, she was also willing to concede that "Mr. Churchill could not know that he was treading upon a Canadian dream."[166]

Born on a farm near Brandon, Manitoba, Haig was a middle-aged journalist who was just as outspoken as she was patriotic. And being a proud Canadian, she thought nothing of lecturing Churchill on the inspirational importance of Brock's heroism at Queenston Heights. With the Second World War having become an inescapable fact of life, Brock served as a strong if underutilized symbol of Canadian resolve to defend both country and empire. In Haig's romantic way of expressing it, "he died, but the impress of his spirit remained and fought again, and again, and again. Brock, riding through the mists."[167] It was a popular old notion, the idea that Brock's heroic sacrifice animated his men to fight on to victory, and Haig made full use of the imagery by observing that "Brock still rides. Ah yes, Mr. Churchill. He rode with Canada's airmen over your . . . and our . . . London. He rides with the ships at sea. He rides in far lands where the Canadians go."[168] It was the unmistakable expression of a common bond, and to Haig Brock's Monument was a tangible representation of the interconnectedness between Canadian nationalism and British imperialism. Underlying this sentiment, however, was a strong sense of independence. As far as Haig was concerned, Canada won the War of 1812. "Yes, Canada won the war. True, with Britain's help. But Canada won it. Won it at Queenston Heights . . . where Brock died."[169] After unwittingly paying homage to the Militia Myth, Haig returned to Brock's Monument and in her concluding remarks pleadingly explained, "That's what this memorial column means, Mr. Churchill. That is what it says to Canadians. Please, Mr. Churchill, step softly, because you tread on our

dreams."[170] Despite her highly figurative language, Haig's "dreams" can be safely characterized as dreams of nationhood. And while she assumed to speak on behalf of all Canadians, most of these same Canadians appear to have forgiven the British prime minister his slight indiscretion. After all, Churchill was one of the world's greatest wartime leaders and his mere presence in Canada was an important recognition of the country's contribution to the Allied war effort. Haig, however, was far too principled to let an injustice go unanswered, not that it really mattered. Churchill was either oblivious or indifferent to his diplomatic misstep at Queenston Heights, Haig's protest hardly registered beyond her readership, and the laurel wreath still belonged to Brock.

That Brock's influence could have been as profound as Haig tried to impress upon her readers is difficult to imagine, except when the broader context is considered. Most of Canada's armed forces in the Second World War had been immersed in a Brock cult of personality from an early age, as were their civilian counterparts. This was especially true of the men and women who attended school in Ontario, Western Canada, the Maritimes, and Quebec's Anglo enclaves (less so among the province's French Canadian majority). It was by and large the result of educational indoctrination that Brock remained an important national and military hero, despite having exploits that were rooted in the distant past. Curiously, and as was the case during the First World War, there was no authorized attempt by the federal government to make use of his heroic legacy for recruitment or propaganda purposes. This apparent oversight might seem surprising, given Brock's well-known heroics, but with the exception of Churchill and the royal family, Canada's propaganda apparatus focused much of its output on the bravery of ordinary soldiers and the civilians who supported them. Brock was thus passed over in favour of an unknown but relatable cast of everyday Canadians, and their military leaders fared no better—perhaps because none of them, specifically the country's high-ranking army generals, could match his charisma.[171] But while Brock was far less relevant to the war effort against the Axis powers, there were still patriotic reminders of his enduring popularity, besides those emanating from the classrooms of the nation. They were mainly inconsequential newspaper and magazine human-interest items, stories that recounted the high points of his military career. There was also the occasional story with a new angle. In November of 1942, for example, the *Globe and Mail* reported the presentation of a small travelling

trunk to the University of Toronto. But while the donor thought the trunk had once belonged to Brock's wife, it was soon found to have been the property of a sister-in-law, Lucy (Short) Brock, who was the wife of James Brock, a cousin of the famous general.[172]

It was just as well for Brock's enduring popularity that he remained an important role model for Canadian schoolchildren, whose history textbooks persisted in their fondness toward him. The Militia Myth and Loyalist tradition also continued to be promoted, along with the intrinsic importance of the British Empire. Although the Canadian government had formally exercised its autonomy in foreign affairs since the enactment of the 1931 Statute of Westminster (as evidenced by its delay in declaring war on Germany in 1939), this new status was still largely symbolic. Just as there was no doubt that Canada would join in the fight against the Nazis, its place in the British Empire—while evolving toward greater autonomy—was viewed by many Canadians as no less a given. Most of these same Canadians paid little heed to the rejigged relationship, and Empire Day continued to reinforce the idea among schoolchildren that Canada was a British nation. While Brock might not have been celebrated to quite the same extent during these and other school exercises, he was still highly regarded, and the nation's history textbooks always represented him in a favourable manner. Some of the more popular editions did so well into the 1950s, including several by George W. Brown, a University of Toronto history professor. His Brock was "a gallant officer, quick in decision, bold in action. He had studied every detail of Upper Canada's defences, and made his preparations with the greatest care. Instead of adopting a cautious defensive policy, as ninety-nine generals out of a hundred would have done with his limited forces, Brock took the offensive."[173]

Having written this passage in the early part of the Second World War, Brown presented Canadian high school students with a hero for their times—one whose services were an inspiration, and whose imposing monument recalled "their debt to Sir Isaac Brock."[174] Brown's *Building the Canadian Nation*, first published in 1942, succeeded in textbook popularity by presenting Canadian history in an "easy narrative style" with "clear, straightforward English prose."[175] Reading more like a novel, Brown's textbook turned a potentially "heavy, stupid sort of recital into interesting human drama."[176] By doing so, he helped to secure an

unquestioningly positive view of Brock among young and impressionable Canadian teenagers.

In 1949, Brown followed up with a collaborative effort to produce a history textbook for public school students.[177] *The Story of Canada* was another rewarding exercise in educational publishing, and so, too, was its French version, released in 1952.[178] Having taken the advice they solicited from teachers in every province, and no doubt cognizant of Brown's earlier success with *Building the Canadian Nation*, he and his co-authors decided to write in a similar fashion for their junior school audience. And hoping to replicate the same level of student enthusiasm that supplementary readings generated, they presented Canadian history as a series of adventure stories. "Some are told by those who saw them happen, some are told by the very people to whom they happened. Still others are told as if they were taking place in front of us."[179] Brown and his co-authors had an inkling that engaging storytelling would "make boys and girls hungry for still more stories," while at the same time firing their imaginations so that they might develop a special appreciation of historic events, such as hearing "the cannon roar from Queenston Heights."[180] Despite the apparent novelty of this approach, it was actually reminiscent of Agnes C. Laut's use of popular narrative from nearly forty years earlier, except that she never managed to break into the lucrative textbook market. Still, her refreshing style of writing Canadian history might very well have influenced the format and content utilized by Brown and his collaborators, who perhaps read her books as children. In any case, the success enjoyed by *The Story of Canada* was also a sign of the times.

During the 1940s, the literary editor and critic William Arthur Deacon noticed a steady rise in the output of the Canadian publishing industry, especially in the first year of peace following the end of the Second World War. In 1946 alone, the country's reading public was supplied with books in unprecedented numbers, so that everyone "may find at least one book that suits him, while the average reader has found many."[181] There was also a marked rise in the publication of historically themed novels, and at the apex of this literary trend were stories celebrating the pioneer experience. In English-speaking Canada especially, the Loyalist saga inspired both a novel and a sequel.[182] In *Boughs Bend Over*, published in 1943, Maida Parlow French harkened back to the experiences of those Loyalist émigrés who settled on the St. Lawrence River after the American Revolution, while her 1947 sequel—*All This to*

Keep—carried the saga through to the War of 1812.[183] By making good use of the interplay between the Loyalist tradition and the Militia Myth, French's well-crafted novels enjoyed considerable success.[184] For this reason, it was likely no great surprise when another children's writer decided to make similar good use of Canadian history.

After publishing *Treason at York* in 1949, John F. Hayes was immediately acclaimed a modern-day Henty—the English author whose action-packed stories had enthralled children of earlier generations.[185] In conjuring up the exciting chance encounters of an adolescent boy living near York during the War of 1812, Hayes imagined Brock at the centre of a traitorous assassination attempt.[186] After inadvertently saving the general's life, the book's youthful protagonist lurched from one thrilling wartime experience to another. It was how Hayes set about "trying to adventurize Canada's past," and he was richly rewarded for his efforts by way of congratulatory reviews, one of which pronounced *Treason at York* a "magnificent work in making Canadian history exciting to teen-age readers."[187] The approbation that came with this style of writing encouraged Hayes to continue producing children's adventure stories, two of which subsequently received the Governor General's Award for juvenile fiction.[188]

Speaking to a writers' convention in 1952, Hayes gave his audience some valuable insights into the secret of his literary success. Experience had taught him that young people were not uninterested in their heritage when it involved adventure, and by weaving fact with fiction history became palatable to adolescent tastes. As vice-president and general manager of the Southam Press newspaper chain, Hayes had some familiarity with Canadian book publishing, but he also benefited from having Marsh Jeanneret—one of the co-authors of the popular *Story of Canada* textbook—as his editor at Copp Clark. With this connection, Hayes was able to tap into the support and advice of a well-respected children's author who also happened to be a leading Canadian book publisher.[189] Yet, for all the accolades he received, Hayes was noticeably defensive about his role in using artistic licence to promote the study of Canadian history. In winding down his speech at the writers' convention, he demanded to know how many history books told the true story of Canada. Argumentatively, he asked, "do they properly recognize Sheaffe for his valour at Queenston in the War of 1812?"[190] Despite his testiness, however, Hayes carried on with his secondary career as a writer of historical

fiction for children. And by using adventure to engage the interest of easily bored adolescents, his novels contributed to a revival of historical themes in educational and trade publications. Moreover, *Treason at York* helped to keep Brock alive in the popular imagination of young readers, not only in Ontario but throughout much of Canada and for the better part of a quarter century.[191]

The immediate postwar period was a time of exceptional prosperity for Canada, and also increased production for the Canadian publishing industry. These upturns heralded a renewed interest in Brock's biography. While he had remained an icon of Canadian heroism throughout the Second World War, his relevance was largely confined to the many juvenile biographies that had already been published about him, of which innumerable copies were still to be found in schools and libraries across the country. There was no shortage of reading material attesting to his greatness, but by the mid-1950s the time was finally ripe for a new look at Brock's life. More than twenty-five years had passed since the last children's book on Brock was reprinted in 1927, and something along the lines of a Hayes novel seemed to suggest itself.[192] There was clearly a market for a lively book geared to young readers interested in history, and for one publisher a nominally factual biography of Brock fit the bill quite nicely—even if the publisher in question was headquartered in the United States. In 1954, Random House managed to cajole Samuel Hopkins Adams, a popular writer from upstate New York, into writing a biography of Brock for its series of World Landmark Books. The idea for this children's book originated with the company's co-founder, Bennett Cerf, who was keen to generate sales in Canada.[193] He also felt it was important to "play up" Tecumseh and Niagara Falls for the larger American market.[194] Cerf probably recognized that the biographies of Brock and Tecumseh intersected one another, if only for a brief time at Detroit. What he could not have known, however, was the degree to which Brock was favoured over Tecumseh by most English-speaking Canadians.

Having served the interests of their militia and Loyalist ancestors, Brock was looked upon by this Anglo population as one of their own. Tecumseh, however, was not accorded the same level of acceptance. He remained a curiosity of his race, a "good Indian" they could well appreciate but never fully comprehend. For Adams, this fine distinction was an unknown condition of the Canadian experience, if for no other reason than he was an elderly man in failing health who was less than

enthusiastic about Cerf's proposition. As Adams freely admitted, "his ignorance of Brock was abysmal."[195] Still, having become intrigued by the idea of a new book about Brock, the octogenarian writer signed on for the project. Using whatever secondary source materials he could quickly and easily lay his hands on, Adams soon got to work on a manuscript. After some unavoidable editorial delays, the oddly titled *General Brock and Niagara Falls* was finally published at the end of 1957.[196] At first glance, there was little to recommend it, other than the specially commissioned artwork that was used to illustrate the book. However, the manner in which it was written made this latest biography of Brock exceptional, and not merely because it constituted Canadian social engineering by an American. By putting aside patriotic bias, Adams was able to express himself in a relatively balanced and thoughtful manner. Thus it transpired that the American author of a children's book became the first Brock biographer to rise above all the hagiography that distorted his subject's life.[197] Unfortunately, no matter how much Adams tried to be objective, he still took liberties with the facts. Poetic licence was another common failing among popular writers who dabbled in history, including those who wrote about Brock's life. But while his biography was still firmly rooted in the domain of children's literature, it was beginning to attract the notice of Canadian professional historians—albeit those working in a similarly popular mode.

5

Differing Approaches

With the approach of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Queenston Heights helping to raise a new awareness of Brock, the early 1960s were somewhat reminiscent of the glory days at the turn of the twentieth century, when his reputation as a national hero was unsurpassed throughout much of Canada. Having also become a potent role model for educational purposes, Brock's biography was an attractive proposition to publishers, and especially those in the field of children's literature. While his life was not celebrated to the same degree in the extended postwar era, it was still well regarded and for the same reasons as earlier in the century: patriotism and nationalism. After some fifty years, however, the tenor of these sentiments had shifted from thoroughly British to mainly Canadian.

Although Canada had long been evolving toward a more autonomous relationship with the British Empire, the process quickened in the decades following the Second World War. As the empire transformed itself into a commonwealth of former colonies, and Canada increasingly aligned itself militarily, economically, and culturally with the United States, diversified immigration helped to hasten a societal movement toward multiculturalism and away from an imperial attachment. But even as burgeoning Canadian nationalism began to usurp former pro-British tendencies and traditions, there remained a deep—if somewhat shrinking—appreciation for Brock. There was also a growing propensity to regard him as something more than just the Hero of Upper Canada. He transformed easily into a Canadian hero, and in this expanded role he warranted the recognition of a rising nation-state whose youth were still taught to look up to him as a role model worthy of patriotic emulation. Toward the end of this same postwar period, Brock began to attract greater attention from beyond the juvenile realm. Although much of his

enduring popularity was perpetuated in children's literature, he was also becoming the subject of greater adult interest with a mix of academic and popular treatments of his military life. A noteworthy example was W. Kaye Lamb's literary contribution to the sesquicentenary of Brock's death. When *The Hero of Upper Canada* was published in 1962, Lamb was Canada's Dominion archivist, national librarian, and the first of Brock's academic biographers to write something other than children's literature.[1] Yet, Lamb's book was hardly the scholarly production his peers might have expected of him. With bright-red fabric covers meant to imitate a British officer's uniform and a text written in a simple and unassuming style, it was a charming little volume that could easily be mistaken for a school primer of some kind. In reality, Lamb produced what amounted to a salesman's sample, a booklet showcasing the printer's talents and advertising the wide range of printing services offered by Rous and Mann Limited of Toronto. The basic arrangement was described by a writer for the *Globe and Mail*, who revealed "the custom of Rous and Mann Press Ltd. to bring out, from time to time, books for private distribution. These are prestige pieces of typographic design and fine pages of text or illustration. They are always noteworthy for nicety of tone in paper, ink and type itself as relevant to the subject."[2]

Distributed to clients in appreciation for their patronage, these little keepsakes became very popular among a general, albeit limited, audience of adult readers.[3] It was a clever marketing ploy, and Lamb's name lent credibility to the latest iteration of the scheme.[4] Moreover, Lamb had a strong ally in the person of William Stewart Wallace. As one of Canada's pre-eminent historians, Wallace complimented Lamb for a "calm, restrained sketch" that also shunned "the language of hero-worship."[5] Ignoring the fact that Lamb's research was completely wanting in original sources, Wallace went on to proclaim that *The Hero of Upper Canada* "is history as it should be written."[6] With this seal of approval, it is perhaps surprising that Lamb's booklet was never put to greater educational use. Rather, it remained a limited-edition souvenir courtesy of Rous and Mann.[7]

When Lamb was first approached by Rous and Mann in December of 1960, the Canadian fur trade was tentatively agreed upon as the theme for his contribution. However, Brock came to take precedence during the lead-up to the special anniversary of his death in October of 1962.[8] But less than three months prior to the arrival of that auspicious date, there was

an unnerving discovery relating to the sesquicentenary. A feature writer for the *Globe and Mail* had detected a lackadaisical attitude toward the commemoration. To Kay Kritzwiser, who "always had such a romantic thing" for Brock, this seeming indifference suggested a disturbing trend, and the investigative journalism she conducted at Brock's Monument pointed out a shocking degree of ignorance.[9] After interactions with both visiting tourists and local residents, Kritzwiser decided to write an exposé based on her experiences. Under a rather provocative title ("Has Everyone Forgotten Brock?"), Kritzwiser presented her findings in the form of a damning indictment by which she hoped to shame Canadians into taking notice of the quickly approaching sesquicentenary. As the wordy subtitle of her article clarified, "A memorial to the general who led Queenston Heights defenders is seen by thousands each week but few know its significance."[10] Yet, while Kritzwiser was dismayed by the shrugging attitude that greeted many of her inquiries about Brock, she was not entirely pessimistic. "Hazy on history they may be," she acknowledged, "but incurious the visitors are not."[11] To Kritzwiser, it was not a lack of interest but a stodgy presentation of the past that prompted the many aggravating "Who's Brock?" retorts she was forced to endure. The solution was difficult to gauge, until the monument's "ticket-taker" beckoned her to read a yellowed newspaper article, one of many he tacked up for reference purposes. Heeding his call, Kritzwiser soon realized what she thought was missing from the story about Brock. It was romance, and specifically that which he supposedly shared with Sophia Shaw. Whether or not Kritzwiser actually believed the old love story, historical accuracy was not really the issue, because "here was the magic ingredient to bring the tourists sighing, a Jeanette MacDonald-Nelson Eddy epic in technicolor, as potent as a new moon and a bright relief to the sober accounts of history in the schoolbooks."[12] But while historical romance was an important consideration, it was not the only one. Marketing was another.

At the top of Brock's Monument, Kritzwiser had a chance encounter with Thelma Reid Lower, a well-known poet from Vancouver, British Columbia. Along with her historian husband, J. Arthur Lower (not to be confused with Arthur R. M. Lower), she had travelled to Ontario to satisfy an "appetite" for Canada's heritage. In the Niagara Peninsula, the Lowers found history at every turn. Yet, they deplored the banality of its promotion: "There are plaques to mark the sites, Mrs. Lower said, but nothing visual to kindle the imagination."[13] Likely referring to the

region's various battlefields, given that there were full-scale reconstructions of Fort Erie and Fort George to inspire tourists with a sense of the past, Lower perhaps envisioned better signage and brochures to enhance the visitor experience—presumably by providing additional context to historic sites like Brock's Monument. In any case, she seems to have expressed a common complaint in the early 1960s: the failure to effectively market Canadian history. A soaring neoclassical monument, though impressive to behold, soon lost much of its appeal when tourists had to wait on the ticket taker to learn something more about Brock, the Battle of Queenston Heights, and the War of 1812. And so, while Ontario's Niagara region was blessed with historic sites, and tourism had been on the rise since the end of the Second World War, there was an increasing need to somehow bring its history to life. The same situation held true for Brock, and Kritzwiser touched on the problem when she mentioned the original stone arm from Brock's statue atop the monument's column, which had fallen during a storm in 1929 and was put on display as a curiosity to engage visitors. The importance of making history accessible and interesting was especially evident among young people, and Brock's arm appealed to their imaginations. But in observing how "children reared on television monsters stand enchanted by its awesome size," she also alluded to a much greater challenge: the negative influence of a relatively new cultural phenomenon.[14] Television, and American television in particular, threatened to supplant Canadian heroes like Brock with those of foreign countries. Such was the conclusion of Charles P. Stacey, whose feature article on the subject was titled with a question for readers of the *Globe Magazine*: "Who Are Canada's Heroes?" In this piece, he explained the reasons behind what he perceived to be a general decline in the popularity of traditional Canadian heroes—an attitude not unlike the indifference Kritzwiser encountered at Brock's Monument.

Stacey argued that while Canadians had heroes worthy of notice, it was their American and British counterparts who had come to dominate the country's imagination. In enumerating the reasons for this misdirected enthusiasm, he acknowledged that an increasing recognition of the country's multicultural origins, as well as intensifying sectionalism between French and English Canada, made it difficult to embrace the country's old standard set of heroes (including Brock, who was foremost among them). By 1964, when Stacey's article was published, Canada was developing a greater confidence in its own future as an autonomous

nation. However, the country's ties with the United Kingdom remained strong and affectionate—a special relationship that failed to move Stacey, who viewed all external influences as detrimental to the recognition of a distinctly Canadian brand of heroism. Imported heroes, notably British and American, were a particular problem as much of the preferential treatment afforded them was due to a widespread inferiority complex. As Stacey remarked, "for a long time it was hard for Canadians to believe that a colonial could be as important as a genuine Englishman, or even an American; and to a certain extent this feeling still holds."[15] Brock remained in high esteem because he was a British general, but the military prominence he gained during a war from Canada's colonial past also made him something of an anachronism—a national hero who hailed from elsewhere. To Stacey, it was a mere technicality, and one that had to be accepted: A Canadian hero did not have to be born in Canada. Moreover, Brock rated special consideration. His "successful defense of Upper Canada against tremendous moral and material odds," as well as the courage he demonstrated at the Battle of Queenston Heights, entitled him to full recognition as a Canadian hero.[16] What Stacey failed to consider, however, was the strong and sustaining influence of the Militia Myth and the Loyalist tradition on Brock's enduring popularity. To Stacey, it was simply a hero's natural ability to secure a "place in his countrymen's hearts and minds for generations."[17] No thought was given to anything more contrived, such as social engineering. And the fact that most of Brock's still considerable popularity was mainly an Ontario phenomenon did not strike him as being an issue. Nor was this regional trend sufficient grounds to remove his name from Stacey's list of Canadian heroes. Ontario was the nation's leading province, and as such its heroes were also Canada's heroes.

As Stacey suspected, Canadians of the mid-1960s were losing interest in great men like Brock—and he held them partly to blame. In trying to account for what he saw as a failing to take their heroes seriously, Stacey briefly considered that his fellow citizens were perhaps too sophisticated "to go overboard for this sort of thing."[18] More convincingly, he also thought that, like the widespread inferiority complex he theorized, it had something to do with inherent feelings of inadequacy, in the sense "that we are unsure of ourselves as a nation."[19] A major contributor to this condition was the perfect deluge of "books and periodicals written by British and U.S. authors who hardly know that Canada exists, leading

Canadians to admire other countries' great men, whose lives consequently become part of our folklore. Canadian authors have suffered because of the same colonial prejudice. Canadians have found it difficult to believe that a Canadian book could be as much worth reading as one by an Englishman or American."[20]

Exacerbating the problem were foreign movie and television industries, which immortalized the heroes of other nations, especially those of the United States and Britain. Stacey looked upon these external cultural influences as a type of propaganda, "which is all the more effective because it is not intended as propaganda at all. Hollywood, U.S. television and English film-makers are not interested in Canadian subjects. The result is that Canada's history and biography reach the Canadian viewing public only through films and programs originating with agencies financed by the Canadian government—the Canadian Broadcasting Corp[oration] and the National Film Board."[21] It was not surprising to Stacey that young Canadians were becoming more aware of American and British heroes than their own, even one as outstanding as Brock.[22] Moreover, advances in broadcast technology were clearly having detrimental effects on the way Canada's past was being taught in school. "Canadian historians and textbook writers (the two are not necessarily the same) may not always do as well as they should," Stacey grudgingly admitted, "but even the best textbook will usually lose the battle for the attention of the young when the competitor is a television set."[23] With this relatable observation, Stacey pointed out the degree to which public education in Canada was failing to inspire an interest in the country's heroes.

Some fifty years earlier, in the opening decades of the twentieth century, the patriotic curriculum of schoolchildren in Ontario and much of the rest of English-speaking Canada included a healthy dose of Brock hero worship. By the 1960s, much less emphasis was placed on his heroic story. While it was impossible to ignore Brock completely, given the prominent role he played in Canadian history, there was an increasing tendency to treat his accomplishments in a less celebratory and more matter-of-fact manner. This new, toned-down approach to teaching about Brock and other national heroes was evident in both the country's history textbooks and its classrooms, where War of 1812 studies were reserved for older students—adolescents who were generally apathetic when it came to outmoded attempts to teach them about Canadian history. The extent of the

problem became painfully obvious in 1968, after a history master at the Trinity College School in Port Hope, Ontario, published a controversial report on the state of civic education in Canada, and especially "the influence of formal instruction in developing the feelings and attitudes of young Canadians toward their country and its problems."[24]

Written by Alfred Birnie Hodgetts for the National History Project (which he founded to facilitate his research), the report's findings presented a damning assessment of the teaching methods used to promote the study of Canadian civics, social studies, and history. Based on observations carried out in schools across the country, Hodgetts concluded that the methods employed were "not stimulating as many young Canadians as they should to take a responsible interest in the affairs of their own country."[25] And while good citizenship was the justification for improving the way in which Canadian history was taught, history as a patriotic exercise was frowned upon for fear that "our school systems should be perverted to develop intense nationalism."[26] However, "low-key patriotism" and the promise it held for "an intelligent, knowledgeable affection for one's country" remained legitimate educational goals.[27] To Hodgetts, history for its own sake was simply untenable, and the greater civic purpose had been squandered through a pedantic pedagogy.[28] Such teaching was a "bland, unrealistic consensus version of our past; a dry-as-dust chronological story of uninterrupted political and economic progress told without the controversy that is an inherent part of history."[29] As Hodgetts elaborated,

> Seventy-five percent of the classes in our survey were struggling with one or other of the two most universally condemned teaching methods. In some cases, the students were "bench-bound listeners," lined up in rows, sitting passively, while a "talking textbook" [teacher] rhymed off material that they could have read and digested for themselves. More frequently, they were going through the mechanical, question-answer routine based on the discrete, factual recall of a few assigned pages in the textbook.[30]

And history textbooks were a large part of the problem.

For Hodgetts, who wanted students to become more active participants in the lessons they learned, it was imperative that they be exposed to new and critical interpretations of the past in order to attain a greater

awareness and appreciation of Canadian history. A major obstacle to Hodgetts's progressive ideas was the heavy reliance of Canadian education on outdated textbooks, by which he meant the concept of textbook learning itself. Textbooks by their very nature were stultifying, and as Hodgetts complained, "The material is a compendium of facts; the manner of presentation is chronological story-telling, seldom analytical and practically never interpretative."[31] One textbook was just as bad as another, and none of them succeeded in giving students "an interesting, controversial, interpretative or meaningful view of history."[32] The inevitable consequence was the potential for students to become bored and frustrated by their history classes. In almost a quarter of those classes monitored by Hodgetts's team, the students were "actively bored," as he termed it, and used "a variety of rather interesting techniques to relieve the monotony," including such antics as "scuffing their feet in unison; deliberately dropping books on the floor; dueling with rulers; sticking compass points into each other; tormenting the teacher," and so on.[33] A high percentage of the English-speaking students surveyed "definitely dislike Canadian studies and, in one way or another, indicate that they find them boring and meaningless."[34] Much of this hostility was directed against constitutional and political history, both of which Hodgetts summarily dismissed as irrelevant subjects.[35] It was military history, including the War of 1812, that generated the most interest among these same students.[36] However, the historical preferences of French-speaking students were more to Hodgetts's liking, as they gravitated toward a non-militaristic appreciation of the pioneering spirit displayed by their ancestors.[37] But regardless of their approach and content, long-established methods of teaching history were not the complete failures that Hodgetts seemed to imply.

As a certain feature writer for the *Globe and Mail* named Kritzwiser could attest from personal experience, students with an interest in the past could still benefit from the curriculum Hodgetts tried to overturn—especially that part of it dealing with the more thrilling chapters of Canadian history, including Brock's heroism during the War of 1812. There had long been a generally accepted perception that public school education in Canada failed to inspire an appreciation for the nation's history, and yet Kay Kritzwiser found little evidence of it as she strolled about Queenston Heights in July of 1962.[38] Certainly, in gathering material for her article on the sesquicentenary of Brock's death, she encountered a

good deal of indifference toward this significant moment in Canadian history, particularly among the adults she interviewed. Yet, much of what passed for indifference was merely ignorance. And as a number of adolescent children demonstrated, their history lessons (despite a toning down of patriotic rhetoric) could still leave a lasting and favourable impression of Brock on successive student cohorts. In observing some playful teenagers as they bunted one another on the gently rising steps leading up to the lawn in advance of Brock's Monument, Kritzwiser described how the imposing structure suddenly caught their attention: "They stopped their horseplay to look up at the carved figure of Gen. Isaac Brock atop the shaft rising cleanly more than 200 feet [actually some 185 feet or 56 metres] above the historic countryside. The girl in the white pedal pushers squinted against the sun. 'Who's Brock, anyway?' One boy bunted her again. 'Don't you know? Where'd you go to school anyway? Brock beat up the Americans.'"[39] Elsewhere, two exhausted girls emerged from the base of the monument and collapsed on a bench at its entrance. When Kritzwiser asked them why they had felt compelled to climb the claustrophobic spiral staircase, one of them replied, "I dunno. I guess because we learned about Brock in school."[40]

Obviously, the exposure of these senior public school students to Brock during classroom studies, though brief, could also generate a deep and lasting appreciation for the man whose heroism inspired the monument. It was at Brock's Monument that Kritzwiser had occasion to meet one of the more exceptional recipients of this elementary education. When she overheard a thirteen-year-old lad from St. Williams, Ontario, giving his family a "quick lesson in history," Kritzwiser approached his proud father, who admitted to being told things about Brock he had never known.[41] Yet, if Kritzwiser felt reassured by this prodigy's enthusiasm for Brock, she must have had a rude awakening at a cherry stall just a few kilometres up the Niagara Parkway. There, near the site of a War of 1812 gun emplacement, she interrogated a fourteen-year-old boy behind the counter as to what he knew about Vrooman's Battery. "Don't ask me about that gun, ma'am," the young proprietor replied impassively. He was no better informed about the War of 1812 generally, claiming that "we haven't taken that in school yet." When a persistent Kritzwiser asked about the identity of the general whose statue crowned the monument on Queenston Heights, all she got in return was, "No, ma'am, I don't know about him either."[42] To Kritzwiser, this last torpid response

only served to confirm her initial suspicion that Brock was largely forgotten. Disregarding the boy's expectations of being better informed about the War of 1812 once he got to a certain point in his school studies, Kritzwiser left her readers with a gloomy concluding observation: "It's almost impossible not to see that monument when you pass nearby and yet possible for many not to see it at all."[43]

Of course, Kritzwiser's lament was really intended to drum up interest in Brock and thus avoid much of the indifference she encountered at Brock's Monument. But, as it happened, the fast-approaching sesquicentenary required little by way of journalistic intervention to ensure its success. Plans were already in the works, and by mid-September of 1962 a full slate of ceremonies infused with martial traditions was announced.[44] Honouring Brock's memory with such soldierly gestures of respect was entirely apropos, and such formalities served a broader purpose as well. Tourism in the Niagara Peninsula had been long noted for its abundance of forts and battlefields, all of which complemented the premier tourist attraction that was Niagara Falls. But the significance of military history to the wider region became especially pronounced during the postwar economic boom, as J. Edward Wright of the Ontario Department of Travel and Publicity emphasized during a 1952 speech to the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto.

It was partly their influence that ensured the preservation of Fort York, one of the heritage-themed attractions that appealed so much to tourists—the American sightseeing type in particular. Such tourists, Wright explained, tended to limit their cross-border experience to short jaunts, and so it was important to develop a strategy that kept them in the province a little longer. History was an important component of the tourism industry, and a vast sum of money was at stake. "Since the war," Wright impressed upon his audience, "tourism has become very big business, with Ontario alone receiving $250,000,000 a year, and 1,343,000 cars coming into the province from the U.S. Most of the government's promotional efforts are concentrated on the United States . . . because 70 per cent of the U.S. population lives within a day's drive of our border."[45] But as the Canadian Tourist Association had come to realize by the early 1960s, Canada seemed "old hat and oh-so-familiar to a big percentage of the American tourists who flocked here in the 1920s, 1930s and wartime 1940s because Canada happened to be the nearest foreign country they could visit."[46] Coaxing Americans to "explore the attic," as it were, would

make Canada a more enticing holiday destination, and promoting the country's distinctiveness was thus a key priority. Achieving these goals was largely a matter of developing uniquely Canadian attractions, especially ones with thrilling historical associations.

In addition to the many new historical plaques erected by the government of Ontario each year, that province also maintained a long line of historic forts on its side of the Great Lakes, as well as scores of battlefield monuments.[47] Among this latter number, none was more splendid than Brock's Monument. Soaring and magnificent, its elegant neoclassical design impressed everyone who laid eyes on it—or nearly everyone. A noteworthy exception was Bruce Hutchison, an outspoken British Columbian journalist and writer with an extreme distaste for the stately old relic from Ontario's colonial past. In a withering denunciation first published for an American audience in 1942, Hutchison utilized an unfavourable comparison to bolster his argument:

> The stark single column soars up as [Nelson's] in London on the foundation of four carved lions, but at Queenston they are poor emaciated creatures, hardly better than snarling cats. The figure [of Brock] at the top of the column is bulbous, ill-shaped, in absurd cocked hat, hand out in stupid gesture. It wears, as a final insult, a web of steel lightning rods (without which, perhaps, a merciful nature would shatter it in a single flash and make way for a worthier memorial).[48]

Despite the severity of his disapproval for Brock's Monument, Hutchison's hostility did not extend to Brock himself, because it was Brock who had shown the Canadian people "that they could make an independent nation."[49] Given that the monument was symbolic of this determination, Hutchison's carping was purely aesthetic. But regardless of what Hutchison thought about Brock's Monument, it remained a popular tourist destination. This appeal was further enhanced by the special events that took place there on the eve of the sesquicentenary in 1962, which fortuitously enough—from an attendance point of view—coincided with a weekend.

Beginning with a late-afternoon assembly below Queenston Heights, a joint contingent of American and Canadian troops, as well as a party of Mohawk warriors, ascended the escarpment in a symbolic re-enactment

of the battle in which Brock lost his life.[50] At the monument's base, this combined force mounted an honour guard while dignitaries solemnly laid their wreaths. Several hundred onlookers witnessed the spectacle in silent reverence, but many of these same attendees, perhaps encouraged by the fine autumn weather, had come to witness something far more riveting: the firing of a muzzle-loaded cannon by a costumed gun crew.[51] With a thunderous blast, the artillery exercise brought the sunset ceremony to an abrupt close and left the overawed multitude anticipating the promised pageantry yet to come. It began the next day with another honour guard, this time at Fort George, followed by a drumhead service at St. Saviour, the Brock Memorial Church in Queenston. Then, after marching to a nearby squat obelisk marking the spot where Brock was mistakenly thought to have been killed, the honour guard formed and another wreath was laid. Soon afterwards, the proceedings shifted to nearby Niagara-on-the-Lake. There, large crowds eagerly awaited the main event: a grand military parade.

Unlike those staged earlier during the celebrations, this procession was geared to be more popular than reverential. For an event taking place well beyond the normal tourist season, the public's enthusiastic response to the parade made it a resounding success. A Buffalo, New York, newspaper went so far as to frame the phenomenon in suitably militaristic terms. The "invaders," estimated at some fifteen thousand people, gathered ten deep to watch a thirty-unit military parade replete with floats representing various War of 1812 themes. Swarming into town by car and bus, the multitudinous visitors caused a "monumental traffic jam" in their enthusiasm to help commemorate Brock and the Battle of Queenston Heights.[52] Afterwards, there were closing ceremonies at Fort George, including an art and essay contest. The judge, a special guest in the person of J. Keiller Mackay, Ontario's lieutenant-governor, had a special message for his young audience. And when he told them that "they should study well—especially history," he seemed fully convinced that a basis for better citizenship could be achieved "through a profound knowledge of Canada's rich historical heritage."[53] The sesquicentenary was a major advertising coup for the local tourism industry at Niagara-on-the-Lake, but it also reinforced the positive image most Canadians still attached to Brock's name. And yet, rather than as a militaristic role model for children to emulate, Brock's place in Canadian history, Mackay seemed to suggest, should be less overtly patriotic and more subtly nationalistic—so

that his excellent character would serve as an inspiration for the ideal citizens expected of the country's youth. Presenting Brock in this new light was in keeping with the civics approach to Canadian history then gaining favour among Canadian teachers.

By the late 1960s, according to education historian Ken Osborne, "history could no longer take its place in the curricular sun for granted."[54] That which had formerly enjoyed sacrosanct status was coming under increasing—and not always sympathetic—liberalizing scrutiny. But Canadian educationists, instead of taking up Alfred Birnie Hodgetts's clarion call to reform the teaching of history, began to look beyond antiquated pedagogy in search of something not too radical but more relevant to their modern outlook on society.[55] As Osborne pointed out, the nation-building narrative was not completely discarded, just reinterpreted. The newer version focused on social rather than political history by recounting the experiences of ordinary people, and by this means provided the framework of a nation-building narrative from a new and different perspective.[56] This bottom-up treatment of history, although well-intentioned, was not entirely successful in making the subject more appealing to students; nor were they necessarily inspired to become better citizens through a reframing of the country's history. What they needed was action, adventure, and a hero to arouse their appreciation for Canada. In this regard, nothing much had changed since Walter R. Nursey's time at the turn of the twentieth century. Yet, the once vital components for a stirring treatment of Brock's life were far less effective by the middle of that same century, given his marginalization by educational authorities seeking to provide a more representative history based on the experience of the country's masses. Nursey's success in writing a popular biography of Brock for Canadian schoolchildren was one that no textbook could ever match, and something Charles P. Stacey, the military historian, did not think was necessary to duplicate. In philosophizing about the importance attached to heroes, Stacey had concluded that they should not be important in the least. Furthermore, as he firmly believed, "an ideal society should be able to get along without them. But that is not the sort of society we are living in, and anything that contributes to national consciousness is useful in a country that is still struggling toward genuine unity. An established hero of the sort I have been discussing [including Brock] is an expression of nationality."[57]

For Stacey, a certain amount of patriotism was necessary for national unity "before we find ourselves enjoying genuine nationhood."[58] Trade publishers, however, were mainly interested in the market potential of their patriotic-themed history and biography series, which they developed to promote the sales of their children's books. The 1957 publication of Samuel Hopkins Adams's *General Brock and Niagara Falls* proved the feasibility of such a project, and before long a new Brock biography was top of mind for another publisher. This time, the idea originated from north of the border, and the Canadian publisher had a Canadian author in mind. Having a recognized wordsmith from Canada, someone whose writing could stimulate an interest in Brock among a new generation of Canadian children, was qualification enough. The prospective Canadian author, however, came possessed of special additional credentials, which made him ideally suited to the commission.

Major Donald J. Goodspeed was attached to the Canadian Army's Historical Section, where he established a solid reputation for the military studies he published. But there came a radical departure when he agreed to write a children's book. It was then 1963, and once again the Macmillan Company of Canada looked to Sir Isaac Brock as a source of subject material (just as it had in 1918 with Hugh S. Eayrs's *Sir Isaac Brock*).[59] The earlier decline in educational publishing, brought about by the Great Depression and exacerbated by the Second World War, meant that there had been no financial incentive for a Canadian publisher to revisit Brock's biography. But by the early 1960s, Macmillan's president, John Gray—who inaugurated the Great Stories of Canada series in 1952—saw an opportunity to add another title to his growing backlist. Book sales depended on making history as interesting as possible for young readers, and so Brock's heroism during the War of 1812 must have seemed a perfect fit for the series.[60] Having a well-respected military historian as the book's author was a bonus, but Goodspeed's writing style was the main consideration.[61] As a closet novelist, he knew how to hold the reader's attention.[62] Equally important was his ability to administer a healthy dose of nationalism.[63] The patriotic Goodspeed ably demonstrated his talent on this point as well, and in 1964 Macmillan published his book with *The Good Soldier: The Story of Isaac Brock* as a suitably descriptive title.[64] It was an exercise in idealized biography, and while its tendency toward hero worship ruffled anti-hagiography historians like William Stewart Wallace, the book was extremely popular among junior

readers. As Gray confidently predicted, "there will be no point in anybody writing a short life of Brock for another fifty or a hundred years."[65]

As for Goodspeed's immediate circle of military historians, they tended to view the teaching of Canadian children about Sir Isaac Brock as an acceptable deviation from the accepted norm of martial topics. It also helped that the book's author was one of their own, meaning a Canadian professional historian, as opposed to a popular writer from the United States. In point of fact, however, Goodspeed's book was very similar to that of Samuel Hopkins Adams. The research was just as limited, and in both cases many of the personal details about Brock's life were either assumed or fabricated. The only major difference was the style of narrative, with one holding a distinct advantage over the other. Whereas Adams wrote with admirable restraint and circumspection, Goodspeed made use of an unabashedly patriotic tone, and it was this latter approach that proved more engaging with impressionable young readers. As a reviewer in the *Edmonton Journal* confidently predicted, a boy who picked up *The Good Soldier* would "scarcely be able to set it down until he has consumed the last page."[66] Presumably, the book was expected to hold just as much interest for girls, and while *The Good Soldier* was not limited to a scholastic market, Brock's heroic patriotism was an especially important consideration from the standpoint of school and library sales. The significance attached to this positive association between Brock and Canadian education soon became abundantly obvious on another and far grander scale.

In October 1964, Canada's governor general participated in the official opening of a recently chartered university at St. Catharines, Ontario.[67] After turning a ceremonial gold key to open this new hall of academe, Georges Vanier addressed a capacity crowd of eight hundred people in a former factory repurposed for use as Brock University. Speaking on the merits of a post-secondary school education, Vanier's views were fairly typical for the times: "Whatever it may once have been, higher education is not now a mystical process to be conducted in ivory towers."[68] The many complex demands of modern society required training "far beyond what was once considered necessary," especially as Canada continued its transition from an agrarian to industrial economy.[69] Vanier saw a special responsibility for universities and their graduates, which he considered to be of paramount concern: "It is the responsibility of making a positive and creative contribution to our sense of purpose and to our unity as a

nation."[70] University graduates had important national leadership roles to fulfill, especially at a time when separatist forces in Quebec threatened to pull the country apart. It was appropriate, therefore, that the new university be named after Brock—a great leader, and one who "served at Quebec twice as long as he had in Ontario [or Upper Canada]."[71] The unifying potential of Brock's good name, while an intriguing concept, carried little, if any, weight among French Canadians, particularly those craving independence. In contrast to Vanier's strong binational convictions, many Canadians still looked upon Brock as Ontario's particular hero. But as Canada's governor general, Vanier was not about to be dissuaded by critical realities, and so he proceeded with his praise for the university and its namesake. "There are many monuments to Brock," he stated with an air of certitude, but none was more fitting than Brock University.[72] Brock was recalled "in its name, its coat of arms, its colors and its motto."[73] Then, with a suitably optimistic tone, Vanier finished off with a solemn observation: "I trust that he will also be remembered by the great things I know you will accomplish here."[74] By encouraging the new university's future graduates in this manner to take their inspiration from Brock's achievements, Vanier effectively elevated his status as a role model for good citizenship and Canadian nationalism to a higher level of education. In reality, however, the decision to name the university after Brock was not the natural choice it appeared.

Responsibility for christening the new university had been assigned to a special subcommittee of the Niagara Peninsular University Organizing Committee, otherwise known as the "Founders' Committee." Composed of several prominent local gentlemen, this subcommittee—the Naming Committee—held its first meeting in August of 1962 and promptly decided to forgo any attempt at public consultation. "It was evident that the committee should do the choosing," given some of the unsuitable names that had already been suggested.[75] After having discussed the pros and cons of each, it was agreed that the moniker should avoid duplication with other institutions or any reference to a particular municipality in the Niagara Peninsula. The committee further considered it desirable "to select a name that would over the years, give the new university a distinct national reputation."[76] There was also a desire for something inspirational and as short as possible. While it might have appeared obvious to certain committee members that a university named after Brock was the only logical choice, there was a distinct divide that seemed to favour

a geographical rather than historical designation. At the committee's second meeting, held in September, a process of elimination promptly ruled out the University of Niagara as there was a similarly named institution in nearby New York State.[77] The other geographical choice, the University of Southern Ontario, was deemed so nondescript that Brock—not surprisingly—became the preferred name among several of the members then present. However, despite having confirmed Brock's "excellent reputation," the ensuing vote still revealed a very close margin of victory over the University of Southern Ontario. A "poll of those present indicated a 5–4 preference for Brock University."[78] Ultimately, however, the result of all this effort was merely a recommendation. The final decision rested with the executive of the Founders' Committee, who announced their unanimous approval in conjunction with the sesquicentennial of Brock's death in October of 1962.[79] As chairman of the Founders' Committee, Arthur A. Schmon justified the choice in a news release: "Keeping in mind the history and traditions of this area of Canada and the part played by General Brock as a national hero and leader of Canadian [militia] forces in the War of 1812, the committee was of the opinion that no more appropriate name could be selected than Brock University."[80]

The name Brock was definitely appropriate, and particularly so to the gentlemen who chose it. Had their number been more inclusive and diverse, the outcome might have been rather less predictable.[81] Ultimately, however, no other historical figure with a connection to the Niagara Peninsula could have conveyed the same inspirational qualities as Brock, and at some subliminal level the school was probably named for his humanity as much as his military achievements. For a burgeoning university anticipating its future greatness, the name recognition associated with an esteemed hero of Canadian history offered a distinct advantage in forging a solid academic reputation.[82] It was no less true in the real world of Canadian finance.

For the Royal Trust Company's general supervisor of public relations, a Brock-themed celebration offered the perfect angle for promoting the opening of a new branch in St. Catharines, Ontario. The event was scheduled to take place on 24 June 1965, and Thomas R. Lee was already pressed for time when he set his plan in motion. Writing from Montreal in mid-March, he explained his idea in a letter to one of Brock's relatives in Guernsey:

> When we open a new office, we like to mark the occasion by doing something to reflect our interest in the community of which we are about to become a member. In this case, naturally the name "Brock" came to mind, particularly since a new university has been founded in St. Catharines recently bearing that name. We thought of the possibility—and it's all very unofficial at the moment, may I stress—of presenting a rare piece of Brockiana which could be treasured by the university.[83]

The "rare piece of Brockiana" Lee had in mind was a ceremonial "tomahawk," or rather war club, said to have been presented to Brock by the famous Shawnee war chief Tecumseh—a provenance that made the artifact in question all the more significant for a symbolic handover to Brock University. The owner of the war club and the recipient of Lee's rather bold letter was Captain Michael H. T. Mellish, who politely declined the overture by writing back, "I feel certain you will understand that I do not want to part with it."[84] As the collateral descendant who was fortunate enough to inherit this and other heirlooms connected to his famous ancestor, Mellish treasured the war club far too much to ever consider selling it. Lee, however, was not easily dissuaded and, having anticipated some resistance, persisted in his determination to build an event around Brock and the war club. In his next letter, he glossed over Mellish's counter-offer of a photograph and focused instead on the possibility of a loan. As Lee explained, he now wanted to display the war club as the centrepiece of a temporary exhibit.[85] Once again, Mellish had to decline because, just as Lee himself had suggested, sending the war club to Canada was a "somewhat risky proposition."[86] But there was still reason to hope, as Mellish was beginning to warm up to Lee's enthusiasm. After asking for the war club's history, Lee was pleasantly surprised when Mellish provided a lengthy provenance. While Mellish was not entirely sure how the war club had come into his branch of the family, he assumed that it "must have been sent back to Sir Isaac's relatives in Guernsey, after his death."[87] As for Brock's ownership, Mellish relied on another assumption: that of W. Kaye Lamb, Canada's Dominion archivist, who simply parroted what he had been led to believe—namely, that the "ceremonial tomahawk" had been "given to Brock by Tecumseh."[88] The idea of such a handover had become the most obvious explanation, and the only one by which Mellish could account for this unusual heirloom. What he failed

to consider, however, was the very real possibility that the war club might have come down through the generations not from Brock, but rather one of his brothers.

In 1825, Irving Brock arranged an audience with King George IV for a delegation of visiting Huron-Wendat chiefs.[89] While the possible presentation of a ceremonial war club in recognition of this important service was no less feasible than one from Tecumseh to Brock, it certainly lacked the romance associated with the fall of Detroit. But Lee had no reason to question the war club's connection to Brock the conquering hero, nor was he disheartened by the extraordinary measures that would be needed to bring it to Canada. With seemingly little difficulty, he persuaded the top brass at Royal Trust to back his extravagant plan for a loan agreement. And Mellish, who was understandably opposed to the idea earlier, suddenly had a change of heart when Lee offered him an all-expense paid trip to Canada to personally deliver the war club for the exhibition at the branch opening in St. Catharines.[90] Having a Brock descendant to parade about for several days not only enhanced the promotion—it also helped to justify the extra costs associated with bringing Tecumseh's war club to Canada. This because Mellish, in his capacity as secretary and aide-de-camp to the lieutenant-governor of Guernsey, was happy to play the part of a visiting dignitary searching for reminders of his great-great-grandmother's brother. Mellish gave a commendable performance, and in a speech afterwards he followed up with a suitable expression of gratitude for all the kindness shown him. "It has given me most tremendous pleasure," he acknowledged, "to be in Canada for the first time and I am sincerely grateful for this invitation. As you know, Sir Isaac Brock is very much a part of the history of Guernsey and since I am a [collateral descendant] of his, I am naturally most interested in this great man. At the same time, I am deeply moved to know [what] a wonderful place he holds in the hearts of the people of Canada."[91]

Mellish continued with a glowing allusion to the tour that Royal Trust had arranged for him, and which received considerable press coverage. In tracing the popular scenic route along the Niagara River from Niagara-on-the-Lake to Queenston, Mellish was treated to many of the same historic sites visited by generations of earlier tourists.[92] The climax of this "sentimental journey," as one newspaper reporter described it, was Brock's Monument.[93] Gazing up to its pinnacle, Mellish verbalized his initial reaction: "Tremendous," was all he said.[94] After collecting his

thoughts, he elaborated by confessing that he "never thought it would be anything like this. It's absolutely marvellous."[95] Before returning to Guernsey, Mellish paid a visit to Brock University. There he viewed an exhibit of Brock memorabilia and treated the university's president, Dr. James A. Gibson, to a special viewing of the war club. Despite finding some disconcerting mistakes among the various items on display at Brock University, Mellish was no less impressed with the eponymously named institution of higher learning, or the fact that Canadians were still honouring Brock more than one hundred and fifty years after his death.[96] Immensely gratified, he was content in the knowledge that he had done his bit to celebrate Brock—even if it meant a brief stint as Royal Trust's front man.

Mellish, of course, was not the first person to take advantage of a distant genealogical connection with Brock for the sake of a holiday in Canada; Arabella Stuart Howell-Jones had done much the same thing in 1937. But Mellish, because of the heirlooms he possessed, was the only one of Brock's distant relatives who enjoyed de facto corporate sponsorship. Nor was Royal Trust alone in making good use of Brock's enduring fame for what amounted to a posthumous celebrity endorsement. Playing on Canadian patriotism and Brock's reputation in the early 1960s, especially in the country's English-speaking regions, business advertising departments occasionally incorporated Brock into their advertising campaigns. One of the more effective was part of a larger customer service promotion sponsored by the Toronto-Dominion Bank. In March of 1963, a full-page colour advertisement appeared in *Maclean's* featuring a display case with what appeared to be a number of artifacts belonging to a British Army officer of the early nineteenth-century.[97] The most eye-catching was a brigadier general's coatee (or short uniform coat), which happened to be the same one Brock was wearing when he was killed. Based on Toronto-Dominion's slogan that "people make the difference," Brock was chosen for one of the advertisements in order to develop a "stronger Canadian tone" than was evident with the historical figures already profiled.[98] The advertising agency hired to get the bank's message across decided to broaden the scope of the commission through the use of "symbolism," by which items linked to significant events and individuals in Canadian history were showcased in photographic ads.[99] Amassing the collection representative of Brock required the loan of several items and their delivery to the Public Archives in Ottawa, where his coatee

was immovable due to high transportation and security costs. After three months and the combined efforts of five people, the display was finally arranged and photographed.[100] The advertisement that followed carried a lengthy caption that provided context to the cabinet of curiosities. Under the heading "This is a Man," Tecumseh's widely recognized description of Brock was put to good use in lauding the latter's enterprising capture of Detroit. To the copywriter, it "was a pure example of how the quality of people transcends any difficulty in any enterprise" and a perfect segue to the bank's "philosophy that people, rather than circumstances, make the difference," a guiding principle that "has been our belief for many years. We encourage every member of our staff to take pride and pleasure in offering you the kind of friendly service that makes banking a warm, human thing, of benefit to all. You'll find from your first visit to any branch of the Toronto-Dominion Bank that *people really make the difference*."[101]

The advertising potential of such a mental connection, between Brock's heroism and personalized banking, had been evident to Allen Cupples from an early date. As the creative director at the Toronto-based James Lovick and Company advertising agency, as well as the "key man" behind the Toronto-Dominion account, Cupples knew only too well that "officials don't usually allow museum pieces to be used commercially."[102] Fortunately, however, the Dominion archivist was partial to Brock. When the layout was described to W. Kaye Lamb, and how it would allow Canadians across the country an opportunity to see the coatee, the necessary "clearance was obtained."[103] Just as the elaborate advertisement sponsored by the Toronto-Dominion Bank would seem to suggest, there was a belief in corporate Canada that Brock was a popular cultural icon whose legacy could be appropriated to sell a product—or even a full range of banking services. Cupples for one, recognized that Brock was held in high regard by most English-speaking Canadians. Certainly, the interest generated by an elaborate sesquicentenary commemoration of his death at Queenston Heights was ample evidence of Brock's enduring popularity. Drawing a parallel between Brock's services to Canada and those of the Toronto-Dominion Bank was a shrewd and effective form of advertising. It was also well-timed, given that there were further Brock commemorations to come.

After the viceregal opening of Brock University in October of 1964 and the June 1965 Mellish visit, there was another major recognition of Brock in the autumn of 1969.[104] In September of that year, the Canadian

post office issued a commemorative stamp in honour of the bicentenary of his birth. To some degree, it was an offshoot of plans organized by President Gibson of Brock University, and just one of a number planned to mark the event.[105] But other than his suggestion for such a stamp, Gibson had no further say in the matter, and the layout that ultimately won approval featured a portrait of Brock superimposed on a distant view of his monument. It was a well-designed stamp, even if the portrait used was actually of someone other than Brock.[106] But ignorance being bliss, the stamp met with an enthusiastic reception at its first public viewing, which, coincidentally or not, took place at the Royal Trust branch in St. Catharines.[107] To Gibson, the stamp honouring Brock served to elevate the university's profile well beyond the Niagara Peninsula by providing national exposure to its namesake. Fortuitously, perhaps, earlier suggestions for the stamp—all of which preceded the university's opening and therefore lacked the potential for promoting Brock University—were ineffectual.[108] It was no less providential that the speech of one of the honorary degree recipients at the fall convocation in 1969 seemed to echo the Toronto-Dominion Bank's earlier advertising campaign, the one emphasizing Brock and the human touch.

Gibson could not have asked for a more distinguished advocate than Roland Michener, Queen Elizabeth's representative in Canada. After singing Brock's praises, the governor general turned his attention to the newly minted university. Expressing a hope that "it will be able to preserve the sense of community and communication which exists among students, teachers and researchers," Michener explained how it was "a place where the individual still counts, which is more than can be said of the vast complexes which pass as universities in some of the great overcrowded cities of North America and elsewhere."[109] Michener gave a very good plug for Brock University, but with a rather curious and slightly scolding proviso: "I hope that in this place you will be able to turn the restless currents of the times to constructive rather than destructive uses."[110] Much of the inspiration behind this comment was likely an odd sort of protest that had taken place earlier in the day. It came about when Sir William Arnold, the bailiff of Guernsey, attempted to speak at the unveiling of a plaque to commemorate the bailiwick's gift of a block of granite from Brock's boyhood home in St. Peter Port. As Gibson recalled, before "the Bailiff had a chance to speak, a sombre procession of five undergraduates, wearing black gowns and bearing a garland of

a pine bough and brown oak leaves," made an ominous entry into the Thistle Complex, whereupon the leader of the Brock Radical Students Movement recited a document protesting against "American imperialism."[111] The mock wreath-laying ceremony was a sign of the times, and there was no doubt but that the times were changing.

All in all, the Swinging Sixties were good to Brock. Despite the concerns expressed by Kay Kritzwiser early in the decade, he was not forgotten. Quite the contrary: He was celebrated and held in high regard throughout much of the country. But even so, the 1960s revealed a disturbing trend that threatened the cultural framework that held Brock in such high patriotic regard—namely, the end of the British Empire. While Canada's attachment to the mother country appeared indomitable on the surface, there was an eroding undercurrent of Americanization brought about predominantly by trade dependence. As Phillip Buckner has pointed out, "During the 1920s and 1930s the proportion of Canadian trade with Britain and of British capital invested in Canada decreased while the proportion of trade with the United States and of American capital increased."[112] Yet, most English-speaking Canadians continued to view themselves as more British than American. Throughout the 1940s and '50s, the British Empire (latterly the Commonwealth of Nations) gave Canadians the impression of membership in a continuing and potent force in world affairs, despite the concomitantly growing influence of American popular culture.

By the early 1960s, there were signs of a fundamental shift in the way most Canadians viewed themselves, and one that their federal government was determined to encourage along more independent lines. In response to the ongoing American threat, and also that of a rising Quebec separatist movement, the Liberals under Lester B. Pearson spearheaded a number of measures designed to instill Canadian nationalism while at the same time tamping down French Canadian visions of independence.[113] One of the most notable and contentious was Pearson's fixation on replacing the country's imperialistic flag with one entirely devoid of British symbolism, a gesture undertaken in hopes of fostering a distinct Canadian identity.[114] Unfortunately for Pearson, who also toyed with the idea of replacing the queen as head of state, there was still a good deal of respect and admiration among English-speaking Canadians for their British heritage.[115] But in 1965, after much wrangling, Pearson finally got his "pennant," or rather a vastly improved version of it. As for

the queen, she remained firmly ensconced upon her Canadian throne—mainly because removing her would have been infinitely more difficult than replacing a flag. Brock's reputation was also securely fixed in the Canadian psyche, despite all the nationalistic upheaval, and he proved no less popular in the 1960s than he had half a century earlier at the centenary of his death.[116]

Although Brock had come to be associated with a profoundly British period in Canadian history, he also held a strong appeal among adherents of the new nationalism. To some of their number it appeared that, by having saved Canada for the British Empire, he also established the basis for Confederation in 1867. This notion had long been a fond aside to Canadian history, referenced occasionally to lend greater credence to Brock's military genius. That his reputation for proficiency on the battlefield should have contributed to the establishment of a new nation was especially fitting at the beginning of the 1960s. The centenary of Canadian Confederation was beginning to loom high on the horizon, and it appeared that Canada's Dominion archivist was prepared to lead the charge on the important, if hypothetical, question of Brock's nation-building legacy. In December of 1961, W. Kaye Lamb presented a paper on Brock before the Algonquin Club of Detroit, Michigan, and Windsor, Ontario. Lamb's lecture was one of six presented by leading authorities on the War of 1812, all of which emphasized events in the conflict's western theatre.[117] At the end of his presentation, Lamb mused about the significance of Brock's place in Canadian history: "It is probably an exaggeration to say that if there had been no Brock there would now be no Canada; but there is sufficient doubt on the point to make it a reasonable topic for discussion."[118]

Lamb's idea was a novel one, but his fellow historians were rather more interested in discussing the country's political history, given the upcoming centenary of Canada's founding as a nation in 1967. Canadians generally, and particularly those with an interest in their history, were similarly predisposed. This attitude was especially pronounced in the five years following the short-lived hype associated with the sesquicentenary of Brock's death in 1962, when—except for the Fathers of Confederation (those English- and French-speaking politicians who came together for the founding of the Canadian dominion)—scant attention was paid to other historical figures.[119] One of the few exceptions to this trend involved a six-piece series of specially commissioned prints depicting the

most noteworthy men in Canadian history.[120] In 1965, anticipating a growing demand for Canadian souvenirs as a result of the approaching centennial, the Ospreay Picture Company of Toronto launched a line of products based on a thoroughly bicultural sales strategy. "We sell portraits of six famous Canadians [meaning pre-Confederation historical figures]—three English and three French," an Ospreay spokesman informed a *Globe and Mail* reporter. "You realize, of course, that we must keep a bilingual balance."[121] Although the Ospreay series completely ignored the Fathers of Confederation, its equal treatment of Anglo and Franco historical figures aligned with federal government policy—and also Pearson's fear of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec. The prime minister was convinced that national symbols should reinforce the new emphasis on Canada's two founding peoples. There was a similar attitude toward Canadian heroes, which meant a lesser regard for those inextricably linked to the British Empire. Brock was foremost among this suddenly unfashionable set, although his prominent place in Canadian history could not be diminished without alienating much of the country's English-speaking majority. It was much the same situation in the home decor and souvenir picture industry. But while Brock was one of the lucky few Ango-Canadian heroes to warrant inclusion in the Ospreay portrait collection, he was nonetheless largely overlooked during the centennial. It was of no particular consequence, given all the honours already bestowed upon his memory throughout the 1960s. Thereafter, however, Brock's heroic legacy was increasingly relegated to the status of a tourist attraction.

Whether represented as a neoclassical monument high upon the brow of Queenston Heights, or a wax museum exhibit in downtown Niagara Falls, Brock remained popular in the public imagination. A similar interest was becoming evident among academic circles, where Brock's achievements were now more likely to attract greater scholarly attention. Prompted by the sesquicentenary in 1962, there was a minor flurry of publishing activity relating to the War of 1812. In addition to various articles, several books were published, two of which, *After Tippecanoe* and *The Defended Border*, presented an eclectic mix of old and new material written by specialists and non-specialists alike. With contributions from such late quinquagenarian admirers as Dominion archivist W. Kaye Lamb as well as Charles P. Stacey, the country's eminent military historian, the occasion of the sesquicentenary was, not surprisingly, put

to good use in perpetuating Brock's legendary status. As Lamb blithely stated,

> It is a measure of Brock's greatness that his death was not the end of the Brock story. His loss was a shattering blow to his troops; to the people it was an occasion for national mourning. But it is significant that his army survived his loss. Reinforcements hurried to Queenston, as he had planned that they should do; a British force worked its way carefully around the American position on the heights and attacked it from the rear; well-directed fire caused the flow of American troops across the river to drop to a trickle; and the day ended in a famous victory and the taking of over nine hundred prisoners. The difficult amalgam of regular forces, militia and Indians that Brock had contrived to achieve stood the strain, and continued to do so during the two years of war that lay ahead.[122]

And Stacey, despite his extensive knowledge of strategy and tactics, was no more critical:

> The manner in which Brock rose superior to discouragements which a lesser man would have used as excuses for inactivity may serve as an object lesson to every officer who would learn the arts of command. . . . It would be difficult also to adduce a better example of the dividends to be gained from *offensive action*. In spite of the odds against him, Brock saw the importance of seizing the initiative from the enemy and taking the offensive; and the results achieved should be an inspiration to every commander who is faced by superior forces.[123]

Had it been left solely to the discretion of Lamb and Stacey, Brock's reputation for military genius would have continued unabated. Yet, a more analytical approach in assessing Brock's leadership was beginning to take hold, and most notably with a somewhat younger Canadian military historian, the late-forty-something J. Mackay Hitsman. Like Donald J. Goodspeed, who published his juvenile biography of Brock in 1964, Hitsman was a member of the army's Historical Section and someone

who shared a similar but more objective, less patriotic interest in Brock's military career. In 1965, he published a book on the War of 1812 that offered a new and critical analysis of British leadership during the conflict. Although a scholarly publication, *The Incredible War of 1812* held a strong popular appeal. And by means of a treatment of the subject that was well-grounded in academic rigour, Hitsman was able to offer his readers a convincing reappraisal of Brock's superior officer.

During doctoral research conducted several years earlier, Hitsman had come to suspect that Sir George Prevost, in his capacity as commander and governor-in-chief of the Canadas, "had been greatly maligned by Canadian historians and that the conduct of the War of 1812 and events in it had been in many respects different from what they had been in many places declared to be."[124] In presenting his findings to the annual conference of the Canadian Historical Association in June 1962, Hitsman expressed his decided opinion that Prevost had been unfairly condemned by historians who were obsessed with the idea of his ineptitude as a field commander. Consequently, they "failed to recognize or appreciate the extremely competent defensive strategy displayed in his overall direction of the war."[125] Sitting in the audience was Francess G. Halpenny, an editor with the University of Toronto Press, who became intrigued with Hitsman's revisionist views—not only regarding Prevost, but also the Militia Myth and the War of 1812. Halpenny was so intrigued that she invited Hitsman to write a new history of the conflict based on his extensive original research. The offer was accepted and Hitsman soon began work on a manuscript.[126] The book that rolled off the presses three years later was advertised as a welcome departure from the usual fare of a monotonous Canadian history curriculum.[127] Taking a dig at this chronic educational failing, the University of Toronto Press offered its readers an account "of the War of 1812 unlike anything studied once upon a time in school. It is engrossing, exciting, and even entertaining, with descriptions of campaigns and battles, and of the officers and men who manned the frontier. Based on a careful reading of official documents and accounts by participants on both sides."[128]

True to the marketing ploy that preceded it, Hitsman's book was a great success and—in a testament to his ability as a historian—is still considered a seminal work on the subject.[129] According to Canadian military historian Donald E. Graves, *The Incredible War of 1812* "remains possibly the best single-volume account of that strange and far-off conflict

. . . and the standard against which all other works must be judged."[130] Furthermore, Graves was confident that by "providing the wider historical context for Prevost's record in command, Hitsman for the first time produced an objective view of that officer."[131] As with Prevost, Hitsman was balanced in his discussion of Brock. Although favourably impressed by the famous general, he was not prepared to treat him as some sort of military genius—as had generally been the case for far too long. Rather, Brock was merely a keen soldier, bold by nature, and with considerable experience of the frontier he might have to defend.[132] An impartial Hitsman could well appreciate Brock's opposition to the abandonment of Upper Canada as proposed by Prevost, but he also saw the merit in Prevost's defensive policy and the greater strategic importance of retaining the fortress at Quebec.[133] Hitsman's well-developed sense of fair play also extended to the injustice perpetuated against Major General Roger Hale Sheaffe, who won the Battle of Queenston Heights after Brock's death early in the action. For the better part of a paragraph, Hitsman challenged conventional thinking about the outcome: "Canadian history has emphasized the death of Brock while leading an unsuccessful and hurried counter-attack, but the British government rewarded Major-General Sheaffe with a baronetcy for the skillful manner in which he marshalled and manoeuvred his little army to victory."[134] This determination to give Sheaffe the credit he deserved was characteristic of the objectivity that governed Hitsman's work. In a broader sense, it was a reflection of the professionalism that was beginning to transform the standard interpretation of Brock as a military hero.

Hitsman's critical approach to history was a refreshing departure from the usual brand of heroic narrative; yet, while his contribution garnered the most notice, it was by no means the first academic reassessment of Brock's legacy. There were other such studies, inspired by the sesquicentenary of the War of 1812 and no less innovative. But they were beyond the reach of most Canadians, as they came in the form of unpublished master's theses written by graduate students at Canadian universities. One of the first was that of A. M. J. "Jack" Hyatt at Carleton University. Defended in 1961, Hyatt's thesis argued that the preservation of Upper Canada in 1812 was usually "ascribed to the military talents of Major General Sir Isaac Brock," an old misconception that confused the respective roles of Brock and Prevost.[135] But as Hyatt ably demonstrated, Prevost's adherence to the broader defensive policy of the British

government was the better strategy. However, by rejecting Brock's preference for offensive warfare in favour of a Quebec-centric resistance, which Prevost ensured by limiting reinforcements to Upper Canada, he became the "cause of all that was ill for the British during the war: his weaknesses are magnified and his strengths overlooked."[136] Brock, conversely, was extolled for the vigorous defence he mounted within the tight parameters set by Prevost. Hyatt's astute analysis on these points placed him in lockstep with Hitsman's views—or possibly vice versa, as Hitsman was allowed to read Hyatt's thesis during the preparation of his manuscript for *The Incredible War of 1812*.[137] And while Hyatt was thanked in the book for his generosity, it was Hitsman's reputation that benefited from the publication of this new, more critical way of thinking about Brock. One can only imagine the degree to which Hitsman's book might have been further enhanced had he incorporated the work of another graduate student.

Wesley B. Turner's purpose in writing a master's thesis was to provide "the most up-to-date, thoroughly documented and accurate account of the life and work in Canada of Isaac Brock."[138] Defended at the University of Toronto in 1961, several months after Hyatt submitted his thesis to Carleton University, Turner's study examined the overlooked administrative component of Brock's service in the Canadas. By focusing on the general's pre-war efforts to achieve a more orderly military arrangement while strengthening defensive installations and improving the lot of his soldiers, Turner recognized that Brock was laying the foundation for his future greatness. It was not against an inept enemy alone that Brock won his victory at Detroit, and neither did it result from a few months of hurriedly organized defences. Rather, as Turner concluded, the whole range of Brock's preparations for war were instrumental, and understanding them gave an added dimension to the Hero of Upper Canada. This broader view led Turner to further conclude that while Brock was a great man, "he was not perfect; he made mistakes and the worst of these cost him his life."[139] This critique of Brock was in keeping with then current trends in historiography, and yet Turner held fairly traditional views of Sheaffe and Prevost insomuch as he agreed with the long-standing negativity associated with their respective commands.[140] It was perhaps as a result of these traditional views—views that Hitsman was likely to have found unacceptable—that Turner's thesis was not included along with the other graduate papers cited in *The Incredible War of 1812*.

At a time when certain leading Canadian historians still viewed Brock as the undisputed Hero of Upper Canada, when the Militia Myth went largely unchallenged, and the Loyalist tradition continued to hold considerable sway, the new interpretations of graduate students provided a much-needed and more objective view of Brock.[141] This positive trend continued with two unpublished master's theses from Queen's University—namely, Reginald Arthur Bowler's 1964 study of propaganda in Upper Canada during the War of 1812, and Keith Walden's 1971 investigation into the mythologization of Brock and the Upper Canadian Militia.[142] To Bowler, there was evidence of a pervasive feeling in Upper Canada

> that opposition to the overwhelming might of the United States was senseless. When the war broke out, this feeling resulted in a tendency on the part of the militiamen of the province to fail to report to duty, or to fade away from the scene of prospective battles. Brock's public response to this problem was an excellent example of his competence as a propagandist: he ignored it, and acted and spoke as if the militia had responded to the call of duty with magnificent courage and willingness.[143]

Bowler was careful to note that Brock was by no means willing to overlook cowardice or treason during the emergency. Rather, the degree of his indulgence was interpreted as a strategy by which he aimed to "prevent panic by keeping the extent of disaffection and desertion in the militia a secret," and by commending the militia's performance he encouraged these civilian soldiers, as well as the public generally, to believe his show of enthusiasm for the defence of Upper Canada.[144] But there was an unintended consequence: "This remarkable facade was maintained with great vigour, and the lavish praise of the militia which appeared constantly in Brock's general orders and overflowed into the newspapers was no doubt the origin of what has been called the 'militia myth' of Upper Canada."[145] As Bowler further emphasized, British propaganda during the war "appeared largely due to the efforts and influence of General Brock."[146] In effect, Bowler contended that Brock was responsible not only for the inception of the Militia Myth, albeit unintentionally through the clever use of propaganda, but also that he was the inadvertent architect of his own enduring popularity, given that

the Militia Myth kept Brock's memory alive. Although Bowler failed to make the connection between Brock and his enduring popularity, his revelation concerning Brock's role in the Militia Myth's origin was an intriguing, if not entirely convincing, take on that peculiar aspect of Upper Canadian history (and one that Hitsman did not employ). While Brock's propaganda might have been a contributing factor in the emergence of the Militia Myth, it would have become a mere relic of the War of 1812 without the sustaining patriotic and nationalistic sentiments of colonial elites, militiamen, and Loyalists. Regardless, the revelation about Brock's use of propaganda was an important new consideration. Unfortunately, Bowler's thesis remained in manuscript and for many years was largely inaccessible, except by a select few scholars who were allowed the loan of it from Queen's University Library. The general populace, however, had no such borrowing privileges.

A similar fate befell Walden's thesis, which was left unpublished and beyond the reach of most Canadians. This deprivation was especially unfortunate, given that his graduate work was devoted entirely to Brock and the Militia Myth. Building on the idea of a linkage between the two, Walden explored the possibility that Brock's heroic image was itself largely a myth. "Although Brock died in the first battle after Detroit," Walden contended, "he became the leading symbol of the whole conflict, and in the century which followed his figure was the object of much praise."[147] Believing that insufficient attention had been paid to the "historical figure of the man to see if it conformed to the ideal model" of a hero, Walden became convinced that much of the enthusiasm for Brock was bound up in legend and, as such, "complemented the Upper Canadian perception of the role of the militia. Brock was merely a striking specimen of the men he led; they shared his courage, daring and dedication to principle. When Upper Canadians praised Brock, therefore, they also praised their forefathers and by implication, themselves."[148]

Brock's heroism was further exploited to promote the idea of a thoroughly British colonial society. The main instigators behind this manipulation of thought were adherents of the Militia Myth and the Loyalist tradition, whose social aspirations were facilitated by taking an overly romantic view of the past. There was a similar tendency regarding Brock's martial reputation, which was seen by most Canadians as nothing short of military genius. This popular impression remained firmly in place well into the mid-twentieth century, when Walden's thesis—like those

of Hyatt, Turner, and Bowler—challenged the way in which historians treated Brock's military character. Without question, these graduate papers held the potential to alter strongly held misconceptions about Brock. Indeed, some might have proved just as popular as Hitsman's *Incredible War of 1812*, had there been greater opportunities for their publication. But master's theses were not normally put into print, and the presses of academe—like academe itself—tended to be antipathetic toward military history.

Writing in 1969, Gwynne Dyer summed up the scholarly attitude toward military history as having "traditionally been a rather despised province of the academic kingdom of history."[149] But Dyer sensed that things were changing for the better, and as an up-and-coming military historian who had conducted a survey of the situation, he was in a good position to report about recent favourable developments. Moreover, he was able, based on his experience as a military historian, to comprehend the disdain of more conventional professional historians regarding his field of study. There were two reasons for their contempt: "The first is that military history in the proper sense has not usually been distinguished from the 'drum and trumpet' history which antedated the establishment of the historical profession, and which that profession rejected and deplored—this is why such words as 'antiquarian rummaging' have been applied to all military history indiscriminately, when the work of many military historians has been of a demonstrably high standard."[150]

Dyer's second reason was society's abhorrence of war. The twentieth-century experience, he explained,

> has made our own time certainly among the most pacifist-inclined in the recent history of Western culture, at least within the intellectual community, and it is not surprising that many people have concluded that if we refuse to think and study about this dreadful phenomenon, war, then perhaps it will be less likely to happen. This has been the real rationale behind the opposition of many academics to the study of military history on the grounds that it will encourage warlike tendencies.[151]

Whether it was the preservation of hard-won professional standards or the encouragement of peace, Dyer could well appreciate the motivation behind each of the arguments. Yet, he made no bones about pronouncing

them to be irrelevant: "The profession of history is surely secure enough in the latter half of the twentieth century to be able to distinguish between military historians and antiquarians, and to reject only the latter, without endangering its academic standards."[152] As for the baneful effect of military history, Dyer questioned the necessity of having to elaborate "that war is one of the most common patterns of human behaviour throughout history," in order to dismiss opposition to the serious study of it.[153]

Dyer's views had much to commend them, but another historian—one who specialized in the historiography of Canada—held a rather broader view of the challenges facing the country's military history. Carl Berger, not unlike Dyer himself, believed that this particular field of study had "suffered from neglect partly because it was associated, especially by exponents of the 'new history,' with 'drum and trumpet' romanticism and the preoccupation with heroes and the great ones of the earth."[154] Much of the problem stemmed from a persistent trend among professional historians to embrace the "new history," as Berger termed it. Otherwise known as "progressive history," this new history had developed in the United States during the late nineteenth century and was squarely focused on the experience of the common man. Along with the pacifist and anti-militarist ideologies that defined much of the interwar and postwar years, it is little wonder that Canadian historians became thoroughly engrossed with non-militaristic subject matter including constitutional, economic, and social history.[155] By neglecting military history, the fresh historiographical approach did nothing to encourage young historians to take up specialized studies of martial figures like Brock.[156] That Turner and Walden did so was something of an anomaly, especially as neither of these graduate students—unlike Hyatt—went on to pursue careers in military history. Moreover, Turner's largely biographical thesis came particularly close to crossing another line laid down by trendsetting professors in university history departments across the country, insomuch as the only thing worse than military history was great man biography—or even the mere suggestion of it. With the new history emphasizing the experiences of common people en masse, individual biographies of the elite were dismissed as "propagating a false consciousness about historical change."[157] Such was Berger's finding, and in quoting fellow Canadian historian Robert Craig Brown, Berger obviously accepted his observation that biographers were apt to feel "something like an eccentric cousin: a bit old fashioned in his insistence that individuals can and do shape the

historical process."[158] Berger also observed that as history became ever more collective in scope, "very seldom did a writer of insight, literary skill, and luck with sources manage to render penetrating and memorable glimpses of human beings."[159] And considering the negativity associated with military history, it was almost a given that none of these "human beings" could ever happen to be Brock.

The beginnings of this historiographical shift away from biography can be traced to the end of the First World War. In the two decades following this conflict, there developed a growing hostility among professional historians toward romantic hero worship. Much of their hostility stemmed from a harsh reconsideration of famous historical figures who had been "put up on pedestals," as Berger phrased it.[160] The efforts of this debunking class of historians was especially evident in the United States and Europe, where—according to the American historian and biographer John A. Garraty—the most zealous among their number attempted to make "the intelligent seem stupid, the dignified foolish, the earnest hypocritical, and the humble vain."[161] It was an iconoclastic fervor that originated with a new generation of historians who were disillusioned with the horrific slaughter of the First World War, and also with the wartime leadership, both military and civilian, they considered complicit. In Canada, this dissatisfaction found expression in revisionist essays, and during the interwar years a number of these papers deconstructed the legends and myths of Laura Secord, James Wolfe, and even Adam Dollard.[162] The goal was a more balanced view of Canada's persons of national historic significance, with the author of one such paper stressing the importance of original research. In writing about Sir Guy Carleton, 1st Baron Dorchester, the Canadian historian Alfred L. Burt emphatically wrote that "tradition made Carleton divine; research makes him human."[163]

Research was a vital component of the new revisionist approach to biographical writing, and historical scholarship was greatly assisted by the expanding collections of the Public Archives of Canada. But the new history, which held such great appeal for professional historians of the 1920s and '30s, relegated biography to a subsidiary position where it became an unpopular pursuit. Ascendant were the impersonal forces of history; yet, in the midst of this movement toward the masses, there was also a recognition that individuals played a significant part in their own history.[164] The most notable follower of this school of thought was

Donald Creighton, who went on to research and write a masterful biography of Sir John A. Macdonald. Creighton's original intention had been to pursue the question of values in Canadian history, but he failed to see a manageable framework for his project. Finally, he struck upon the idea of a biography as the medium for a study of what it meant to be Canadian. The subject had to be someone of "defining significance" in Canadian history, and to Creighton that person was Canada's founding prime minister.[165] But given all the negative traits now associated with Macdonald, Creighton might have been better served had he embarked on a new biography of Brock—whose own conduct has yet to offend modern sensibilities.

Carl Berger has written that a reaction against the new history became evident in the late 1930s and '40s, as professional historians like Creighton pursued "a determination to delimit the dominance of material forces and desire for a more intimate, human, and vivid experience of the past."[166] But while biography "became a vehicle for reasserting the ability of men to make their own history," Brock remained hidden in the shadows of academe.[167] Taken for granted, even by the promoters of this new manner of biography, his life story was consigned to "heroic accounts" and "patriotic renderings."[168] None of these same biographically inclined professional historians saw the need for an objectively written history of Brock's life. Instead, they seemed content to let his biography remain ensconced within the realm of children's literature. There it continued to serve as a highly useful patriotic tool, particularly in persuading succeeding generations of young Canadians to emulate his noble qualities in order to become better citizens. In this regard, there was a sense of agreement between professional historians and the biographers among them. There was also a general acceptance of the basic tenets associated with new history, and by the early 1960s any research suggestive of antiquarianism (or obsolete amateur history) was coming to be heavily frowned upon. Military history was included in this taboo category, and an anti-war sentiment inspired by the American involvement in Vietnam had a further alienating effect. In this type of academic environment, there was no incentive for professional historians of any kind to revisit Brock's militaristic life. His biography might have been doomed to academic indifference as a consequence, except that there was a "great and surprising upsurge" of work in both military history and war studies over the course of the 1960s.[169] This is what Dyer noticed toward the

end of that decade: a renewed academic interest in the country's martial achievements (including those attributed to Brock). And it was amateur historians who helped to keep this military sub-discipline viable.

Military history had long been a core component of Canadian history, and it remained so well after the professionalization of the overall discipline began in earnest during the opening years of the twentieth century. It was at the University of Toronto that the champions of historiography set about transforming the leisurely pursuit of amateur historians into a more rigorous approach, albeit through a gradual process that was slow to differentiate between old and new perspectives. Professional historians continued to value the work of their antiquarian counterparts, but changing attitudes would soon begin to have an ostracizing effect on the old guard amateurs.[170] Increasingly disparaging and indiscriminate, these dismissive attitudes became sweeping and frequently unwarranted. Yet, certain antiquarian historians still managed to elicit the respect of their professionalizing peers, and a prime example was William Wood of Quebec City.

A career soldier with a special interest in the War of 1812, Wood was one of the Militia Myth's earliest skeptics—a fairly controversial attitude to espouse in early twentieth-century Canada.[171] It was late in 1914, not quite forty-four years before Charles P. Stacey took the Upper Canadian Militia to task, that Wood forcefully rejected its reputation as an effective fighting force. Speaking before a luncheon audience of the Canadian Club in Toronto about Canada's lack of military preparedness, and while criticizing the country's neglect in providing adequate training for its modern militia forces, he dropped the following bombshell: "There is a general impression that militiamen of the kind we have in time of peace to-day did wonders at the front on both sides in the War of 1812. Ridiculous as this must appear to the present audience, or to any other composed of men who have their country's real interests at heart, it certainly is a general impression, of the usual baseless, intangible, and dangerously subtle kind."[172]

After five years spent sifting among the original documents relating to the war, Wood was able to positively show "that no such militiamen ever affected the issue of a single battle."[173] But before any grounds for outrage could register with his audience, so it would seem, Wood amended his harsh assessment of these civilian soldiers—likely as a means of accounting for those militia units that had occasionally performed in an

admirable fashion during the War of 1812. This he did by describing the varying degrees of militia organization, an important but overlooked point.[174] As Wood ultimately pronounced, the "long and the short of the whole vexed question of militia and regular is this: that there would never have been any regulars in any army if they hadn't been as much better than militia as any other professionals are better than mere amateurs."[175] Nor did Wood's views on the Upper Canadian Militia change very much by 1920, when he began publishing his four-volume *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812*. With the release of the first volume, Wood offered his readers an explanation in support of his amended argument regarding the militia's organization and effectiveness. "It cannot be repeated too often," he urged, "that the war was not fought on the British side by what is usually called 'militia'; that is, it was not fought by men who had only a few days' training during the year under their own militia officers."[176] Training made all the difference and some militia units received greater consideration in this regard than others. Therefore, it was "the greatest mistake to suppose that the Canadian Militia who fought so well were really militia in the common acceptance of the word."[177]

While there was some merit in Wood's clarifications, the overarching truism remained the same: The militia had not saved Upper Canada during the War of 1812. That honour was reserved to the British regulars, although certain units of the militia did play an important supporting role, as did Britain's Indigenous allies. Yet, by having elucidated his stance somewhat, it seems that Wood managed to avoid alienating historiographical colleagues (whether amateur or academic). It was quite impossible, however, to mollify the new professional historians, who looked down upon military history and especially its hobbyist practitioners. Unlike historical biography, which was re-moulded to suit the purposes of professional historiography, military history was tainted by antiquarianism and could not be rehabilitated. Ironically, however, it was the dedicated research of stigmatized amateurs like Wood that held the greatest promise of bringing about a deeper understanding of Brock's character, despite the nearly impregnable heroic persona created by the Militia Myth.

Another amateur historian with interests similar to those of Wood was Ernest A. Cruikshank, who spent his latter years at Ottawa and whose numerous studies on the War of 1812 frequently touched upon

Brock. Like Wood, Cruikshank made a career of the military, a dedication that ultimately led to his appointment as director of the military history section of the Department of Militia and Defence. Upon his retirement in 1921, Cruikshank's predilection for the past continued unabated with his chairmanship of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.[178] Instituted a few years earlier, in 1919, this federal government advisory body was tasked with making recommendations for national commemorative monuments. Those sites determined to be worthy of the honour received an ornate bronze plaque, as well as a fitting unveiling ceremony to publicize the board's good works. High on the list of priorities were plaques touching upon Cruikshank's particular area of interest and expertise: the War of 1812, especially as it played out along the Niagara River, which he considered to be the war's main theatre.[179] Brock, however, only ever received passing consideration. While he was certainly deserving of the board's attention, his fame had already been suitably memorialized through the erection of a majestic monument on Queenston Heights. For this reason, and possibly Cruikshank's preference for Canadian-born Lieutenant-General Gordon Drummond, Brock received little or no notice—that is, until Cruikshank hit upon an idea for not one plaque, but a whole series of them.[180]

At the Historic Sites and Monuments Board meeting in May of 1921, he suggested marking the routes of consequential military marches, beginning with Brock's expedition to Amherstburg in August 1812, which culminated in the capture of Detroit.[181] After receiving the board's approval, Cruikshank met with James H. Coyne the following August and together they set out to inspect potential plaque sites.[182] Coyne was another amateur historian and a fellow member of the board from St. Thomas, Ontario. Like Cruikshank, Coyne had an extensive knowledge of local history, which made him a valuable partner in what turned out to be a fairly involved project. Early in 1922, with the various plaque recommendations having been accepted, Coyne was called upon to draft inscriptions for no less than seven of them, to be placed at various locations between Port Dover and Sandwich (now part of Windsor), Ontario.[183] Cruikshank's idea for a series of plaques was a good one, in theory at least, because it offered the new motoring tourist class an excellent opportunity to trace Brock's expedition for themselves, and from the relative comfort of their newfangled automobiles.[184] There was also the all-important educational component, by which patriotic virtues were

imparted through encapsulated history lessons taken along the side of the road.[185] Unfortunately for Cruikshank's grand vision for the commemoration of Brock's expedition, much of its effect was lost to financial constraints, under which all but two of the proposed plaque texts were combined with other historically significant events. Cruikshank, however, still succeeded in linking Brock to the wider landscape beyond the Niagara Peninsula. Furthermore, the research that went into these plaques represented early contributions to a long and laudable tradition of rigorous historical inquiry.

Over the ensuing half century, the thrust of nationally significant historical commemoration in Canada expanded beyond the plaquing priorities of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board and grew to include a program for the preservation and interpretation of Canada's built heritage. This augmentation required a greater emphasis on both academic and professional training, along with the maintenance of an expansive knowledge base of useful information to support the development of relevant properties and the implementation of restoration projects. Another useful resource was made available in 1970, when the National Historic Sites Service—then a division within the National and Historic Parks Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development—began publishing a series of occasional papers highlighting the work of its research division.[186] Many of the articles were specialized archaeological studies on such esoteric topics as excavated glass beads, clay pipes, and animal remains. However, there were also articles of a more general interest, including one on the Battle of Queenston Heights published in 1974.[187] Its author, Carol Whitfield, was a recent graduate of the University of Western Ontario who had taken Jack Hyatt's military history course.[188] Whitfield was well served by the renewed academic interest in Canadian military history toward the end of the 1960s, and she had successfully interviewed for a research contract with the National Historic Sites Service prior to her graduation in 1968 based, in part, on Hyatt's course.[189] This happy sequence of events was part of a natural progression for Whitfield, whose parents inadvertently fostered her interest in Canada's military history through family trips to historic sites such as Brock's Monument. These childhood experiences, coupled with a propensity for research and scholarship, would lead to a lifelong career with Parks Canada, the government agency that evolved out of the Parks Branch. Among Whitfield's early research assignments

was a rigorous examination of the Battle of Queenston Heights, one that conformed to the new academic standards demanded by professional historians and their military history subset.[190] Recognizing that the battle was essentially a test of leadership, she focused her study on the personalities of the commanders on both the British and American sides. By providing an unbiased evaluation in each case, she offered her colleagues fresh insights into Brock's military abilities.[191]

At a time when Brock was still held in unquestioningly high regard, Whitfield critically analyzed both his civil and military commands. In treating his "direct charge" up the escarpment as a brave but ill-considered manoeuvre, she observed that "People began to forget his faults, remembering only the man who had shown them that victories were possible. Thus began the legend that would call Isaac Brock 'the hero, defender and saviour of Upper Canada.'"[192] Whitfield's historiographical treatment of Brock was on par with her academic contemporaries, the graduate students who devoted their master's theses to meticulous studies of Brock. Adhering to modern academic standards, she used a methodological approach to explore Brock's military background and the influence it had on his leadership at Queenston. But while Whitfield's article was widely used by mainstream and military historians looking for the most current scholarly treatment of the battle, its limited circulation as a government publication meant that the main thrust of her findings was kept well beyond the reach of a popular readership. This result was unfortunate. Revealing something of Brock's hidden nature could have renewed interest in him, especially among a rising generation of Canadians who were becoming quite receptive to historical revelations—even when they diminished the mythological stature of their greatest heroes. By the early to mid-1970s, however, the lingering effects of the sesquicentenary celebrations of the previous decade had all but faded away, and Brock's relevance was beginning to wane.

Still, there was the occasional reminder of Brock to keep his memory alive, if only through passing references in newspapers, books, or journals. Far less frequent were special museum exhibits featuring some relic of Brock, although a display organized in 1972 by the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature (today's Manitoba Museum) included the loan of his coatee, the short uniform coat worn by Brock at the Battle of Queenston Heights. Morbidly fascinating for the hole left by the musket ball that ended his life, this prized garment—which was seldom allowed out of the

Canadian War Museum in Ottawa—was given a much-needed airing in Winnipeg. Curiously, while the curators responsible for this exhibit of Canadian military history between 1812 and 1914 "decided very early on (in the planning) that it would not be a glorification of war," they felt no compunction whatever in prominently displaying one of the country's more graphic examples of war memorabilia.[193] All contradictions aside, the display of this cherished relic in another part of the country was a significant gesture toward a greater sense of shared nationalism. More of the same would have helped to make Brock's name and reputation better known among Canadians at large. As it was, the end of June 1973 brought another, somewhat unusual, opportunity to emphasize Brock's important place in Canadian history. It was prompted by a brief visit to Niagara-on-the-Lake by Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip, and an entertainment at nearby Fort George gave the royal couple a taste of the average tourist's experience.

Reconstructed in the late 1930s, Fort George was a major draw for anyone seeking history tourism relating to the War of 1812. Besides the buildings and their associated artifacts, tour guides in period costumes demonstrated various skills from a long-bygone era. Notable were the military re-enactors who thrilled audiences by firing off replica muskets. The visiting royals were treated to much the same type of educational entertainment, except that John Graves Simcoe and Brock were resurrected by a couple of re-enactors for a special appearance. As Ontario's first lieutenant-governor, Simcoe's character dutifully recited a speech praising the Loyalists for having "left the old colonies rather than relinquish their adherence to your crown."[194] Someone posing as Brock then came forward and performed a solemn reading of his declaration in response to the American invasion of western Upper Canada, but the stage was soon stolen by the antics of a contingent of military re-enactors who loaded their muskets with blank cartridges and summarily fired them into a crowd of nearby children. The youngsters played along, screaming and falling over, while the royal couple burst out laughing at the sight. Nor did the merriment end there: "A reporter from the Buffalo Courier Express, seated on the lawn trying to capture the proceedings on a tape recorder, was blown over when a cannon went off about 10 feet [3 metres] from him. Prince Philip stamped his foot when he saw it. Another member of the press party waved a white handkerchief [in mock surrender] and both the Queen and Prince Philip laughed again."[195]

Although Brock was not the most commanding attraction at this event, as he had been when re-enacted during the sesquicentenary in 1962, the history-based entertainment enjoyed by the royal couple at Fort George helped to keep his name before the Canadian public—if only through fleeting news reports, which served as reminders of his illustrious military exploits. But by the early 1970s, as Canada continued to evolve into a country that was more bilingual, multicultural, and less enamoured with its British heritage, Brock's relevance was becoming largely confined to Ontario's Niagara Peninsula. Like the British War of 1812 commanders who followed him, he might have slipped into obscurity, had it not been for the Massey Commission report of 1951 and the financial support it drummed up for Canadian history and heritage.

Inspired by a former diplomat who was also Canada's leading patron of the arts, Vincent Massey chaired the national inquiry formally known as the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, whose final report "painted a bleak picture of the precarious state of Canadian culture."[196] However, there was also the optimistic recognition that with increased government oversight and adequate levels of funding, the situation was likely to improve. Included among the recommendations of the Massey Commission was the call for a greater sense of cultural nationalism. Conceiving it desirable that Canadians should know as much as possible about their country's history and traditions, it was also "in the national interest to give encouragement to institutions which express national feeling, promote common understanding and add to the variety and richness of Canadian life, rural as well as urban."[197] To this end, the preservation of existing historic sites and structures, as well as the acquisition of additional heritage properties, was encouraged. Accordingly, in 1969, negotiations with the Department of National Defence and the Niagara Parks Commission resulted in the transfer of several historic sites in and around Niagara-on-the-Lake, including Fort George, Brock's Monument, and a portion of Queenston Heights, to the federal government to be managed by the National and Historic Parks Branch (which in 1973 became part of Parks Canada).[198] Given that educating tourists about significant events in the nation's history was viewed as an important component of the Parks Canada mandate, new signage was arranged to explain the Battle of Queenston Heights. It was just the sort of thing that was needed to "kindle the imagination" of tourists like the Lowers, who would have been glad to know that the Parks Canada

historians were implementing a unique interpretative opportunity to explain about Brock, his monument, and the battle—all without having to rely on the seasonal schedule of a ticket taker, as was Kay Kritzwiser's experience in 1962.[199]

In a move reminiscent of Cruikshank's attempt to commemorate Brock's expedition, a series of plaques marking various stages of the battle were installed in the early 1970s. Nine free-standing narrative plaques were fashioned out of stainless steel, each accompanied by a tall rusting iron sculpture of "stylized futuristic design." These distinctive artworks were intended to unify the plaques, attract attention, and enhance the tour—which was meant to be experienced not by car, but rather on foot. It was an imaginative "walk through history" approach to the past, and the first "module" combining history and art looked out over the Niagara River, a short distance from Brock's Monument, where most visitors to Queenston Heights were expected to congregate.[200] Located at the beginning of the approximately three-kilometre-long tour, the initial plaque in the series provided an overview of the battle and a map of the route to be followed. As an American newspaper reporter shared with readers of the *Niagara Falls Gazette*, by "following the battle lines and the designated modules shown on the map, the tourist will be able to locate the major points of the combat and upon reaching them will be able to read the history of that particular spot."[201]

Cecil Farrell, the reporter so clearly impressed with this novel approach to marking expansive historic sites, went on to describe how it was "possible for the visitor to almost recapture the sound of cannons and the groans of the wounded and dying as they fought for the heights above the swiftly-flowing Niagara River 200 feet [61 metres] below."[202] The effect was clearly overstated, and the degree to which these new installations helped or hindered the viewer's imagination is debatable, especially as they were relatively short-lived. While certainly more cohesive and focused than the series of plaques commemorating Brock's expedition, the modules were replaced in the mid-1980s for various reasons, not least of which was their modern design.[203] Gone were the abstract designs of the 1970s, and in their place was a set of five new and more traditional bronze plaques. Angled on low concrete plinths and regrouped within an easier walking distance of Brock's Monument (not to mention the amenities offered by an on-site restaurant and nearby public washrooms), the replacement plaques provided greater context to Brock's participation in

the Battle of Queenston Heights.[204] The extent to which the walking tour was revamped epitomized the emphasis that Parks Canada placed on history tourism. Both the accuracy and the presentation of its installations had to meet exacting standards, and there was a great deal of importance attached to the question of how best to engage the curiosity of tourists.

Beyond the historic site itself, one of the more effective means of connecting the masses with their history was marketing in the form of commissioned newspaper articles—pre–tourist season travel features meant to highlight historical attractions and raise attendance levels. This type of advertising could become quite sophisticated, as evidenced by a promotional piece Kay Kritzwiser wrote on Fort George in 1976 for the *Globe and Mail*. Designed to entice visitors to the Niagara Peninsula from far and wide, it capitalized on Brock's association with the fort, mainly through the discovery of a skeleton that Parks Canada staff thought might belong to Alfred, the horse he rode into battle at Queenston Heights.[205] By this point in the article, readers were fully engaged in a discussion of the ongoing quest for an authentic reconstruction of Fort George, including a faithful interpretation of daily life there in the early part of the nineteenth century. Unlike Kritzwiser's pessimistic article of fourteen years earlier, there was none of the previous foreboding that Brock was on the cusp of being forgotten by Canadians. Yet, the potential for such an outcome should have been all the more concerning to her, especially when considering the country's young people.

Despite Alfred Birnie Hodgetts's prior attempts to enliven the teaching of Canadian history, the process remained largely textbook-based, and the history texts used for this purpose continued to treat historical figures like Brock in a cursory, factual, and lifeless fashion. There were, however, occasional attempts to break the cycle of boredom by introducing reading material that was more interesting. In an article on Canadian history textbooks that was also published in 1976, Patricia E. Roy, a history professor from the University of Victoria, referenced a growing trend in which "enterprising editors and publishers have brought out an assortment of readings, document collections, and 'problem' studies" to supplement standard survey textbooks of Canadian history.[206] Of the three types, document collections offered perhaps the most effective means of engaging students. An outstanding example was published in that same year of 1976 by a Toronto high school teacher, and in *Call Us Canadians* Larry Martinello made a commendable effort to infuse his own passion

for the subject. By doing so, he hoped to improve the learning experience of younger English-speaking students through an interdisciplinary and social science–oriented textbook. Complementing Canadian history with documents relevant to basic themes of individualism, diversity, courage, and compromise, *Call Us Canadians* went

> beyond a mere factual backdrop to Canada's history. It asks the students as involved Canadians to discover and participate in the richness of our past, brought to life through source materials, such as letters, diaries, stories and illustrations, which require each student to analyse, evaluate and interpret the information, and to make individual judgments. It is the author's hope that in this way the old myth that Canadian history is dull and boring will be laid to rest.[207]

Although meticulously planned and implemented, Martinello's mission to make budding history enthusiasts of public school students likely failed to excite the degree of interest he anticipated. Without statistics to gauge his success, it would still be safe to say that most of the students he hoped to inspire continued to view Canadian history as dull and boring. A majority of the country's English-speaking youth probably favoured the sports and entertainment stars they saw on American television programs, as opposed to the mostly dead Canadian heroes held up for emulation in *Call Us Canadians*, and so Martinello's efforts would have been largely for naught. Another textbook, no matter how innovative, was not about to interest students in a subject that did not appeal to them in the first place. However, for those young people with an appreciation for Canadian history, Martinello's textbook offered a source of inspiration—especially among the relatively few who happened to be intrigued by the country's military past. An entire chapter was dedicated to the War of 1812, and Brock, not surprisingly, was featured prominently. Along with transcripts of several documents he penned during the conflict, there were also a number of questions intended to encourage critical thought about his actions. Yet, by having portrayed Brock in a favourable light, Martinello effectively discouraged any serious debate about his leadership—not that it really mattered all that much. By the mid-1970s, Brock had all but lost his status as English Canada's premier role model.

While of no particular concern to older Canadians, especially those born prior to, during, or between the world wars, as they had grown up thoroughly instilled with a patriotic appreciation for Brock, there was now a great multitude of postwar baby boomers for whom his relevance had become largely passé. Far back in the distant past of the early twentieth century were the sort of indoctrinating school days remembered by William Lewis Morton, a Western Canadian historian who as a child cherished an exercise book simply because its cover depicted Brock's death.[208] Some sixty years later, few if any school-aged children would have felt a similarly strong attachment to Brock, especially since education in Canada was becoming increasingly multicultural. As Ken Osborne recognized, the traditional nation-building narrative was not so much rejected as it was transformed. Rather than drawing on political history, it utilized social history to tell Canada's national story.[209] In the process, Brock was largely overlooked as students were taught to view their history through a wider lens including class, race, gender, and ethnicity. The resulting indifference shown toward the country's elites, including Brock, extended to Canadian universities, where it was heightened by competing historiographical philosophies. While old guard national historians were still willing to give Brock an occasional nod, the new social historians were loath to make even this small gesture. Curiously, however, when it came to social engineering and treating Canadian history from that new perspective, no thought was given to Brock's enduring popularity. There was a similarly dismissive attitude among Canada's professional military historians, with very little dedicated interest shown in Brock. Most of these academics adhered to the broader historiographical trends gaining in popularity, and those few with biographical interests preferred to break new ground by examining the military careers of lesser-known commanders.[210] While Brock remained one of Canada's foremost military heroes, he had also become symbolic of an obsolete amateur historiography that, like the plague, was best avoided.

6

Enduring Popularity

Despite Brock's continued relevance to history tourism, especially that of the Niagara Peninsula, his popularity began to slump badly as the 1970s wound down. Evolving educational priorities were major contributors to the decline, as Brock was no longer a role model to Canadian youth or a person of interest for publishers seeking to pad their supplemental reading lists with patriotic biographies. To anyone raised on a steady diet of Brock hero worship, and interested enough to notice, it must have seemed that his vaulted reputation was soon destined for the ash heap of history. Yet, there was an abrupt change of fortune in 1980. In September of that year, Brock was reintroduced to Canada's reading public through a new and popular history of the War of 1812.

The book's manuscript had made quite an impression on Jack McClelland, who was Pierre Berton's publisher at Toronto's McClelland and Stewart. Based on prior experience, McClelland knew how much Berton's prominence as Canada's most successful writer of adult non-fiction literature enhanced the profitability of the books he authored. But there was an appeal to Berton's manuscript that transcended financial gain, and McCelland was intrigued by the way it treated the War of 1812 as foundational. For Berton, the book he envisioned was "the story of the first stirrings of the new country, the beginning of a national identity, and the great conflict that helped define the nation."[1] As his biographer, Brian McKillop, further elaborated, "the subject was a perfect one to choose as Canada entered the 1980s, for it linked an early nineteenth-century war that was arguably the seedbed of Canadian nationalism to twentieth-century readers eager to discover their roots and affirm their identity. In the wake of the American involvement in Vietnam, it would also be the story of a costly conflict no nation had won, an indictment of the folly of all war."[2]

Berton derived much of his literary inspiration from cultural and nostalgic themes, but by 1978, after having written several histories dealing with Canadian topics, he turned his hand to the specialized field of military history.[3] Berton, however, had no particular interest in making a name for himself as a military historian.[4] He was simply casting about for a book project "in which large numbers of people move through time and space," and the War of 1812 met this criteria.[5] The conflict presented Berton with all the intrigue and action necessary for a two-volume page-turner, the first installment of which was titled *The Invasion of Canada*, and whose success became evident through the printing records it set prior to publication. In May of 1980, the *Globe and Mail* reported that the initial domestic print run was expected to be in excess of one hundred thousand copies. It was an astonishing number for a book on Canadian history, representing more than two million dollars in retail sales.[6] The icing on Berton's cake came several months later, as literary critics "praised the liveliness of his prose, the immediacy of his story, and the value of his effort to make Canadians better acquainted with their own past."[7]

William French, the *Globe and Mail*'s influential literary editor, gave *The Invasion of Canada* a thumbs up, while at the same time taking a potshot at Canadian educators: "If history could be taught in our schools the way Berton writes about it, there wouldn't be a more popular subject on the curriculum."[8] French was especially approving of Berton's sense of national spirit, particularly in the way he restored the War of 1812 to a respectable place in Canadian history. Yet, French's review of *The Invasion of Canada* also displayed a particular knack for snidery by suggesting what he supposed was a major factor in Berton's success. "We all know he hires researchers to do the slogging," French not so innocently volunteered, "but there must be a trick to getting such competent ones."[9] Berton had only one such person in his employ at the time, and Barbara Sears was a freelance researcher who initially shared and then allayed his fears of a possible dearth of information. After conducting a preliminary investigation, she cautiously concluded that there "has to be a legitimate reason for all those historians churning out boring stuff [on the War of 1812]. . . . I hope that the lack of evidence isn't it."[10] Her hunch proved correct, and with the material she was able to provide, Berton finished the manuscript of his first volume early in 1980. It was soon after that another collaborator helped him transform it into a successful book.

Berton, much to his credit, recognized the importance of having a good editor, and the person he chose for the job was Janice Tyrwhitt, whose own important contribution to his success went unnoticed by French. As an author herself, Tyrwhitt's many editorial comments proved invaluable and resulted in a complete reworking of what Berton thought was already a masterpiece.[11] It was this openness to teamwork that allowed Berton to vanquish the stigma of boredom associated with Canadian history. In the words of McKillop, his biographer, "For a nation deemed dull by others—and whose citizens tended to believe the canard—Berton offered up a history stitched together with outsized personalities."[12] Brock was one of them, and Berton's handling of his character was generally in keeping with traditional views of the hero.

Apart from Brock's "tragically foolish" dash at Queenston Heights, Berton portrayed him as a military commander who possessed an uncommon share of strategic prescience.[13] This impression was largely based on Brock's preparations for war and his bloodless capture of Detroit. The only major criticism levelled against him involved an impulsive temperament, mainly because it deprived the province of his unique talent.[14] As Berton described the consequences, "The British have lost only fourteen killed and seventy-seven wounded, but there is one loss that cannot be measured and by its nature evens the score at the Battle of Queenston Heights. Isaac Brock is gone. There is no one to fill his shoes."[15] Here was the type of hero that Berton and many of his fellow Canadians remembered from their school days. It was a universally positive, if somewhat fuzzy, mental image, and one that Berton brought into sharp relief by his skillful use of the historical present tense. This style of writing was highly effective, and Berton put it to good use in reminding Canadians of their long familiarity with Bock, hinting at the nationalistic importance of such an association. As Berton projected, "The picture of Brock storming the heights at Queenston, urging on the brave York Volunteers, and saving Canada in the process is the one that will remain with the fledgling nation."[16] While Berton also had to admit that there was evidence to suggest that Brock was dissatisfied with his postings to the Canadas, he was able to show that it was of no consequence to the hero's many admirers. The people of these provinces simply overlooked the slight and built a towering monument in his honour—a symbolic gesture and a means of "shoring up power against republican and democratic trends seeping across the border."[17]

In writing about Brock's heroism, Berton provided his readers with a relatively valid description of the Militia Myth and its nationalizing tendencies. Canada's rise as a nation was a dominant historical theme at the turn of the 1980s, and for Berton it was one that extended all the way back to the War of 1812.[18] At Detroit in particular, Brock's spectacular repulse of American expansionism bolstered an alternative form of democracy that originated with the Loyalist-dominated colonial oligarchy a few decades earlier. As a consequence, Canada was allowed to continue on its own distinctive political course according to an emerging nationalism typified by a loyalty to and patriotism for the British Empire—both of which were expressed according to a peculiar Upper Canadian concept that demonized the American idea of a republic.[19] As Berton recognized, this evolving matrix of nascent nationalism and the Militia Myth gave rise to a "special form of state paternalism that makes the Canadian way of life significantly different from the more individualistic American way. Thus, in a psychological as well as in a political sense, we are Canadians and not Americans because of a foolish war that scarcely anyone wanted or needed, but which, once launched, none knew how to stop."[20]

The one redeeming feature of the whole unfortunate affair was Brock's death, insomuch as his sacrifice advanced a firm attachment to Britain. "So Brock in death," as Berton disentangled for his readers, "is as valuable to the ruling class as Brock in life."[21] And whenever Canadians heard his name, the image that formed in their minds was that of a splendid British general setting off on his "final impetuous dash."[22] Such was the appealing character Berton presented: the traditional hero most everyone expected, but one who was mildly chastised in keeping with modern historiographical conventions. It should have been a relatively safe approach. Unfortunately for Berton, his uncanny ability to write interestingly about the past did nothing to endear him to academe.

Many professional historians in Canada, particularly the military history scholars among them, resented Berton's intrusion upon their area of specialization. Notwithstanding the acclaim his book received from various newspaper critics, there was a good deal of academic scoffing at Berton's lack of scholarly qualifications. It must have been galling to the historiographical establishment that he was not merely an amateur historian, but an exceedingly popular one to boot. Charles P. Stacey was especially outspoken in his criticism, and as the grand old man of Canadian military history, his reaction to *The Invasion of Canada* carried

considerable weight. In reviewing Berton's book, Stacey was somewhat mystified as to the point of the exercise, "for there is a large literature on this war and historians and near-historians have produced a good many books and articles about it in recent years."[23] After conceding that there was perhaps still room for a popular book on the War of 1812, Stacey persisted in his negativity by questioning not only Berton's lack of proper training but also the anecdotal rather than analytical structure of his text—and its historical accuracy as well. *The Invasion of Canada* left much to be desired, as far as Stacey was concerned, and its treatment of Brock was no less bothersome. A major issue was Berton's interpretation of the hero's famous last words. Although Stacey agreed that Brock's call to push on the York Volunteers was not likely made on the battlefield, he rejected Berton's suggestion that the militiamen were hailed by their general as he passed them on the road to Queenston.[24] Stacey preferred the evidence provided by a letter Berton had apparently missed, in which it was claimed that Brock made his famous remark to someone near him on the battlefield. This particular letter, however, proved nothing of the kind and was really only useful in allowing Stracey to demonstrate that Berton's research lacked rigour—the inference being that his entire foray into military history was equally deficient.[25]

Not all professional historians were so prejudiced, however, and one of their number gave *The Invasion of Canada* a more even-handed assessment. In the decade following his 1971 master's thesis on Brock and the Militia Myth, Keith Walden had embarked on a professorial historian's career at Trent University. And while his interests had shifted toward cultural history, he was sufficiently familiar with the War of 1812 to review Berton's book. After a brief introduction, Walden bemoaned Berton's lack of interest in the "broader interpretive aspects of the war."[26] But in acknowledging the book's popularizing qualities, Walden applauded its success in connecting with readers: "The participants—soldiers and politicians, Indians and frontiersmen—are brought to life as gorgeous figures of romance."[27] Berton, as Walden recognized, was someone who took his responsibilities seriously, and

> as a popular historian this creates certain dilemmas. He is caught between the need to be truthful and the need to provide a colourful and absorbing narrative to attract a wide readership. This creates some curious inconsistencies in his approach to evidence.

> He tries hard, for example, to dispel some of the myths there were so central to the old Upper Canadian view of the war, emphasizing that most of the fighting was done by the British regulars and not the militia, questioning whether Brock and Tecumseh exchanged sashes, clarifying the matter of Brock's last words.[28]

At this juncture, Walden offered up his greatest criticism of Berton's use of historical evidence. In some places, "he queries the veracity of the record left by nineteenth-century commentators, in other places he accepts it to give his story drama and immediacy."[29] Normally, such selective methodology would have been extremely vexing for professional historians, but Walden was rather philosophical in observing that "much of the historical evidence which any historian uses is suspect, and Mr. Berton has written a readable and, in places, gripping book."[30] Unlike Stacey, Walden understood that Berton was "trying to explain to the people of his country something of the formative events in their past."[31] Stacey, conversely, seemed more intent on ridiculing a rival from beyond the academy.

Walden's review, perhaps because it was more balanced, elicited no public response from Berton or his overly protective publisher. But McClelland was not about to let Stacey's smears stand uncontested, not when they were directed against one of his most prized authors. In an angry response published a short time later, McClelland lowered the boom on Berton's nemesis: "C[harles] P. Stacey is all too representative of a body of scholars who think Canadian history should be reserved for historians. His petty nit-picking makes clear not only his envy but also his concern that Berton might succeed in bringing the War of 1812 out of the dusty closet in which historians have enshrined it."[32] Unlike McClelland, who was infuriated with Stacey's review, Berton was left feeling merely annoyed and somewhat perplexed.[33] To his mind, popular and academic historians served different purposes and readerships—neither being more legitimate or worthy than the other. As his biographer McKillop summarized it, "Berton's approach was never to aim at the mind or intellect; he targeted the heart and will of those readers for whom it was less important for history to explain processes than to convey meaning."[34]

Berton published his second volume on the War of 1812 in September of 1981, and it was received with the same degree of public approval and financial success as the first. Once again, there was an academic tempest in a teacup as military historians closed ranks against Berton's latest

assault on scholarly illusions of supremacy. And this time there was no holding back. In what can only be described as a peculiar double standard—in which a professional historian could write popular history, but not the other way around—Berton was never completely forgiven for having upset the established order of things.

Yet, the military historian who had once been his greatest detractor was now rather more tolerant. Not long after *Flames Across the Border* was released, Stacey all but congratulated Berton's expertise in reaching a mass market. And having changed his tune somewhat, Stacey believed that his colleagues "ought to think twice before they denigrate Berton" because, as someone who made a success of popularizing Canadian history, "he knows how to communicate, an art the professionals [professional historians] have not troubled to cultivate."[35] Stacey's new stance toward Berton's brand of history continued to moderate, and when he wrote Brock's entry for the next volume of the academically prestigious *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, which was published in 1983, both *The Invasion of Canada* and *Flames Across the Border* were recommended for further reading.[36] Not inconceivably, Stacey (who was quite elderly by this time) perhaps wished to make amends—even if he still felt fully justified in his criticisms. However, a more dispassionate reading on his earlier part might have concluded that neither of Berton's books was severely lacking in terms of historical accuracy, not even by the most unbending of academic standards, as each had synthesized the works of various professional historians. But Berton's success in popularizing the War of 1812 was entirely of his own doing, and through the skillful use of his innate storytelling abilities, he instilled a greater sense of national pride among Canadians by breathing life into historical figures who were otherwise lacking in depth. The only drawback was an unfortunate tendency to reinforce a traditional view of Brock. By giving his readers the type of hero they had come to expect, Berton unintentionally validated the impression of a military genius. For someone whose bibliographies included considerable new and original research, Berton was inexplicably archaic in his portrayal of Brock. But preserving the leading hero's allure was essential for dramatic effect, not to mention a captivating story and brisk book sales.

Whether it constituted good or bad history, Berton's *Invasion of Canada* had a positive effect in promoting Brock's heroic legacy and perpetuating his enduring popularity. Berton's success also marked the

beginning of a new era of literary commemorations of Brock. In terms of monographs, there were the obligatory and generally favourable references in any number of books touching upon the War of 1812 and, once the bicentenary of that conflict began to draw near, more detailed treatments in each of the several new biographical studies prompted by the approaching occasion. While there had been a long and fairly constant supply of articles dealing with Brock, most of them were lightweight feature stories in magazines and newspapers meant for a general circulation; more substantial scholarly works were far less common and directed toward a much smaller audience of academic readers. Brock had also figured prominently beyond the print realm, mainly through the medium of plaques and monuments. And nowhere was his contribution to Canada more keenly felt than in Ontario's Niagara Peninsula, where tangible reminders of his exploits served the tourist trade in such heritage venues as Brock's Monument and Fort George. Of course, Brock's contribution to Canadian history was still taught in schools across the country, although with varying degrees of teacher enthusiasm and without much student interest. A good deal of the problem had to do with the loss of Brock's role model status. By the early 1980s, it had been largely overshadowed in favour of more modern and relevant sources of inspiration for young people—notably Terry Fox, the celebrated cancer research marathoner. Yet, as a heroic figure from a bygone time, Brock still appealed to Canadian children and the writers of their literature. Moreover, and much to Berton's pleasant surprise, there was a nostalgic interest among the nation's adults for their childhood heroes—so long as these same heroes were featured in popular histories tailored for a general readership. Berton's success offered a valuable lesson, but in professional historiographical circles the importance of an engaging approach was lost on the few academic historians who decided to take another look at the War of 1812 and Sir Isaac Brock.

One of the more eminent of these academic historians was the septuagenarian George F. G. Stanley, a distinguished scholar of Canadian military history and a public servant who began his own history of the War of 1812 several years before Berton embarked on his. Despite this head start, Stanley did not manage to publish his hefty tome until 1983, by which point both *The Invasion of Canada* and *Flames Across the Border* had already received their generous accolades. And having written his book at the invitation of the Canadian War Museum, Stanley expressed

some concern in the preface that he might have nothing new to say about the war.[37] But, while most academic reviewers seem to have ignored or overlooked this trite authorial misgiving, the *Globe and Mail*'s associate travel editor was less inclined to let the matter drop, and Robert Martin's review came down hard on Stanley's ill-timed publication. "Poor George F. G. Stanley," Martin derided, "his impeccable credentials as a historian, Rhodes Scholar and Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick don't mean much when you come up against Pierre Berton."[38] Martin then latched on to Stanley's admission about his inability to provide anything in the way of new material and questioned the need for any more books on the War of 1812: "In fact, after the release of Pierre Berton's exhausting if not exhaustive examination of Canada's own little war, we might even ask why Stanley has bothered. The world is not waiting breathlessly for another two-volume history of the War of 1812, a conflict that rates little more than a footnote in European military histories of the Napoleonic era."[39]

This dismissive attitude toward Stanley's book was more than a little rich, considering that Martin had just recently written a series of articles on the various battles of the War of 1812, some of which had already been published in the *Globe*'s travel section. Perhaps for this reason, given the research that would have been necessary for his series, Martin professed to understand the "cottage industry in books" on the conflict.[40] This flurry of activity had come about, he insisted, because the War of 1812 was Canada's "one brush with glory, the stuff of which myths and nationhood are made."[41] And in this "peaceful land," it was the only truly Canadian war, having been fought mainly on Canadian soil. "Sans confederation or constitution," Martin hazarded, "Canada the proto-nation nevertheless banded together, French and English, to defend itself against a common enemy."[42] The story of the war, Martin had to admit, was nonetheless a stirring one, and as such it justified the publication of additional books on the subject. Unfortunately for Stanley, his book, "lacking Pierre Berton's research personnel, got to the market-place second," and consequently Berton's two volumes got "the glory and the money, while Stanley sits on the shelf."[43]

Despite Martin's seeming hostility toward Stanley's book, he could still appreciate the "becoming felicity" it employed in telling yet another version of the same old story.[44] This recognition led to a backhanded compliment against Berton when Martin suddenly took an unmistakable swipe at his ego by observing that Stanley's "sprightly but dignified

prose shows that one doesn't have to write breathlessly in the present tense like some historical Harlequin romance in order to be accessible."[45] Another mark in Stanley's favour was his demythologizing tendencies, particularly as they regarded the Militia Myth. And yet, Martin was silent when it came to the doubts Stanley raised about Brock's legendary status. This omission was curious, especially given the hard questions Martin raised only a few months later in an article he published on the Battle of Queenston Heights. The research that went into that piece, one of his articles promoting tourism to Canada's War of 1812 battlefields, gave Martin the grounding necessary to lambaste Brock's "mad dash to martyrdom." Having convinced himself that Brock's death was an unmitigated waste, Martin challenged traditional views about Brock's leadership: "Would Isaac Brock have been so revered had he lived? His charge up Queenston Heights was undoubtedly heroic, but was it wise? Should he not, as his successor, Roger Hale Sheaffe, did, have waited until reinforcements were in place and then sweep the hill before him?"[46]

Martin obviously harboured serious doubts about Brock's tactical ability, which makes it surprising that he failed to give Stanley his due for a similar round of demythologizing—such as Stanley plainly set forth in the conclusion of his book: "Isaac Brock was a brave man who took chances. He was a hero. But are heroics the role of the commanding officer, or are they the responsibility of those of more junior rank? Orderly logic and disciplined action are the qualities required of a good commander."[47] Otherwise, Stanley's impression of Brock was fairly traditional and in keeping with the standard heroic view of earlier generations. There was one significant deviation, however, which was evident in the way Stanley acknowledged Sheaffe's contribution to the British victory at Queenston Heights. The result was a more balanced take on Brock's leadership. After resorting briefly to the old line that Sheaffe "had not the panache of Brock, nor his successful way of dealing with men," Stanley admitted that he was at least "deliberate and methodical, perhaps just the kind of officer needed at this moment. He saw no purpose in any dramatic charge up the slope behind the village in the face of the enemy's advantageous position. Instead, he led his men along a lengthy detour inland, running parallel to the escarpment, hoping thereby to gain the heights without having to battle for the position."[48] The indulgence Stanley extended to Sheaffe suggests that academic attitudes toward Brock—those that were

not entirely dismissive—were becoming somewhat more analytical, and less prone to positive generalizations.

Of course, there were holdouts from the old school of thought, mainly aging professors who were content to look upon Brock in a congratulatory fashion, as they had always done. Beyond academe, it was on the whole popular historians who underpinned this stereotype. But their cutting-edge professional counterparts, both social and political, were just as susceptible to making glossy references about Brock. Military historians occasionally fell into the same trap, as was the case with Desmond Morton in 1985 when he published *A Military History of Canada*.[49] By accepting the standard view of his teachers and mentors at the Royal Military College, which was that of Brock as a competent and effective leader, Morton helped to keep the positive image alive. A good deal of this doctrinal influence was gleaned from Stanley's own overview of Canadian military history: *Canada's Soldiers, 1604–1954: The Military History of An Unmilitary People*.[50] In turn, Stanley disseminated many of the same views entrenched in Charles P. Stacey's *Introduction to the Study of Military History for Canadian Students*. Issued by the Directorate of Military Training, this concise manual for future officers of the Canadian Army was the last vestige of the indoctrinating style of education that had made Brock a role model. Deeming that "some knowledge of military history is an essential part of any officer's education," Stacey used Brock's zealous exploits during the War of 1812 to validate the importance of a bold and determined leadership.[51] "There have been few campaigns," he assured his readers, "in which the vision, energy and decision of a commander have been more influential than in this one of 1812. The manner in which Brock rose superior to discouragements which a lesser man would have used as excuses for inactivity may serve as an object lesson to every officer who would learn the arts of command."[52]

But nowhere was Stacey's high regard for Brock's brand of leadership more evident than in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* entry he prepared for the series editor Francess G. Halpenny. In summing up Brock's character, Stacey held firm to the heroic image of a bold leader while peremptorily dismissing the well-grounded criticism levelled against him for "being unduly rash."[53] Boldness "was his way," and "boldness almost always succeeds when the enemy is ill-prepared and irresolute."[54] There was no room for debate, if only because Stacey looked upon Brock as "one of the people to whom it is given to change the course of history."[55] Brock

certainly had a messianic quality about him, and Stacey subscribed to the old Upper Canadian belief when he pronounced, "But for the presence in Upper Canada in the summer of 1812 of this able and magnetic general officer (and a single battalion of British regular infantry), the province would certainly have fallen to the United States."[56] As it was, however, Brock's "spirit continued to animate the people of the province for the rest of the war."[57] These manoeuvres around Brock's failings came dangerously close to the hagiography that professional historians strictly guarded against. Yet, Stacey was far from alone in his antiquated regard for Brock, and Donald J. Goodspeed, for one, offered a persuasive argument in support of the hero's foibles.

In May of 1980, Goodspeed—the same author who had written the children's biography of Brock nearly twenty years earlier—addressed a more mature audience in an article explaining why one of two British generals at the Battle of Queenston Heights was better remembered than the other. Harkening back to 1943 and Churchill's flying visit to Brock's Monument, Goodspeed led off by paraphrasing the British prime minister's bemused observation about "a monument to the man who lost the battle," with "nothing to commemorate the man who won it."[58] Goodspeed agreed, adding that Brock "has been remembered with affection and hero worship, while General Roger Hale Sheaffe, who won the victory after Brock's death, has been all but forgotten."[59] But Goodspeed was also confident that when more of Brock's story was known, the seemingly unreasonable allocation of fame would no longer appear strange, as it had to Churchill. Rather, as Goodspeed postulated, tradition and popular memory would prove reliable guides. Such was frequently the case, and so Brock was "rightly remembered as an excellent soldier, a sound strategist and above all as an inspiring leader, and the people of Upper Canada, who were Brock's contemporaries, instinctively recognized that the man was bigger than his accomplishments, whereas Sheaffe was smaller than his."[60] In attempting to assess Brock's popularity, Goodspeed realized that no analysis of his abilities as a strategist, administrator, leader, and tactician could do justice to the whole man. The "warmth of his personality, the depth of his humanity and that essence of his character which made so many diverse persons love him—all this will likely slip through our fingers."[61] After 167 years, it was impossible to feel a similar sense of emotional attachment for the Hero of Upper Canada. Yet, Goodspeed was at least able to form a solid opinion of Brock's military capabilities:

So far as his overall generalship was concerned, he was an officer capable of sound judgments on military policy.

But any attempt to evaluate Brock as a tactician, a leader adept in battlefield deployments, invariably suffered from a lack of evidence, since his direct combat experience was limited to just three battles.[62] And after the last one, at Queenston Heights, he was blamed for his own death at the head of a charge that perhaps should have been undertaken by someone who was more expendable. There was some justification to this criticism, and Goodspeed could not come up with a sound tactical explanation to justify Brock's reckless behaviour. Instead, he linked Brock's fate to a heroic character trait that was uncontrollable. In a similar battle situation, Goodspeed thought it "might have been wise and prudent for the commanding general to have delegated to some other officer the task of driving Captain Wool's men from the heights, but Brock was completely incapable of that kind of prudence. It was something that simply would never have occurred to him. And if this was a flaw, it was surely a flaw that no one would wish to see eradicated from his character."[63]

Goodspeed preferred to think that, "as a tactician, Brock was as sound as he was a strategist, with the same instinctive good judgment and common sense illuminating his actions."[64] The fact that he launched a counterattack without reinforcements—some of which he knew were militiamen on the march not far behind him—had no negative bearing on Goodspeed's firm belief that Brock possessed an "unshakeable common sense that resulted in shrewd judgment and in practical virtue. There is no intellectual capacity that is rarer or more valuable. His character, which was the source of his common sense, was found upon charity, courage and a flawless sense of duty. All those who cherish an independent Canada owe him a debt of gratitude."[65] Goodspeed's inclination for hero worship, which he himself acknowledged as being out of style, undermined an otherwise laudable attempt to probe Brock's psyche. This flaw in Goodspeed's research, combined with his unwillingness to admit the possibility of Brock's battlefield failings, placed him in the same league as Stacey and other professional historians with strongly held traditional views of Canada's military past.

Goodspeed's article was essentially intended for Brock enthusiasts like himself, with the opening references to Sheaffe merely a pretext to endorse Brock's heroic pre-eminence. There was no similar attempt to understand Sheaffe, or to comprehend Brock's generalship more fully

by means of a comparative framework. Such an innovative approach would fall to a younger professional historian—one of the promising few who, as a graduate student in the early 1960s, had chosen to write about Brock for his master's theses, and the only one to revisit the subject. In 1999, sixteen years after Stanley's book failed to excite much interest, this younger professional historian, by then a retired history professor from Brock University, published *British Generals in the War of 1812: High Command in the Canadas*. It was the first in-depth study of British generalship during that conflict, and the crowning achievement of a long and distinguished academic career. The book's author had retained a special interest in the War of 1812 during that time, and in the late 1980s Wesley B. Turner took up the necessary comparative research to achieve his ambitious goal.[66] Included was a major reconsideration of Brock's leadership, which went well beyond his perceived missteps at Queenston. Turner, who never thought of himself as a military historian, was motivated by "the vast difference in the commemoration" of Brock and his superior, Sir George Prevost (the governor-in-chief and commander of the forces in British North America).[67] "Why," Turner reiterated for his readers, "has Brock been more commemorated than any other military or civilian leader from that conflict?"[68] This simple question inspired a systematic, decade-long compilation of data on Brock and four other British generals.[69] And because Brock was the best known of these officers, as well as the "benchmark" by which the others were judged, he also rated the most attention. In a chapter titled "Audacity," Turner presented a picture of Brock as a relatively inexperienced but impetuously bold officer who bristled at the independence of civil authority as he formulated his plans for the defence of Upper Canada. Rather than simply criticizing his failings, Turner tried to explain and rationalize Brock's battlefield behaviour. The central question was Brock's motive in risking his life by leading the attack at Queenston, but the historical record revealed little in this regard, except that in Brock's limited experience "the tactic he seemed to prefer was a frontal assault led by himself."[70]

Like Goodspeed, Turner made a determined effort to understand Brock's particular leadership qualities. There was certainly evidence of a predisposition for his acting impulsively in combat, but there was also the possibility of a rational motivation to what appeared an emotional response. When, for example, he saw the American forces above the redan battery,

> Brock probably believed that he had no choice but to launch an immediate counter-attack. He had provided for counteraction by artillery against the Americans around Fort Niagara and Black Rock which would likely keep them off balance, but enemy control of the heights would outflank his entire defensive line along the river. The extremities of Fort Erie and Fort George could hardly be held with an American army between them and able to move by interior routes towards Burlington Bay. If the Americans did advance, the British would be forced out of the Niagara Peninsula and communications with Procter's forces and native allies would be severed. These may have been Brock's thoughts as he fell back through the village.[71]

While Turner still had to accept that Brock's death indicated an "absence of skill and care rather than the epitome of combat leadership," he also recognized the immense importance of the bold initiative that neutralized the threat of an American invasion from the Michigan Territory.[72] In Turner's estimation, the preservation of Upper Canada in 1812 was indicative that British sovereignty would prevail, and of all those generals under his consideration, Brock's efforts in retaining the colony for Britain were the most significant because his judicious military preparations and tactical audacity ensured a successful outcome.[73] There was not the slightest suggestion of incompetence in this regard, although Brock's generalship was soon forced into line with the commanders who came after him. Among this number was Roger Hale Sheaffe, who provided a valuable lesson in the use of caution while exercising military command. In comparing Brock's leadership with that of his successor, Turner paid special attention to Sheaffe's achievement at Queenston Heights. But while he judged that both commanders deserved credit for having repulsed American invasions of Upper Canada early in the war, thereby altering its course and influencing the final peace settlement, Turner tended to favour Sheaffe over Brock: "Whatever the exact amount of credit he deserves for the victory, Sheaffe's leadership proved appropriate for the situation. His was the course of methodical professionalism, rather than brilliance or dash. He rallied the defenders, steadied them, and won by following the rules, rather than by giving way to impulse."[74]

Turner's findings were in keeping with other modern interpretations, and the next book to examine Brock's leadership in something other

than a purely positive and affirming manner was Robert Malcomson's *A Very Brilliant Affair: The Battle of Queenston Heights, 1812*, published in 2003. Malcomson, a public school teacher who lived most of his life within a short drive of Queenston, had long been fascinated with the battle that was fought there.[75] In trying to bring its various scenes into greater focus, Malcomson encountered one frustration after another: "There were always so many questions, so many loose ends. Where did Brock die? What was he doing there anyway? Who was with him? Who was against him? How did they get there? Why did the battle happen here? Why that day? What difference did it make? Who else was a hero? Who never went home again?"[76] Malcomson's book was "a product of those questions and countless others," and by satisfying his curiosity, he hoped to produce a "thorough military study of the campaign and battle," while at the same time filling a gap in the literature that had existed since 1890, when the last dedicated study was written by Ernest A. Cruikshank.[77] From the outset, Malcomson made his views about Brock perfectly clear:

> Isaac Brock has usually been identified as the hero of Queenston Heights. There is no doubting his competence, dedication and awe-inspiring charisma, as his masterful defence of Upper Canada revealed, but he was not as infallible as legend would have us believe. When Brock died others quickly stepped forward to defend Canada as bravely as he had. The much-maligned Roger Hale Sheaffe coolly assessed the setbacks of the early morning at Queenston, concentrated his force and deployed it to win the day; it was his victory to celebrate, though, given the treatment he has received in most history books, one would hardly know it.[78]

Although not a professional historian, Malcomson was a recognized expert on the War of 1812 whose detailed study of the battle—from both the British and American perspectives—resulted in a balanced and fair account. It was also one of the few vettings that treated Brock dispassionately within the context of his last battle. In writing about Brock's reaction to news of the American attack at Queenston in the early morning hours of 13 October 1812, Malcomson questioned the way in which Brock received intelligence about the battle. Rather than sending a subordinate officer to the scene of the action, Brock went himself—behaviour Malcomson found mystifying, as Brock supposedly considered the

cannon fire coming from the direction of Queenston to be an American feint, and that the real assault would be against Fort George.[79] More damaging to Brock's reputation was Malcomson's list of the general's three critical battlefield errors. The first involved an order issued to the light company of infantry guarding the redan battery near the top of Queenston Heights. Having been summoned down to the village, the departing company left a void that was soon filled by an American detachment that scaled the escarpment and drove Brock and the gun crew out of the battery and down the heights. Malcomson blamed Brock for the order that left the heights undefended. The second critical error was Brock's decision to collect together whatever men he could muster and dash up the heights to regain the battery, an action Malcomson believed was taken without determining the enemy's strength. This failure to assess "the tactical situation surrounding the loss of the redan battery revealed a weakness in Brock's ability as a commander."[80] Brock's third and final critical error was his decision to lead the countercharge himself. Rather than ordering one of his junior officers to perform the dangerous task, Brock put himself at the head of his men. In doing so, he singled himself out for a fatal gunshot wound to the chest.

While Malcomson could well appreciate Brock's heroism, he also saw it as symptomatic of a doomed combination: careful generalship and rash leadership. True, he "balanced the strengths of the four key posts on the [Niagara] River between regulars and militia," and only the absence of a large body of reinforcements "kept his plan from being a classic example of how a river front should be defended."[81] But in the heat of battle, Brock's impetuosity caused him to make his three critical errors on the battlefield. Having enumerated them (the calling down of the light company, the launching of a charge without reconnaissance, and the leading of this same dangerous charge), Malcomson went on to deflate the myth of Brock's infallibility and the age-old impression of his military genius. These goals were accomplished by giving Sheaffe the recognition he deserved for taking a more cautious approach: "Unlike his predecessor who charged headlong into the fray, Major General Sheaffe carefully determined the strength of his enemy's position before deciding on a course of action."[82] Yet, Malcomson also divulged Sheaffe's own capacity for fallibility—which, even if it did not involve risking his own life, might very well have brought defeat down upon him. In forming his troops for their march into battle, Sheaffe somehow managed to confuse

their "front," or the direction in which they turned upon receiving that command. This mix-up was potentially catastrophic, as it meant—in theory, at least—that Sheaffe's troops were organized in such a way as to arrive "on the battlefield in reverse order, and if they had been ordered to 'front' they would have offered their backs to the enemy."[83] Had the Americans actually been presented with such an absurd sight, they "could have attacked the British at a point of obvious vulnerability" and with devastating consequences.[84] As it transpired, however, Sheaffe was able to adjust the situation after much confusion and "moving about."[85]

To Malcomson, the result of this error was nothing less than a botched attack, and one that revealed how "even the relentlessly trained British could get fouled up at a critical point in a battle."[86] As for Sheaffe specifically, the incident did "not speak well for his practical skill and forethought."[87] Malcomson considered Sheaffe's leadership only slightly less flawed than that of his predecessor. This insight, along with those touching on Brock's battlefield behaviour, formed a noteworthy contribution to the scholarship on the Battle of Queenston Heights, and Malcomson was fully deserving of the kudos given by approving reviewers of *A Very Brilliant Affair*. Included were those of a captain in the Canadian Armed Forces whose only reservation was that "most of the material presented about Brock is glowing praise."[88] As Steven Nolan pointed out, the criticism Malcomson offered was limited to the tactical considerations associated with Brock's attempt to regain the redan battery. In Nolan's view, the three critical errors Malcomson assigned to Brock's downfall were "merely the tip of the iceberg."[89] Convinced that Brock could be held responsible for these and other blunders as well, Nolan assumed they were the collective result of inexperience at the tactical and strategic levels. More damningly, with regard to Brock's three critical errors, was his "lack of presence of mind in the heat of battle."[90] Nolan took particular aim at Brock's leadership ability: "Even though he was the provincial military commander with all the regular and militia forces of Upper Canada under his command, he could not conduct a simple platoon attack."[91] It was a stinging rebuke of Brock's presumed military genius and also the long-held impression of Canada's heroic origins, yet there was not the slightest public reaction to this unapologetic revisionist challenge.

By the early 2000s, Brock had become largely peripheral to Canadian history. Professional historians—both social and political—generally failed to notice him, except when providing context for broader

discussions of the past. Military historians were just as apt to shun Brock, except on the rare occasion when their specialist knowledge could be put to good use in critiquing his generalship. As for amateur offerings touching on Brock, they, too, were few and far between during this period. Consequently, for most Canadians, Brock was a little-known relic of the distant past. Years of multiculturalism and sectionalism only made matters worse, and Brock's heroic legacy lost much of its patriotic appeal as a result. Consequently, his significance in the grand scheme of Canadian nationalism was greatly diminished—as was the Militia Myth and the Loyalist tradition. Lacking pre-eminence in a storied past, the combination of which had helped to perpetuate his memory, Brock was further eclipsed by a new societal trend promoting diversity and inclusion. Nowhere perhaps was the emphasis on equality encouraged more forcefully than in the teaching of Canadian history, which reduced Brock to the ranks of worthy but comparatively unknown actors in the national saga.[92]

But as the first decade of the new millennium drew to a close, Brock's life once again became the focus of considerable public attention—as well as a fair degree of publisher interest. The approaching bicentenary of the War of 1812 made his biography a bankable proposition, just as similar celebrations had done in the past. And despite the plethora of children's books on Brock's life, including several published in the decade or so prior to the bicentenary of his death in 2012, the market was not entirely restricted to children's literature.[93] Indeed, the time was judged right for an adult-oriented biography. There had been no similar undertaking since the last reprinting of Lady Edgar's *General Brock* in 1926 and the publication of Hugh S. Eayrs's *Sir Isaac Brock* in 1927. The main reason for the indifference shown toward this aspect of the Canadian book market was a chronic lack of financial incentive. But as the two hundredth anniversary of Brock's death approached, the idea of a new book on his life held enough lucrative potential for not one, but two book-length biographies.

First off the mark was a retired British Army general who jumped at the chance to write about his illustrious predecessor. Jonathon Riley's interest in Brock ran very deep. As a young boy, he was enthralled by the heroic story told in Donald J. Goodspeed's *The Good Soldier*, whose effect on young Riley was so great that he dreamed of becoming a soldier himself.[94] It was no passing fancy, and after a long career in the British Army that saw him reach the rank of lieutenant general, he took his retirement

in 2009.[95] Not long afterwards, with plans to celebrate the bicentenary of the War of 1812 beginning to take shape, Canadian military historian Donald E. Graves proposed that Riley should write a new biography of Brock. Riley's reaction was unreservedly enthusiastic. As he phrased it, "there was nothing on earth that was going to stop me."[96]

A fresh look at Brock's life was long overdue, and Riley's background gave every indication that he was capable of producing a definitive study. As a general officer who commanded British and allied forces, coordinated his actions with those of civil authorities, and experienced the interplay between regular troops and tribal fighters, Riley believed he could grasp the problems Brock faced in a way "no purely academic writer ever can."[97] To Graves, *A Matter of Honour* differed materially from earlier accounts of Brock's life because it was "a study of the man by a fellow general—a member of the same profession and a peer, as it were."[98] Riley's assessment of Brock as a soldier was the most important feature of this new biography, and when he discussed "the art of command, the principles of leadership, the conduct of operations and the effect of terrain and weapons capabilities on tactics," his words had "the ring of not only truth but experience."[99] With two graduate history degrees under his belt, as well as a body of published works on early nineteenth-century military history, Riley was confident that he could analyze the entirety of Brock's life as well.[100] Utilizing these extensive qualifications, he proceeded to focus the full force of his expertise on the concept of honour and how "the moral compass of the late eighteenth century" governed every facet of Brock's life—including his fatal charge at Queenston Heights.[101]

The 2011 release of *A Matter of Honour* was eagerly anticipated among military history circles in Canada, where it was seen as a welcome departure from all the children's literature that had come to predominate among Brock biographies. Yet, despite his long experience as a British soldier, Riley failed to attach much importance to Brock's missteps at Queenston, including the three critical errors pointed out by Malcomson, whom Riley lauded for having produced "by far the best account of the battle on Queenston Heights."[102] Instead, Riley's admiration for Brock remained "undimmed with the passing of years," although he confessed "some doubts about his grasp of strategy and the political imperatives of the time."[103] At the tactical level, in particular, Riley "never really understood how it was that he met his death doing a captain's job."[104] But in writing *A Matter of Honour*, Riley became convinced that Brock's

otherwise incomprehensible behaviour could be explained by his acute sense of honour: the complex moral code, based on personal integrity, that governed gentlemanly conduct and reflected a good reputation.[105] There was no need to consider other possible factors, and so impressive were Riley's credentials that no one presumed to question his authority on the subject—except in one notable instance.

Wesley B. Turner, whose own expertise on British generalship during the War of 1812 was well-established, wrote a review of Riley's *A Matter of Honour* in which he took issue with what he saw as its unsupported claims, inadequate documentation, and many factual errors. Clearly frustrated with Riley's offering, Turner issued a warning to all and sundry: "For those familiar with the details of the War of 1812, this work has only limited value; for those unfamiliar with the conflict, the work must be treated with skepticism and with caution."[106] In closing, Turner observed that there was still plenty of scope for further research on Brock: "The definitive study of Canada's leading hero from the War of 1812 has yet to be written."[107] It was a peculiar observation, given that Turner had already published his own biography of Brock.[108] And like Riley's book, the title Turner chose for his own—*The Astonishing General*—reflected the theme he chose to explore. After explaining how Brock "was the most unlikely of heroes," Turner expressed his astonishment that a British major general could secure everlasting fame having won just one victory, as was the case after Brock's capture of Detroit in August of 1812.[109] While acknowledging the effect of this remarkable feat, Turner argued that Brock's mass appeal had begun even before the declaration of war. By bolstering Upper Canada's defences, which he implemented in the months preceding the outbreak of hostilities, Brock had earned a degree of trust from the loyal segment of the populace. News of the British victory at Detroit galvanized their belief that he could repel any future designs upon the upper reaches of British North America. Nor did his death a few months later lessen his fame, since the Battle of Queenston Heights proved another spectacular British triumph. The fact that it was really Sheaffe's day was immaterial; Upper Canadians preferred their martyred hero, and so it was Brock who gained "both a victory and immortality."[110]

Turner, however, still had reservations about Brock's leadership, most notably at Queenston. But far from casting doubt on the well-worn mantra that Brock had saved Upper Canada, Turner reinforced the idea with a singular explanation: "Whatever course the fighting in the Canadas

took in subsequent years, regardless of whatever victories American invaders achieved, it would have been impossible for the British government to abandon Upper Canada—one of their bravest generals was buried there."[111] To Phillip Buckner, this was overstating the case a bit, "but Turner is surely right to emphasize the astonishing legacy of Brock, how a general whose role in the War of 1812 lasted less than five months and who won only one battle came to be the best-known hero of the war."[112] Rather more concerning to Buckner was what he perceived to be Turner's inadequate explanation of Brock's enduring popularity in the English Canadian memory: "that seems to me the book that has yet to be written about Brock."[113] While this social history aspect was certainly an important missing component, it held no particular consequence for a history professor at the Royal Military College of Canada.

Major John R. Grodzinski was in full military mode when he reviewed Turner's *Astonishing General*, and he had no hesitation in stressing the importance of reassessing Brock's leadership and legacy. Though understandable, considering the subject matter, Grodzinski focused much of his criticism on the counterfactual history Turner proposed in trying to explain Brock's glorification. Dismayed by the hypothetical military consequences that might have occurred if not for Brock, Grodzinski rejected Turner's suggestion that Brock prevented the American conquest of Canada in 1812, and had he "not taken Detroit, Brigadier-General William Hull would have marched into Upper Canada, outflanking Fort Mackinac in the north, and the Niagara Peninsula in the south. Another American army would have crossed the Niagara River and advanced towards Burlington Bay, leaving all of Upper Canada west of Kingston in American hands."[114] As Grodzinski pointed out with absolute military precision, "How the Americans would have achieved this, especially since their logistical capability was almost non-existent, and their lack of command of the lakes is never considered. Hull was defeated by his lack of will, and he returned to the United States on his own. American forces collecting in the Niagara region and near the border of Lower Canada were in disarray. What Turner proposes was simply impossible."[115]

Not surprisingly, Riley's command study was more to Grodzinski's liking. Besides offering a specialist's insight into Brock's military career, it also served a useful revisionist purpose. For Grodzinski, who was determined to restore Sir George Prevost to his rightful place in Canadian history, a critical reappraisal of Brock formed an integral part of the

exercise. But Grodzinski faced an uphill battle in trying to exonerate Prevost's reputation, given that his military career had long been defamed in order to boost Brock's popular appeal. Especially problematic was the still widely held belief that Brock alone had saved Canada, as if he acted entirely independently of any higher authority. In point of fact, Brock answered to Prevost, and it was Prevost who implemented and coordinated defence policy for the British North American colonies.

From long experience, Grodzinski knew that the hagiography so evident in the literature about Brock remained pervasive, even two hundred years after his death. "The cult associated with his legacy is so strong," Grodzinski declared, "that when I dared present a different perspective in which Brock vacillated over some decisions, was credited with victories not his own, and that the Americans were incapable of conquering Canada in 1812, the Parks Canada employee I was speaking with at the Brock Memorial [Brock's Monument] on Queenston Heights asked me to leave the grounds."[116] An undeterred Grodzinski continued to champion Prevost at every turn, and his next opportunity came a short time later when a political scientist at York University in Toronto combined history and biography for a reinterpretation of the War of 1812. As its bicentenary approached, James Laxer embarked on a novel plan to tell the story of that conflict through the joint experiences of Brock and his Shawnee ally Tecumseh. During the course of this project, Laxer availed himself of the opportunity to explain and expand upon the frequently marginalized Indigenous participation. Apart from this praiseworthy attribute, the publication of Laxer's *Tecumseh and Brock* in the spring of 2012 met with only a lukewarm reception from historians such as Roger Hall at the University of Western Ontario. "There is not much new to be learned here," Hall apprised readers of the *Globe and Mail*, "but Laxer and his researcher have done a good job of summarizing and integrating much recent scholarship, especially about native issues."[117] Among other historians stepping forward to offer an opinion about Laxer's book was Grodzinski himself, who saw another means by which to take Brock down a peg or two.

In reacting to Laxer's echoing of the old assumption that Brock prepared the Canadas for hostilities against the Americans, Grodzinski revealed that it was Prevost and not Brock who developed a coherent and reasonable strategy for the defence of Upper Canada. Furthermore, it was Prevost who rejected the prevailing attitude "that Upper Canada could

not be defended—a view that Brock once supported."[118] There were other problems as well, and after raking Laxer over the coals for his unoriginal perspectives, numerous errors, and evident lack of original research, Grodzinski went on to deliver the *coup de grâce*: "The publication of this book coincided with the beginning of the bicentenary of the War of 1812, and like so many titles seeking a market share of this event, *Tecumseh and Brock* rides over heavily trodden territory and, despite the praise given it in several newspaper reviews, it offers little for serious students of the War of 1812."[119]

While Laxer's fairly standard perceptions were simply shrugged off by most military historians, or at least those with a special interest in the War of 1812, Grodzinski had no intention of letting the issue slide. He had far more to say about the special status bestowed upon Brock. Not unlike the occasional attempt to give Sheaffe the laurels he so richly deserved for winning the Battle of Queenston Heights, Grodzinski's revisionist crusade on Prevost's behalf was meant to cast new light on a military reputation that similarly suffered from Brock's battlefield dash and heroic death. Encouraged by Donald E. Graves nearly a decade earlier, Grodzinski wrote his doctoral dissertation on Prevost for a much-needed reappraisal of his essential role in implementing British defensive policy during the War of 1812.[120] The objective Grodzinski set for himself was the restoration of Prevost "as a central figure in the history of that conflict."[121] It was a commendable exercise, and one that had been attempted earlier but without much effect. One of the more notable of these revisionist measures occurred in 1962, when J. Mackay Hitsman informed a meeting of the Canadian Historical Association that "Canadian historians have unfairly condemned Lieutenant General Sir George Prevost's conduct of the War of 1812."[122] Hitsman's presentation coincided with the sesquicentenary of Brock's death, and it was against this backdrop that he attempted to reorient the "muddled thinking" of his fellow historians. His efforts were largely futile, however, and the negative stereotypes associated with Prevost's command remained deep-seated.

Grodzinski saw his views on Prevost, however, enjoy a greater scholarly exposure when he published a volume in the Campaigns and Commanders series sponsored by the University of Oklahoma Press. With the release of Grodzinski's *Defender of Canada* in 2013, Brock's leadership came under an incidental but sustained form of historiographical scrutiny. Determined to resist the same hagiography that tainted the

objectivity of most other historians, Grodzinski formed a somewhat hostile attitude toward Brock. And he made no effort to conceal it:

> In Canada, Brock has emerged as the iconic figure of the War of 1812. He is often portrayed as a "brilliant strategist" whose loss caused irreparable damage to the British war effort. Traditionally, historians have been gentle in their criticism of Brock and generous in their praise. They have described him as the most significant British commander of the war and the man who prevented the American conquest of Upper Canada. They claim it was Brock's leadership that overcame both overwhelming odds and Prevost's ineptitude to change the entire course of the war. To many, Brock provides the yardstick by which other War of 1812 generals should be measured. This Brock hagiography has reversed the roles of the two commanders, creating the impression that it was Brock and not Prevost who set operational plans and priorities and who led British forces to victory during the early months of the war. Only a handful of historians have attempted to turn the tables and give Prevost credit over Brock.[123]

Here was a strong stance, but one that Grodzinski backed up with an equally strong argument. In tracing the origin of the role reversal between Prevost and Brock, he was able to lay the blame squarely with an anonymous early nineteenth-century contributor to the *Montreal Herald*, one who had a peculiar penchant for disparaging Prevost. Following in the footsteps of the several earlier historians he described in terms of a handful, Grodzinski made his own attempt to "turn the tables" in Prevost's favour—which he did by renewing the charge against Veritas for having insinuated that Brock, acting without "any written order or instruction" from Prevost, successfully defended Upper Canada.[124] This, of course, was a gross misrepresentation, and an accusation that had long been a source of vilification against Prevost.

In attempting to restore Prevost's military reputation, Grodzinski began by firmly establishing that Brock's superior officer, despite his lofty position in the Canadas, was still "subordinate to the secretary of state for war and the colonies [Lord Liverpool], who transmitted the wishes of the government."[125] British policy toward the belligerent United States was initially one of forbearance, and in hoping to prevent the escalation

of an unwanted conflict should it come to pass, Liverpool directed Prevost to maintain a defensive posture. Prevost sent the same caution to Brock, with particular reference to Detroit. While he recognized the advantages to be derived from "giving rather than receiving the first blow," Prevost suspected that reports of military weakness at the outpost were being used as "bait to tempt us to an act of aggression" and thereby uniting Americans to a common cause.[126] So it was in March of 1812 that Prevost ordered Brock "not to adopt any measure bearing the character of offence."[127] Grodzinski contended that these instructions were "often used as evidence of Prevost's timid leadership and the tight restraint he supposedly placed on Brock, who saw the early occupation of Detroit as necessary for defending the upper province and to cement support from the western Natives."[128] But as Grodzinski clarified, Prevost was "acting under very specific instructions from London."[129] These instructions, however, did not preclude the possibility of a military response to some future American aggression, and Prevost advised Brock to take such precautions as would, "upon a change of affairs, enable you to carry any disposable part of your force against the common enemy."[130]

This evidence of Prevost's military capacity and willingness for aggressive warfare was a revelation to Grodzinski, who found it surprising that most historians attributed "British successes in the early months of the conflict to his subordinate."[131] Even military historians had a tendency to assume "that it was Brock's plan for the defense of Upper Canada and not Prevost's that had proven successful."[132] And when the time finally came for military action, Grodzinski contextualized, "Brock's aggressiveness was tempered initially by insufficient British forces, but it was the ill-concerted military preparation of the United States that allowed these forces to be unleashed. Once American weakness was revealed, Brock exploited British control of the inland waters to concentrate against Hull, which fit with Prevost's strategy."[133] Very definitely, Prevost deserves recognition for ensuring that the pacific wishes of the British government during the crucial opening phases of the War of 1812 were met. But Brock's creative response to the defensive framework imposed on him warrants a similar, if not greater, appreciation for its diplomatic finesse. Mindful of Prevost's earlier injunction against attacking Detroit, Brock could point to the short-lived occupation of westernmost Upper Canada in July of 1812 as justification for the siege that made him famous. Thus, Brock's move

against the Americans, so obviously necessary to consolidate Indigenous alliances, was done in strict accordance with Prevost's instructions.

In *Defender of Canada*, Grodzinski made a credible effort to redeem Prevost's military reputation by re-examining the command structure of the British Army in the Canadas during the War of 1812. Putting Brock's responsibilities in proper perspective was a necessary part of this reassessment, but it also bore the unfortunate impression of an exercise in sniping. Nonetheless, Grodzinski's study astutely revealed the degree to which Brock's success at Detroit was the result of factors beyond his control, not to mention a good dose of luck. It also demonstrated that the defensive strategy for Upper Canada was not entirely one of Brock's own making. However, by playing up Prevost's important but purely administrative role in that defence, Grodzinski consigned Brock to the sidelines of history, where he became a mere upstart bent on glory—glory that Grodzinski thought rightfully belonged to the commander-in-chief of British North America:

> The historiography of the War of 1812 rarely attributes the success of the British war effort in the northern theater to Sir George Prevost. Instead, the credit had gone to subordinate commanders, such as Isaac Brock, Sir James Yeo, and a host of lieutenant colonels and more junior officers that commanded tactical actions. Prevost was not in the thick of the fighting, nor should he have been, as his task was to lead the war effort in the Canadas—a point that is often forgotten. As a result, historians have effectively written him out of the narrative. Prevost—not Brock or Yeo or any other more junior officer, for that matter—held ultimate responsibility for winning or losing the war in North America.[134]

Beneath this heavy overlay of military hierarchy, the undeniable fact remained: It was Brock who made the decision to attack Detroit.[135] And having assumed the entire risk of the operation, he alone deserved all the glory for the victory that ensued. Grodzinski, however, by having laid bare Brock's command limitations, found an effective means of rehabilitating Prevost's own questionable battlefield behaviour. It was done at Brock's expense. But like Sheaffe at York, and whether rightly or wrongly, Prevost was his own worst enemy. During an amphibious

expedition Prevost led against Sackets Harbor, New York, in April 1813, he retreated before giving the Americans much of a fight. Later, during a combined land and naval operation against Plattsburgh, New York, on Lake Champlain in September of 1814, he retreated once again. The optics were hardly heroic, no matter how evenly the blame was spread for these aborted exercises.

At any rate, Grodzinski's criticisms of Brock were solidly reasoned and those relating to Queenston Heights were particularly advantageous in dispelling the false impression of a military genius. Brock had seemingly "demonstrated poor judgment during the battle," which Grodzinski specified in no uncertain terms:

> On learning of the American attack, he left his headquarters at Fort George for Queenston without giving any orders or briefing his subordinate Sheaffe on the steps to be taken in his absence. There is contrary evidence as to whether Brock had ordered the troops at Fort George and Chippewa to reinforce the defenders at Queenston and whether he made too hasty an evaluation of the situation when he arrived there. By ordering a company to withdraw into the village from the heights, Brock contributed to the American occupation of these same heights and the capture of an important artillery position overlooking the American crossing site. His rash decision to lead a charge to retake the battery was tactically unsound—and he paid for it with his life.[136]

It was obvious to Grodzinski that Brock was no military genius: "Instead of rallying the defenders at Queenston and organizing his forces to contain the Americans on the riverbank and then halt the flow of reinforcements across the river, Brock acted prematurely in attempting to recapture a well-defended battery midway up the heights."[137] Like certain other military historians before him, Grodzinski took serious issue with Brock's battlefield savvy.

In keeping with a general understanding of the battle, the criticisms Grodzinski levelled against Brock's conduct at Queenston appeared to have been well-founded. The most egregious of his battlefield miscalculations was the decision to lead a charge against the redan battery. Having performed the duty normally assigned to a junior officer, Brock gave future military historians ample cause to question his leadership. The

manner of his attack was a demonstrable misstep, and not even Jonathon Riley, who was favourably inclined toward Brock, could explain away this "one big unanswered question: how was it that the general officer commanding all British and Canadian troops in Upper Canada met his death doing the job of a captain?"[138] There was no good answer, but Riley was not about to cast stones. Having been a high-ranking British officer himself, he could well imagine the challenges Brock faced:

> Whatever decision Brock made, he made according to the available information and [while] exercising his own intuitive judgment. That information was bound to be partial and subjective and coloured by the responsibilities that he held. We, on the other hand, have a complete picture and none of the burden of responsibility. To criticize a commander like Brock is therefore not only futile, it is downright wrong. All that we can do is to examine how and why that decision was made.[139]

Riley's call for a better understanding of Brock's decision to lead the charge made perfect sense. There was just one problem: The detailed record of the Battle of Queenston Heights, or the "complete picture" as Riley called it, simply does not exist—certainly not so far as Brock's command is concerned.

A paucity of reliable eye-witness accounts makes it exceedingly difficult to clarify and corroborate Brock's actions during the battle's early phase. Given this general lack of evidence, the only charge that would appear to hold against him is the seemingly flawed decision he alone could have made: to lead his troops in an attempt to win back control of the redan battery. And since Brock held overall command at this stage of the battle, there has been a tendency to accuse him of foolhardiness for not delegating that duty. But in the absence of a minutely detailed battle report, it is impossible to know the actual situation Brock faced when he gave the order to advance against the Americans. Standard versions of the battle describe how he organized a hasty assault after his inglorious expulsion from the redan battery during a surprise attack, and his death soon after completed what has long been regarded as a fairly straightforward explanation of his part in the battle. However, a re-evaluation of disparate contemporary sources has revealed that the advancing Americans did not halt to a man at the redan battery, but rather sent part

of their force down the slopes and to the very outskirts of Queenston. It was there that Brock was killed as he tried to rally his troops in a heroic struggle to repel the enemy, apparently after a back-and-forth action that, in addition to winning back the redan battery, perhaps also included a determined effort to prevent the Americans from linking up with their comrades who were pinned down below the riverbank. Brock's reaction to the onslaught, therefore, might have been more of a desperate attempt to regain control of a rapidly deteriorating situation, and not the entirely impulsively heroic misadventure that Canadian history has come to characterize. Given the want of corroborative testimony, it is impossible to be more definite, and it is precisely for this reason that most of the allegations levelled against Brock can be set aside as unsubstantiated—with the exception of his heroic but misguided decision to lead from the front.

By doing the job of a captain in rallying his men to the charge, Brock lost his life and deprived his troops of a senior commander's leadership. But this presumed mistake, so patently obvious to our modern reading of the situation, might have been shaped by circumstances beyond his control. Moreover, leadership was the prerogative of British generals in the early nineteenth century, and courageous leaders like Brock were admired as heroes, saviours, and martyrs. As the UK-based military historian Michael Glover remarked, "A reckless bravery was one of the hall-marks of British generals, good and bad."[140] Most Britons of the time probably would have voiced concurrence that Brock's own reckless bravery had resulted in the loss of an excellent officer, but they were not likely to have done so within hearing of the uppermost echelons of their society. At the pinnacle of that hierarchy was the prince regent, who fancied himself a soldier along with the best of them. Having felt Brock's death intensely, the future King George IV lavished posthumous honours upon him for the heroism he displayed during the war with the Americans. But far more than the heroic death that Brock suffered at Queenston, the prince was moved by his courageous behaviour at Detroit, where it had given "a lustre to the British army."[141] Such exploits served as good examples for other generals, and no official criticism could be allowed to mar Brock's brilliant reputation. Without question, aspersions were cast, and there was likely much second-guessing. Yet, any censure that attached to the heroics of a dead but victorious general would have been expressed privately.

A prime example of this sort of veiled discretion involved no less a personage than the Duke of Wellington, who offered an opinion on the subject of leadership that could have included Brock. In referencing the dangerously enthusiastic conduct of British officers during the Battle of Fuentes de Oñoro, an action that was fought along Portugal's northern border with Spain in May 1811, Wellington observed how the

> desire to be forward in engaging the enemy is not uncommon in the British army; but that quality which I wish to see the officers possess, who are at the head of the troops, is a cool, discriminating judgment in action, which will enable them to decide with promptitude how far they can and ought to go with propriety; and to convey their orders, and act with such vigor and decision, that the soldiers will look up to them with confidence in the moment of action, and obey them with alacrity.[142]

In much the same fashion, Wellington was likely to have disapproved of Brock's perilous behaviour at Queenston, although the circumstances might have softened the duke's censure. After all, the ability to command obedience in the thick of a desperate fight required a good deal of respect, and it was by displaying zeal on the battlefield that officers like Brock were rewarded with the confidence of their troops. Unquestionably, Brock was rather too far forward when he was killed at Queenston. Yet, his brave behaviour animated his troops to carry on with the charge. It was the same zealous military spirit that Brock had exhibited at Detroit, the outcome of which merited a positive reaction from the highest levels of the British government. The secretary of state for war and the colonies, Henry, 3rd Earl Bathurst, was certainly impressed. In a letter to Wellington about the state of affairs in Spain, Bathurst made a point of mentioning that "Major-General Brock seems to be a man of energy and resource: I wish we had had him at Alicante," where a less energetic and less resourceful Spanish general suffered a crushing defeat.[143] As Bathurst admitted, "This news [of the British victory at Detroit] is a great relief to me. After the strong representations which I had received of the inadequacy of the force in those American [presumably Upper Canadian] settlements, I know not how I should have withstood the attack against me for having sent reinforcements to Spain instead of sending them for the defence of British possessions [in North America]."[144]

Presumably, Wellington would have felt a similar—if somewhat less pronounced—sense of relief for operations in the Canadas. And even if he had reservations about officers like Brock and "their desire to be forward in engaging the enemy," knowing the full range of military character traits as well as the duke surely did, it would require no great leap to imagine that he would have been willing to overlook the rambunctious leadership of a motivated and popular general. After weighing Brock's alleged slip-ups at Queenston, Wellington was likely to have been rather more forgiving than the military historians who passed their damning judgments against the Hero of Upper Canada without the slightest reservation. At the same time, however, their attempts at dispelling myths and misconceptions were and remain an important element of the historian's craft—even if they resulted in the unsavoury conclusion that one of the country's greatest military soldiers was not actually a military genius, despite his having possessed some of the necessary attributes. Nonetheless, and fortunately for Brock's enduring popularity, the academic critiques about his military competence seem to have had little or no negative effect on his recognition as one of Canada's most notable heroes. And it would appear, especially in the decade or so leading up to the bicentenary of Brock's death in 2012, that those Canadians who continued to honour his memory did so because they got their history from sources other than scholarly publications.

On Canada Day 1999, *Globe and Mail* readers were treated to the results of an internet poll conducted by two nationalist organizations, the Dominion Institute and the Council for Canadian Unity, to determine the nation's greatest hero. Nominations were restricted to those heroes who helped to shape Canada "but have since passed on."[145] This posthumous eligibility requirement prevented "living legends" such as hockey superstar Wayne Gretzky from having an unfair advantage, and all but guaranteed that the most widely recognized of Canada's then recently deceased heroes, Terry Fox, got the most votes for his fundraising efforts on behalf of cancer research. But if Fox was the number one greatest Canadian hero of 1999, Brock still managed to make it into the top ten. One might imagine that much of his support came from aging baby boomers and earlier generations of Canadians, whose choices were based on what they remembered about him from their history classes, particularly those in English-speaking Canada. However, after analyzing the survey results, pollsters at the Angus Reid Group determined that

Brock generated the most even distribution of nominations across all adult age groups.[146] Furthermore, according to the results of an Angus Reid national telephone survey, one that was intended to provide a better understanding of Canadian perceptions of heroes and heroism, "the majority (55%) of Canadians first learned about their hero through movies, television or books."[147] These books were most likely popular as opposed to scholarly publications, and the same survey also revealed how knowledge about heroes came much less frequently "through formal schooling (18%)."[148] This finding seemed to reflect common knowledge, since it suggested that anyone who cast a vote for Brock as Canada's greatest hero was unlikely to have been influenced by a school subject that was dismissed by most students as boring.

The problem, as political historians saw it, and as Jack Granatstein—a political and military historian at York University—vehemently argued, was one in which social history had come to dominate the teaching of history in Canada.[149] Along with the decline of political history, Canadian nationalism had become increasingly immaterial to provincial curricula. Concurrent with these developments, once-great historical figures had come to be largely ignored. And so it was with Brock. As noted earlier, Brock was no longer presented to Canadian students as a role model worthy of emulation. Even in Ontario, once the hotbed of Brock indoctrination, his contributions to the nation were downplayed in keeping with preferred historical figures whose characteristics were more acceptable to modern progressive attitudes.[150] To some degree, this new and almost post-national form of curricularization was offset by the few children's books that continued to be published about the War of 1812. Included among them were several titles devoted entirely or largely to Brock himself, and while not nearly as influential as the supplemental reading materials approved by earlier departments of education, they at least offered students the opportunity for some dedicated self-study into his eventful life.

One of the more promising books in this Brock-related publishing trend was *The Death of Isaac Brock*, released in 1991 as part of McClelland and Stewart's Adventures in Canadian History series, and one of a sub-series dedicated to the major battles of the of the War of 1812. The author of both the book and the series was Pierre Berton, whose phenomenal success with *The Invasion of Canada* and *Flames Across the Border* must have augured well for a repeat performance. But

Berton's popularity failed to register with younger Canadians. As his biographer, Brian McKillop, acknowledged, he was "largely an unknown entity" to them.[151] For Generation X, Berton "was simply a curious blast from the past."[152] That was putting it mildly. While Berton's new series was promoted as one of "fast-paced narratives," the children's literature critic at the *Globe and Mail* found herself struggling to stay awake during her reading of it.[153] Obviously not a fan of Berton's prose, Elizabeth MacCallum had only grudgingly directed her attention to his battle series, including *The Death of Isaac Brock*. "At the very least," she granted, it offered a chance "to look at the way history is being delivered to our children."[154] But MacCallum was far from impressed with Berton's latest offering on Brock and the Battle of Queenston Heights. "I found my eyes kept glazing over," she complained, and finally "they just closed."[155] To MacCallum, among other things, this new series was suspiciously similar "to certain adult works already published by Berton," which did nothing to raise her estimation of his standing as a children's writer.[156] There were other complaints as well:

> Berton's style of pouring on minute personal details, like the close-up descriptions of soldiers' wounds and fights, his intimate pop-psychology character analysis, the short, breathless sentences following one after another—all these things appear to pander to semi-literate, television-saturated, juvenile and young adult audiences. If this is the case, though, the crudely drawn black-and-white illustrations will be scoffed at by the visually oriented children we raise today, whether they are literate or not. We are not advancing here.[157]

Then, as if to jab the still tender wounds inflicted by certain professional historians of a decade earlier, MacCallum dismissively observed that even "the prose in [the] Focus on Canadian History Series published in the early eighties—dull-looking, textbook style, with conservative layout and black-and-white pictures—when written by a first rate writer and historian such as Michael Bliss, can be more interesting than Berton's 'real-life adventures,' such as *The Death of Isaac Brock*."[158]

For all this bad press, however, Berton's volume dealing with Brock succeeded in effectively blending fact and fancy based on the experiences of a fifteen-year-old boy. As a real-life gentleman volunteer in the

49th Regiment, George S. B. Jarvis not only participated in the Battle of Queenston Heights but was near Brock when he fell. While less fact and more fiction might have resonated to a greater degree with young readers, it appears that Berton was far too intent on girding himself against academic criticism to risk such a popular approach—as per the following curious disclaimer: "The events in this book actually happened as told here. Nothing has been made up. This is a work of non-fiction and there is archival evidence for every story and, indeed, every remark made in this book."[159] Berton's defensive assertion to the contrary, *The Death of Isaac Brock* rates as a work of fiction, and one that failed to reach its intended audience. Such was the challenge faced by all popular writers, and Berton was not alone in trying to make Brock's life interesting to young readers. Yet, not every popular writer who turned his or her pen to Brock and the War of 1812 was leery of professional historians; one in particular actually enlisted their expertise to his advantage.

In 1991, the same year in which Berton's *The Death of Isaac Brock* was published, John Ibbitson, the city columnist at the *Ottawa Citizen*, came out with his own children's novel featuring Brock. Ibbitson's *1812: Jeremy and the General* recounts the story of Jeremy Fields, a fictitious fifteen-year-old Upper Canadian orphan of Loyalist parents who made his way to York and there became Brock's "batman," or personal servant, at the outset of the War of 1812. Having proved himself indispensable, young Jeremy was allowed to accompany Brock to Detroit and then to Queenston. There he witnessed his master's death on the battlefield and learned what it meant to serve and fight with the man who held the fate of the country in his hands. The *Globe and Mail*'s Elizabeth MacCallum, who several months earlier had lambasted Berton's similarly themed children's novel, gave a more favourable and far shorter reaction to Ibbitson's production. With passing approval, she noted "John Ibbitson's traditional but quite effective historical fiction."[160] Arlene Perly Rae, a reviewer of children's literature at the *Toronto Star*, agreed with MacCallum, adding, "It's usually difficult to give history the excitement and urgency of fiction, but Ibbitson has done just that with this story about a very plausible teenage boy who 'assisted' Gen. Isaac Brock at Queenston Heights."[161] After Ibbitson's book was nominated for a Governor General's Literary Award, the extent of his talent became evident. It was a great honour, and Ibbitson owed some of his success to the several professional historians who read the manuscript and made helpful suggestions.[162] For

young readers, *1812: Jeremy and the General* held a great deal of appeal, and Brock's inclusion no doubt accounted for at least some of this interest—both for his heroism and humanity. These same character traits helped to inspire other authors of children's literature to write about him, particularly those authors with a passion for the past, even if they were not born in Canada.

In September of 2000, XYZ Publishing of Montreal released Saskatchewan writer Ven Begamudré's *Isaac Brock: Larger Than Life* as part of its Quest Library, a series of biographies for young people featuring prominent Canadians. Its author, a native of India, was not only a professional writer but a self-professed author of "realistic and speculative fiction, creative nonfiction, and poetry."[163] But on this occasion, just as Pierre Berton had done before him, Begamudré sought to distance himself from his fictional writing. "Although this book often reads like a novel," he admitted, "it's meant to be a work of nonfiction. That is to say, it's as factual as I could make it given the many challenges that anyone writing about Isaac Brock must face. Among these is the fact that, although he wrote many letters to his family and friends, he rarely wrote about his personal life."[164]

After expressing himself like a true historian, Begamudré proceeded with a largely fictional account of Brock's life—and one with a romantic subplot. As Begamudré surmised for his readers, the degree of uncertainty surrounding Brock's love life explained why so few of his biographers "mention his fiancée. Even those who do mention her—sometimes in a footnote—are not sure of her name or whether, indeed, she was his fiancée. I've decided that she did exist, that her name was Susan Shaw, and that they were engaged. In secret."[165] Unfortunately for Begamudré's musings on the subject, there is not a shred of evidence that Brock and Sophia Shaw (not Susan Shaw) were ever engaged, and the suggestion that it was arranged secretly is a fictionalization obviously designed to heighten the amorous aspect of his book. But while *Isaac Brock: Larger Than Life* was more novel than biography, the author's talent as a first-rate storyteller made it a welcome addition to Canadian literature. Sadly, the same could not be said of the next attempt to write an engaging biography of Brock for a young audience. That book, which came out a few years later in 2004, was Mary Beacock Fryer's *Bold, Brave, and Born to Lead: Major General Isaac Brock and the Canadas*.[166]

A local historian from eastern Ontario, Fryer developed a deep interest in Canadian military history and Brock's prominent role in it.[167] Having grown up in the eponymously named town of Brockville, Ontario, Fryer admitted to being "Brock-conscious," by which she seemed to suggest a predestination to write his biography.[168] If so, it was not until 2004 when the feisty senior citizen had her manuscript published by a division of Toronto's Dundurn Press. And Fryer was not shy in taking Begamudré to task over Brock's fiancée: "I agree with C[harles] P. Stacey, who wrote the piece on Brock in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, that there is no evidence on what ladies Brock might have been romancing in Upper Canada. That is not to deny he enjoyed the company of women, partying, and dancing. If he had a serious attachment and was entirely discreet about it, more power to him."[169]

But if Fryer was liberated enough to turn a blind eye to Brock's imagined dalliances, she was positively old-fashioned in her opinion of Roger Hale Sheaffe. It was especially annoying to her that he seemed to be "receiving more credit [than Brock] as the winner of the Battle of Queenston Heights."[170] Of course, by 2004 it was generally conceded that Sheaffe was in fact the victor of Queenston Heights. But Sheaffe was not Fryer's idea of a hero, and the notion that he could rival Brock touched a nerve. Defensively, she retorted, "a hero is a person who dies young and not in his or her own bed. This was Brock. Sheaffe died at age eighty-eight, in his bed in Edinburgh."[171] *Ergo*, Sheaffe was no Brock and certainly no hero. But besides the several paroxysms brought on by a strict adherence to a traditional reading of history, Fryer's treatment of Brock's life was merely another rehashing of the same old story. Perhaps anticipating just such a criticism, she took a defiant stance in her preface: "Another book about Sir Isaac Brock? Why not? Perhaps I have something different to say."[172] In the final analysis, however, she did not, which led one extremely perturbed reviewer to disparage her book as "little more than a turgid recital of facts," and one that reinforced the commonly held belief that "Canadian history is boring and irrelevant."[173]

Canadian history, however, was really not the issue. As long as Brock's biography could be used to sell children's books, publishers would continue to seek out authors willing to revamp his life for pseudo-educational purposes. The last offering along this line, at least the last children's biography of Brock to make its appearance prior to the bicentenary of his death, was Cheryl MacDonald's *Isaac Brock: Canada's Hero in the*

War of 1812. A writer and local historian from near Nanticoke, in southwestern Ontario, MacDonald published her book in the spring of 2012 as one of the titles in James Lorimer and Company's Amazing Stories series. Curiously, however, the story told by MacDonald was spared the abuse visited upon Fryer's *Bold, Brave, and Born to Lead*, even though the two books were very much alike with regard to content and presentation. The major difference was MacDonald's willingness to ask some difficult questions about Brock's leadership. She began by wondering "what might have happened if Brock had not conveniently died at the height of his popularity."[174] There then followed a deep line of questioning, which was relatively advanced for youthful reading material. "As the war progressed, and the Americans' military competence increased," MacDonald began, "would his [Brock's] bold impatience have led to a rash decision and a disastrous defeat in which too many lives were lost? Given his minimal combat experience and his devotion to his men, how would he have reacted to a defeat? More importantly, how would the population have reacted? Would the 'Saviour of Upper Canada' have fallen from the heady heights he reached after Detroit? Did he ever deserve the title in the first place?"[175] Here was an exceptional attempt to encourage young readers to think critically about the past, especially with regard to the famous people who inhabited it. Yet, MacDonald seems not to have been entirely comfortable with her critique and quickly restored the hero to his pedestal. After accepting that there were legends surrounding Brock and his accomplishments, MacDonald got to what she saw as the crux of the matter: "the truth is that he was an exceptional man in an exceptional time who accomplished something probably no other individual could have."[176] Clearly, although Brock's cult appeal had been greatly diminished by the time MacDonald's book was published, there was still more than a hint of hero worship in her interpretation of his life.

Of course, even before MacDonald began her manuscript, the degree to which any children's or young adults' books could influence juvenile impressions of Brock was at best negligible. Despite the well-intentioned efforts of authors who continued to contribute these children's books, young Canadians, not unlike the country's older demographics, were just as likely to learn about Brock from the television screen as the printed page, if not more so. The Greatest Canadian poll of 1999 probably reflects a fairly accurate picture of Brock's relevance to the technologically advanced and multicultural makeup of Canada at the turn of the new

millennium. And despite having slipped in popularity by 2004 with the televised airing of *The Greatest Canadian*, a similarly inspired ranking exercise produced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Brock remained well within the fifty-greatest category.[177] Part of the reason for this poor showing was the increased competition he faced. As was reported in the *Globe and Mail*, "any Canadian is theoretically eligible, living or dead, as long as he or she was born here, or lived here, or made a major contribution to the country."[178] The ultimate goal, of course, was to proclaim *the* greatest Canadian, and the format of this thirteen-episode television special was anything but traditional CBC programming. Rather, it was reminiscent of a political convention stateside, "a carnival of democracy" according to Canadian commentator Rex Murphy, and one that took its cues from the quantified viewer participation of nationwide polls.[179] The show's co–executive producer, Mark Starowicz, clarified the premise behind *The Greatest Canadian* by stressing that the "aim isn't objectivity or absolute historical accuracy, but an irreverent, heated debate."[180] For Starowicz, it was more about the process than the outcome. "The ultimate winner isn't really the point," he explained. "Clearly there is no such thing, in a certain sense, as the greatest Canadian."[181]

The journey was what mattered most, and Starowicz offered Canadians "a style of documentary that tries to argue and incite as much as educate."[182] Brock, however, failed to garner enough votes for a spot in the top ten category, where a celebrity commentator would have argued his merits. Even if Brock had rated this special consideration, his spokesperson was not likely to have been an elderly Pierre Berton. Although one of the show's more notable participants, Berton took a very dim view of Brock because he "was not a Canadian and I wouldn't call him a great Canadian because he was British to the core, and he wanted to get the *hell* out of Canada!"[183] Berton was right, of course, except that he forgot to mention that Brock's determination to leave Upper Canada diminished as the threat of war with the United States became ever more ominous. In any case, Tommy Douglas, a former socialist premier of Saskatchewan, leader of the New Democratic Party, and champion of public health insurance in Canada, went on to win the contest—whether or not the NDP actually rigged the vote as Christie Blatchford of the *Globe and Mail* alleged.[184] Yet, despite Brock's relatively poor showing (twenty-eight spots behind Douglas), he still rated one of the dramatized biographical sketches allotted to the fifty greatest Canadians in the opening episode's

countdown to the top ten.[185] This was the same sketch in which Berton vehemently rejected Brock's eligibility. And while Brock's all-too-brief appearance on *The Greatest Canadian* must have disappointed many of his admirers, those with longer memories might have taken some consolation from the fulsome treatment he had been afforded by other CBC programming over the years.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation had a well-established reputation for pandering to nationalist sentiment, arguably through federal government social engineering exercises and the production of historical documentaries, including its War of 1812–themed specials, one of which was televised to coincide with the 1962 sesquicentenary of that conflict. Written and hosted by Canadian political and constitutional historian John T. Saywell, the four-part series was tellingly titled *A War for Survival*. To Saywell, whose main interest was the study of historical crises underlying contemporary problems, the War of 1812 was the single most important event in the history of Canadian nationalism, given that Canada's preservation as a British colony ensured its subsequent development as a nation-state quite apart from the United States.[186] This great defining event, he claimed, was made inaccessible by a "formidable wall of myths" that impaired historians' ability to view the war's effect objectively.[187] For this reason, Saywell designed his series as a fresh exploration of ideas surrounding the conflict rather than the usual recital of war-related facts. Equally unorthodox was the format Saywell chose for his programs: a combination of play and commentary, with actors recreating events from the war, which were then debated by historians sitting in the wings.[188] Although novel for a historical documentary, Saywell's approach was in keeping with CBC programming. According to Canadian public historian Monica MacDonald, "historical dramas and docudramas were more familiar to CBC audiences than were historical documentaries," the former entertainments having been popularized on national radio since the 1930s.[189]

While infusing a complex story with actors recreating past events was an effective means of holding viewer attention, Saywell's programs, by their very nature, were meant for a cerebral rather than a mass audience. And his dissection of Canadian and American ideas "about conservatism, radicalism, and loyalty" made them all the more erudite.[190] Nor did it help that he was determined to avoid the familiar old personalities of the War of 1812, including the most popular among them. But try

as he might, Saywell was unable to revisit the conflict without there being some mention of Brock. During the fourth and last episode, a panel discussion dealing with fact and myth, the focus abruptly shifted from the Battle of Chateauguay as a mythological source of French Canadian cultural identity to the myth that Upper Canada's successful defence was attributable to its militia. This sudden departure came about when one of the historians, Charles P. Stacey, challenged the importance of the militia at Chateauguay and elsewhere. What amounted to the taking of a stand against the Militia Myth brought a happy rejoinder from Saywell, who participated as a panellist and announced that the historians had hit upon one of the main features of the war—namely, its "hordes of myths."[191] However, it soon became evident that this new avenue of discussion was not going to bring about an entirely serious exchange of ideas.

Initially, there was an important recognition: that myths had "created an artificial foundation for Canadian nationalism," a contrived type of nationalism that might collapse if too many of the myths underpinning it were made known and discarded.[192] Arthur R. M. Lower, one of Canada's old guard professional historians and a participant in the discussion, responded to this historiographical heresy by repeating the usual line about the militia of Upper Canada having won the War of 1812 for the British.[193] And when the session's facilitator, a political scientist from the University of Toronto by the name of Paul Fox, read a statement by the Anglican Bishop John Strachan dating from late in 1812, claiming that the militia had "twice saved this county [at Detroit and Queenston]," a now thoroughly contradicted Stacey reacted in a light-hearted but still somewhat defensive fashion: "I've always rather regretted that Sir Isaac Brock was killed before that was said because it would have amused him very much."[194] Ignoring Stacey's wisecrack, Lower proceeded to recite a quote by Brock in which the general articulated his appreciation for the militia. But Stacey, still wanting to have a bit of fun, feigned astonishment "at the Canadians doing so well!"[195] Unfazed, the magisterial Lower tried to answer his impudent colleague with another quotation in support of his argument, an undertaking that appears to have petered out as he fumbled through his notes.

The airing of this curious exchange involving Brock and the militia was unlikely to have had viewers sitting on the edge of their seats, which was perhaps just as well given that Saywell's revisionist attitude toward the War of 1812 and Canadian nationalism was not quite in

keeping with the CBC's mandate. As Monica MacDonald revealed in her 2019 book *Recasting History: How CBC Television Has Shaped Canada's Past*, television producers at the public broadcaster incorporated stories of historical figures like Brock into an existing conceptual framework that "blurred distinctions between time periods and frontiers, and allowed the dominant Canadian ideologies and values of the television era to be superimposed on the historical characters." These same producers further "helped to establish an idea of national continuity and identity from the earliest days of European exploration and colonization up to the present day."[196] In essence, they built on existing historical myths to create new ones aimed at nurturing the idea of a unified Canadian nation, when it was really an artificial construct that leading political historians like Lower tried to theorize into a false narrative of continuity. For their part, the producers "tended to downplay or resolve disruptions to that continuity, especially in connection to the ideas about national identity they wanted to promote," including "through programs on war, national politics, relations between French and English Canada, and conflict between Canada and the United States."[197]

The effect of CBC's televised historical programming was profound in shaping modern impressions of Canada's history, with the medium giving emphasis to the message. Or, as MacDonald expressed it: "Television: ubiquitous, immediate, and intimate, it greatly influences our understanding of both current and past events. History in books or museum exhibitions does not capture mass audiences like history on television. And the CBC is the only television broadcaster, indeed the only form of electronic mass media, that has regularly produced and broadcast Canadian history."[198] Included in these television productions were traditional and slightly jingoistic portrayals of Brock, all of which helped to maintain his relevance to the national narrative. They were especially popular in the early to mid-1960s and also around the time of the centennial celebrations in 1967, insomuch as they conformed to the idea that Canadian Confederation had its origins in the War of 1812—a concept that was accepted as historical fact by one of the nation's best-known and most nationalistic historians. In reinforcing this belief, Arthur R. M. Lower used a comforting analogy: "The essence of the War of 1812 is that it built the first storey of the Canadian national edifice."[199] Had Brock not saved Upper Canada from the Americans, the future country would have been lost along with the colony. It was an extremely attractive notion,

despite Saywell's attempts to expose the underlying myths associated with the War of 1812 and Canadian nationalism. But no matter its apparent relevance, filmmaking interest in Canada's colonial struggle proved to be short-lived. After a National Film Board documentary featuring the conflict was produced in 1967, the War of 1812 seems to have lost its appeal among Canadian directors and producers.[200] This was certainly the case at the CBC after the war's sesquicentenary in 1962. Viewers of the public broadcaster were instead treated to historical programming that encompassed other aspects of their national character, such as the 1974 docudrama miniseries based on Pierre Berton's book *The National Dream*, which chronicled the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the 1880s. Like the book that inspired it, the dramatized version was a great success and something that Berton hoped to repeat.

In 1981, a major project based on Berton's bestselling books about the War of 1812 was contemplated by the CBC. But in a considerable disappointment to all involved, the proposal was rejected on account of the high cost to finance such an epic production.[201] Consequently, Canadian television audiences were deprived of a captivating storyline that only Berton could have delivered, not to mention a compelling portrayal of Brock's character. The concept, however, remained a popular one, and funding proved to be less of an issue in the latter 1990s, when a couple of journalists-turned-filmmakers began work on a lavishly produced bilingual docudrama on the conflict. In April of 1999, with the first of four parts featuring Brock in a leading role, TVOntario—the provincial educational television network—began airing *The War of 1812*, a collaboration by brothers Brian and Terence McKenna (whose unflattering portrayal of Canadian bomber pilots during the Second World War, in the CBC's production of *The Valour and the Horror*, had gained them much notoriety earlier in the decade). Not ones to shy away from controversial topics, the McKennas employed a similarly uncompromising approach in recreating the War of 1812. The rooting out of historical injustice was a major component of their filmmaking style, and much of their effort on this occasion highlighted the broken promise of a homeland for Tecumseh and his confederacy. Despite the McKennas' best efforts, however, *The War of 1812* was found somewhat lacking, and by one of their journalistic own, no less.

As John Allemang, television critic at the *Globe and Mail*, detected in his review of the McKenna brothers' production, "There's a strong

sense of anachronism here, unqualified by historical analysis—instead of expert commentary, actors in period headgear make stiff and earnest speeches to the camera."[202] It was how the McKennas preferred to tell their story, "through historical figures reading from their own letters, diary entries and other sources," or so John Barber, another *Globe and Mail* journalist, gathered from an interview with Brian McKenna, the film's director.[203] And as far as Brian was concerned, journalists such as he and his brother were every bit as qualified to write about Canada's history as professional historians.[204] McKenna let his position be known while defending *The Valour and the Horror*, when he emphatically stated that historians did not understand the fundamental importance of asking "the toughest questions."[205] Yet, as Monica MacDonald would come to observe in *Recasting History*, "professional historians were already asking these kinds of questions, and they were increasingly writing about women, Indigenous people, and the rank and file over high-ranking military."[206] It was a valid argument, and the McKennas—had they known of it—might have responded with a similar argument to defend their use of actors in telling the nation about its history—a method that had already been long used in conjunction with Canadian documentary filmmaking. But Allemang was correct in observing how the onscreen absence of professional historians, and their expert commentaries, constituted a missed opportunity.[207] The McKenna brothers certainly stood to benefit from an exposure to modern historical scholarship on the War of 1812, if only for the sake of a less dated interpretation. Canadian military historian Jack Hyatt was one of many potentially good choices, especially given that he had championed Prevost's cause with a revisionist interpretation of his defensive policy during the War of 1812.[208] With such expertise at their disposal, the McKennas might have avoided a major gaffe in representing Prevost as an inordinately cautious commander.[209] It was an old stereotype that should have been challenged. Unfortunately, however, Prevost was portrayed in an excessively traditional light, and so, too, was his subordinate in Upper Canada.

The McKenna view of Brock was favourable, indulgent, and closely aligned with the impressions of aging baby boomers and their antecedents. To this segment of Canadian society, especially those individuals among the English-speaking population, Brock was still a military genius whose greatest challenges in defending Upper Canada resulted from Prevost's blind compliance to government policy. These assumptions

were badly in need of a rethink, which the McKennas failed to provide. However, the brothers were rather more progressive in other respects. Prevost might have failed to impress them, but they developed a very high regard for his daughter—mainly because her diary offered a much sought-after "woman's perspective on the war."[210] While Anne Prevost actually had a fairly limited view of passing events, the McKennas treated her experiences as though they were representative of all women across the Canadas.[211] Such was not actually the case, and yet this fine point was not likely to have altered her usefulness. The frequently overlooked role of women in the war was an important consideration; however, the conflict's importance relative to the origins of Canada warranted scant attention. The McKennas were not much interested in using their docudrama to promote the nationalist cause that some Canadians expected of them. Not surprisingly, Allemang failed to see a foundational basis for all the dramatic recreations, and "as comforting as it may be to see the fight against the American invaders as a defining moment for the Canadian identity, it still looks here like a less-than-glorious expression of British colonialism."[212] Yet, Victor Suthren, the author of the illustrated popular history that accompanied the television broadcast, very definitely saw the origins of a new nation in the War of 1812. Formerly a director of the Canadian War Museum, Suthren likened the conflict to a form of bloodletting, and in the "clash of contentious forces and ideas, decisions are made and perceptions are altered that force change upon individuals and upon nations and create new realities."[213] Among them was an enhanced sense of two North American nations, whose respective peoples emerged from the war with a marked understanding "of who they were or who they were not."[214] One of Suthren's reviewers was of a similar mind, and as Roger Hall opined, "the American invasion gave Canadians both backbone and opportunities for bicultural mythology—the stuff of which nations are, if not built, then fabricated."[215]

While the McKenna docudrama might have been wanting in national feeling, it still offered a solidly engrossing film, a competent overview of the War of 1812, and one that placed a goodly emphasis on the part played by Brock. Writing in *Broadcast Week*, the *Globe and Mail*'s television magazine, John Doyle reacted with a trendy colloquialism: "This is all good—there are way too many people living on streets named after Brock and Tecumseh who don't have a clue about any of this."[216] In other words, Doyle approved of the way in which the McKenna brothers

utilized the docudrama format to engage with Canadians about a crucial event in their nation's history, which was more than any historian had ever managed to achieve in the pages of a book—with the exception of Pierre Berton and his two-volume set on the War of 1812, which unfortunately appealed mainly to an older audience of readers. Yet, its success was a significant accomplishment, and not merely in the world of Canadian publishing. As Monica MacDonald recognized, Berton's similar success with the television adaptation of *The National Dream* marked "a turning point" in historical filmmaking that witnessed the transfer of authority "from professional historians to professional journalists."[217] But whether good, bad, or indifferent, it was the McKenna brothers—a pair of professional journalists—who gave many Canadians, especially those of a younger generation, their first introduction to the War of 1812.

It was also in the latter half of the 1990s that the idea for a major historical docudrama took hold at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, where the time was judged right for a big-budget bilingual production on the history of Canada.[218] After several years and much determined effort, the series was launched in October of 2000. The year-long, seventeen-episode series that followed offered Canadians an unparalleled opportunity to experience the entirety of their national experience, from the pre-contact period right up to modern times. The creator and executive producer of this twenty-five-million-dollar extravaganza was Mark Starowicz, who as we saw would go on to develop the concept behind CBC's *The Greatest Canadian* series in 2004. As for his earlier docudrama project, the ostensible purpose was to instill a greater appreciation among Canadians for their country's collective history, hence the slightly socialist-sounding *Canada: A People's History.*[219] This all-embracing sort of title, no matter how well-intentioned, proved something of a misnomer, especially when several professional historians noticed that ordinary people were largely overlooked in favour of the elite and their leaders.[220] One of these leaders was Brock himself, whose image of selfless civil and military devotion to the fledgling nation earned him a prominent place in the fifth episode.

Brock's treatment was remarkably similar to that which he received from the McKennas. There was also a general similarity that extended to the preference for dialogue spoken directly into the camera. As for historian participation, it was likewise limited to off-screen consultations—none of which were taken too seriously by senior-level documentary producers at CBC.[221] The result was a journalistic interpretation of what

comprised good history on television: a linear narrative of chronological events supported by first-hand accounts, event recreations, and emotive acting.[222] The on-air expertise of professional historians, provided it was given due consideration, might have enhanced the viewing experience with a more objective analysis of Canada's past. Instead, viewers were treated to an overly dramatized exercise in presentism (or the interpretation of history based on present-day standards), something that John Allemang touched upon when he described *Canada: A People's History* as "simply a series of stories, some good, some dull, some carrying the ring of truth, others twisted to serve a more modern cause."[223]

Despite Allemang's indifference, the docudrama produced by Starowicz still served a very useful historiographical purpose. It introduced Canadians to little-known figures from their nation's past, and reintroduced famous but forsaken ones like Brock. Moreover, it did so in an interesting fashion. To an entertainment-obsessed society, as Canada had become in the half century since the founding of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in 1952, *Canada: A People's History* was immensely popular. This appeal extended deep into the ranks of professional historians, even if most of them were unwilling to publicly admit as much. Irving Abella, who taught history at York University, was among the more candid of the academic set. After the airing of several episodes, he reminded *Globe and Mail* readers of the situation that existed prior to the series' debut. "A year ago," the professor recalled,

> prominent historians and others were lamenting that Canadian history was dead. As a subject, they said that it was badly taught and researched, and for most Canadians it had become irrelevant. In books, articles, conferences and debates, they pointed fingers and demanded to know who had killed Canadian history and why. But suddenly, over the past month or so, millions of Canadians have been glued to their television sets every Sunday night watching, and apparently savouring—guess what?—a documentary series on Canadian history. It's alive and well, and reports of its death are greatly exaggerated.[224]

Abella was clearly a fan of the series. But as Allemang had let it be known, not everyone was quite so smitten, and few, if any, were more outspoken than one of his own colleagues.

Although John Doyle, who also worked for the *Globe and Mail*, had earlier decided that the McKennas' War of 1812 docudrama was "all good," he was not prepared to extend the same indulgence to the Starowicz production—no matter the similarity in style. Instead of praise, there was panning. "As every man, woman and child in Canada must know by now," Doyle huffed in his new role as the newspaper's television critic, "*A People's History* is a hit and has saved CBC Television from a fate worse than death—irrelevancy. What hardly anybody is willing to admit in public is that the whole thing is a joke."[225] It was a staggering remark, which Doyle promptly clarified: "What I mean is, depending on your sense of humour, much of what happened in Canadian history was ridiculous, idiotic and ripe for a good laugh."[226] This, too, was an eye-opening statement, but one that proved accurate in at least one sense. It was just a few years later, in 2004, that the success of *The Greatest Canadian* underscored the ratings potential of a light-hearted and almost flippant attitude toward history. And when the CBC decided on a documentary as its contribution to the bicentenary of the War of 1812, the preference was for a tongue-in-cheek tribute. *The War of 1812: Been There, Won That* was a special two-hour long *Doc Zone* episode that offered viewers history "with a thoroughly modern take."[227] This "modern take" was code for a humorous and condescending re-evaluation of "all our cherished assumptions about the War of 1812."[228] With comedic actor Peter Keleghan serving as host and playing the part of a graceless lout intent on arguing Canadian pretensions to having won the War of 1812, the program, scheduled for early October 2012, ran the risk of becoming a joke—not like that expressed in Doyle's low opinion of Canadian history generally, but rather a joke on the CBC itself.

There was a very real threat that CBC viewers might switch the channel, based on nothing more than a negative reaction to all the patronizing media hype that preceded the broadcast of *The War of 1812: Been There, Won That*. But unlike Doyle's skeptical attitude toward the CBC's earlier and overly dramatic attempt at purveying Canadian history, he now offered some timely words of support. While acknowledging the program as "slightly mad" and "flaky as all get-out," he also gave it credit for being genuinely informative and worth viewers' time.[229] What they got in return was a curious mix: a fairly standard retelling of the War of 1812 interspersed with intriguing details about lesser-known facets of the conflict, as well as the expert commentary that was excluded from CBC's

The War of 1812 and *Canada: A People's History*. By this measure, it was a true documentary as opposed to a docudrama; the main difference being casually dressed experts who took the place of actors in period garb. Moreover, and despite covering a conflict that extended over three and a half years, *The War of 1812: Been There, Won That* devoted nearly a third of its air time to Brock—and for good reason. A number of the "cherished assumptions" tackled by the documentary involved him directly.

The first of these assumptions, or myths, was investigated at the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa, where a staged discussion of the musket ball hole in Brock's coatee led to a debate about his last words. Based on the size of the hole and the obvious severity of the wound it inflicted upon the wearer's chest, Keleghan concluded that Brock had been unable to speak once he was shot and so any further consideration of the subject was pointless. But Dr. Christopher Milroy, the forensic pathologist invited to share his skill and knowledge, repeatedly insisted that Brock could have spoken after he was mortally wounded, whereupon Keleghan pulled out a mock pistol and shot the contrarian expert point blank in the chest. After Milroy fell to the floor moaning, but without vocalizing a word of any kind, Keleghan turned to the camera and smugly said, "Nothing—told you."[230] Having proved his point, if only for the sake of the skit, Keleghan proceeded with the equally contentious myth of Brock's engagement to Sophia Shaw, whose first name Milroy thought Brock might have mustered just enough strength to enunciate before he died. Unlike his scripted opinion about Brock's final utterance, Keleghan was less definite in his attitude toward the reputed love affair, despite having hinted that a very distant relative seemed to have a secret knowledge of the romance. But when Oliver Brock was shown making a gesture zipping his lips, it was not because he really had anything to hide. Rather, it was a nervous reaction to an uncomfortable line of questioning. "There may have been a Sophia, yes," Brock stumblingly admitted. "I understand there was someone called Sophia in that time, in that time-frame, in that place, and he may well have been courting her. I don't know."[231] However, as Keleghan had already decided, "I think cousin Olly knows something he's not telling!"[232] And so the myth of Brock's betrothal to Sophia Shaw was allowed to stand, if only because it made for good television.

Another misconception pertaining to Brock was touched upon by way of a reference to the Canadian Militia's contributions to the War of 1812, which brought the rather enlightened acknowledgement that

British military successes in Upper Canada had actually resulted from the involvement of army regulars. Yet, besides this brief and passing repudiation of the Militia Myth, the program did little to offset other misconceptions, including those relating to Brock. He was instead imbued with the same old mythical status that should have been called into question. Consequently, viewers encountered many of the familiar milestones in Brock's life—except for the preposterous moment where he and Tecumseh were outed for having enjoyed the "original bromance" at Detroit. Apart from this lame attempt at shock humour, Brock was represented to be just as daring and clever as everyone at CBC seemed to assume, which Keleghan coyly implied was in compliance with some directive from far on high. During the opening sequence of *The War of 1812: Been There, Won That*, he ruefully pondered the conflict as a "weird, forgotten and confusing mess. So, why are we bothering with it? Why are we asking you, well begging you, really, to sit with us here for two hours as we talk about a 200-year-old war between the British and Canadians on one hand, and our pals the Americans on the other? Well, simple, because the federal government wanted us to."[233] This clever little jab, in addition to being a snide CBC-sanctioned criticism of the Conservative government of Prime Minister Stephen J. Harper, was also part of a broader reaction to its perceived goal of stimulating Canadian militarism.

As early as the summer of 2011, Canadian journalists had begun to focus their attention on the Harper government's plans to commemorate the War of 1812, and in October of that same year a formal announcement was made on the subject by Heritage Minister James Moore. During his presentation, Moore stressed the importance of that particular conflict by stating, "Without the War of 1812, Canada as we know it would not exist," and how having "a mindset within the department [of Canadian Heritage] that tips and tilts a little more toward teaching and supporting the history of Canada is something I think Canadians would welcome."[234] To this end, the newly established 1812 Commemorative Fund was designed to provide financial assistance to such worthy projects as monuments, plaques, battle re-enactments, films, plays, and even musical performances.[235] With an estimated cost to taxpayers of approximately twelve million dollars over four years, the Conservatives justified their initiative based on the results of a survey conducted several months earlier for the Department of Canadian Heritage. According to

an unidentified official, the survey showed that the War of 1812, "while being a seminal event, may not be something that a lot of Canadians recognize or understand."[236]

Actually, the situation was more dire than even this anonymous official was willing to admit. Out of 1,835 respondents, just 257 (or 14 per cent) could correctly identify the countries involved in the conflict. "Only about half of those aware of the war could correctly identify at least one historical figure, such as Laura Secord, who warned British forces of a U.S. attack or Isaac Brock, a military hero killed in the conflict," even when provided with a list of their names.[237] As if this high degree of ignorance was not bad enough, there was also a corresponding level of apathy. Only three in ten respondents "strongly agreed that the war was an important chapter in the history of Canada," and only four in ten somewhat agreed.[238]

Overall, the survey found that people's enthusiasm to learn more about the war was regional and age-dependent, meaning that there was less interest among younger Canadians and those living beyond Ontario. This finding was not entirely unexpected, as it was in Ontario (Upper Canada in 1812) where many of the war's battles were fought. Regardless of the potentially divisive nature of this Ontario-centric history project, the Harper government felt an obligation to "show Canadians why the war mattered," insomuch as it laid the foundations of their nation.[239] Promoting this awareness was part of the Conservatives' winning 2011 election platform, specifically Harper's determination to make the heroic aspect of Canadian military history a more prominent feature of the country's national identity. With this recognition, especially in the news media, Harper's plans for the War of 1812 bicentenary quickly became a partisan issue. To Jane Taber, a political journalist at the *Globe and Mail*, there was a Conservative agenda, and it was as plain as a pikestaff: "Stephen Harper is working to recast the Canadian identity, undoing 40 years of a Liberal narrative and instead creating a new patriotism viewed through a conservative lens. . . . For Mr. Harper and his Conservatives, the payoffs could be great: a new pride in the country, an ability to shape the view of new Canadians and, politically, the potential to marginalize the Official Opposition NDP [New Democratic Party]."[240] Additionally, along with suspicions of Harper's desire to restore a greater degree of regal symbolism to Canada's constitutional monarchy, there also came accusations amounting to social engineering.[241]

Sounding the alarm most resoundingly was leftist historian Ian McKay and social activist Jamie Swift, who took it upon themselves to counteract what they viewed as the Harper government's dangerous attempts to militarize Canadian society by encouraging a sense of pride in the country's combat achievements.[242] In their extreme disdain for anything smacking of militarism, McKay and Swift touched upon a larger issue still at play in academe: the history wars. As progressive social historians continued to battle their more traditional counterparts for supremacy over history departments across the land, the ideological contest between liberals and conservatives took a curious turn by focusing on the perceived threat that the Harper government's new "warrior nation" mentality posed to an inclusive retelling of Canadian history. For vocal critics like veteran journalist Jeffrey Simpson at the *Globe and Mail*, the Conservatives were actively going about "dusting off of fragments of the past that suit their politics—which is why the military and the monarchy are their favoured subjects for historical attention."[243] It was a damning accusation, and equally detrimental to this particular Conservative cause was the Harper government's own budget cuts to federal institutions tasked with preserving and promoting Canadian history, especially the county's national library and archives. Historians such as Jack Granatstein, who believed that the Harper government was genuinely "more concerned with honouring history than most of its predecessors," were shocked by the double standard.[244] That the Harper government had well and truly shot itself in the foot became obvious when Granatstein, the leading proponent of nationalist history in Canada, delivered a scathing verdict on the Conservative belt-tightening measures: "It shows nothing so much as contempt for the past and, regrettably, for the future as well."[245]

Similar objections continued to mount, ultimately resulting in a standing committee investigation into the Harper government's alleged misuse of history for political purposes.[246] Before that eventuality came to pass, however, Peter Jones, a professor of public and international affairs at the University of Ottawa, put things in perspective when he wrote, "there is nothing inherently Conservative in trying to manipulate the past for political purposes. The Liberals spent many years trying to create an image of Canada that evolved around supposedly historic attachments to concepts of multiculturalism and 'peacekeeping,' both of

them frequently misunderstood ideas that had little to do with Canadian history until relatively recently."[247]

Moving on from his what-goes-around-comes-around interpretation, Jones proposed that the War of 1812 helped to bring about what he termed the "North American Regional Consensus." It was a largely unspoken recognition "that the cost of fighting for any possible treasure on the other side of the border is patently ridiculous when it is simply easier and cheaper to exchange these things by trade; that two quite different systems of government can coexist perfectly well; and (for Canadians) that maintaining stability and security in the northern half of the continent ourselves means that the United States will not feel compelled to do it for us."[248] It was this legacy—one of peace and stability through economic interdependence—that made the war worth celebrating. While certainly visionary, this new spin lacked the appeal associated with the long tradition that the War of 1812 gave rise to the Canadian nation.

"Had the war ended differently, had the American invasion not been repelled, Canada as we know it would not exist."[249] Such was the "defiant syllogism" of the Canadian Heritage Minister James Moore, and John Allemang of the *Globe and Mail*, like many Canadians, found it difficult to contradict this particular party line. However, the perceived foundational relevance of the War of 1812, particularly with regard to Canadian Confederation in 1867, was by no means original to the Harper government; it was older than the nation itself, and a frequent theme of discussions dealing with the long-term effects of the war. The quasi-syllogism, for example, was a take on the popular latter nineteenth-century nation-building rationale that Brock saved Canada; Canada became a nation; and thus, without Brock, there could be no Canadian nation. This linkage between Brock and Canada had become extremely popular among Anglo-Canadians around the turn of the twentieth century, and particularly so in the several decades on either side of the 1912 centenary of Brock's death. In that patriotic era, greater emphasis was placed on Canada's relationship with Britain, and just as the plaque on Brock's boyhood home in Guernsey was seen to proclaim upon its unveiling in 1934, he "saved Canada for the empire."[250] Of course, by 2012 Brock's significance to Canada had become entirely nationalistic in tone, and to some deep-thinking individuals he deserved rebranding as *the* Father of Confederation. This, however, would have been a step too far for the Harper government, whose preference for that high honour was belied

by a spokesman for Moore in October of 2011. It was then that James Maunder confidently described how the War of 1812 had "paved the way for Confederation."[251] Such an interpretation presented the bicentenary as a lead-up to yet another commemoration, and the Harper government had grand plans to mark the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Confederation in 2017 (before going down to defeat in the 2015 federal election). It must have been a happy coincidence that Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, was himself a Conservative and therefore one of their own.

Since Macdonald figured more prominently in the founding of the nation, it was probably thought best to restrict any treatment of Brock's influence to the earlier period in Canada's colonial history. Brock might have saved the country for Confederation, but he did not fit the Conservative image of a founding father—or the Canadian equivalent of George Washington, which is how one American congressman equated Brock's significance. William E. Miller, who relied a little too heavily on his own country's history for inspiration, formulated this peculiar comparison during the 1962 sesquicentenary of the Battle of Queenston Heights, well before much thought was given to historical figures other than great men. In the Canadian context, this tended to mean great men of British persuasion, and few could compare with Brock's greatness.[252] By 2011, however, when the Harper government announced its elaborate plans for the War of 1812 commemorations, there was also a conscious effort to include people beyond the usual cast of characters for a more egalitarian representation. In a manner similar to that employed by school systems throughout the country, Brock's legacy was harmonized with the contributions of other outstanding historical figures from the War of 1812, including the Shawnee war chief Tecumseh, Laura Secord of Beaver Dams fame, and the French Canadian military hero Lieutenant Colonel Charles de Salaberry. It was a nice mix, and a reflection of the Harper government's willingness to promote both a diverse and inclusive society. Although Brock's importance was further levelled as a consequence, this commitment to equality suited the politics behind the commemoration. And nowhere was it more evident than in the pocket change of the average Canadian.

On the eve of the bicentenary of the Battle of Queenston Heights, Rob Nicholson, the federal Conservative member of Parliament for Niagara Falls, participated in a special ceremony at Fort George, near

Niagara-on-the-Lake. He was there to unveil the "first of four circulation coins which commemorate key historical figures who influenced the fight for Canada from 1812 to 1814."[253] The inaugural coin, a twenty-five-cent piece, featured a pseudo-portrait of Brock on its reverse side set against a background of repeating bilingual text referencing the War of 1812, a banner identifying Brock by his surname, and a maple leaf with "1812" superimposed on it (being the Government of Canada's commemorative War of 1812 logo). There was little else to recommend the design, and Nicholson did not dwell on numismatics, preferring instead to cite his government's high regard for Brock and the battle in which he was killed. "Honouring the 200th anniversary of the War of 1812 with this special circulation coin," Nicholson declared, "pays tribute to one of our greatest national heroes and a crucial moment on the road to Confederation."[254] Ian E. Bennett, speaking as president and chief executive officer of the Royal Canadian Mint, went one better by reinforcing the otherwise debunked Militia Myth. This he did by declaring the name of Brock to be "synonymous with the heroic deeds of our forefathers who valiantly defended Canada 200 years ago."[255] So began the Harper government's attempt to edify Canadians about the War of 1812 by means of the time-honoured tradition of transforming coins into collectibles.[256] Similarly designed commemorative quarters followed in fairly rapid succession, honouring Tecumseh, then Secord, and finally de Salaberry. Introduced with comparable fanfare, tens of millions of these coins flowed through the Canadian economy, where they helped to reinforce the Conservative message about the War of 1812 and its importance as the precursor to Confederation.

As for Brock, he was afforded a sort of first-among-equals status—not that it really counted for much. While most Canadians were oblivious to any such distinction, a number of historians were less than comfortable with the Harper government's assertions about Brock's contribution to Canada's rise as a nation-state. Christian P. Champion, for one, although normally an outspoken supporter of the bicentenary, gave a rather muted opinion regarding the Harper government's interpretation when he wrote, "Not everyone would agree with Moore's 'direct linkage' of 1812 and 1867."[257] Another Canadian historian, the military specialist John R. Grodzinski, offered a more nuanced explanation by observing how "the war was the beginning of the process that led to Confederation" and how, in "the face of a common foe, the provinces of British North America

developed a sense of similarity, and realized they had shared ideas and values."[258] It was through this "sense of similarity" that the English-speaking colonists in the Canadas became determined to remain British, and central to this idea of Britishness—especially in Upper Canada—was the Militia Myth and the Loyalist tradition. Reinforced by the constant threat of American domination, this strong attachment to the British Empire was the overriding factor that ultimately brought the colonies together as a nation, an outcome that was just as likely to have occurred whether or not there had been a war with the United States in 1812.

Two hundred years later, despite all the angst and opposition directed toward the Harper government's bicentenary commemorations, the events went ahead as planned, but without attaining the desired educational and patriotic results. In January of 2013, Nanos Research conducted a survey for the Institute for Research on Public Policy to determine the effectiveness of the celebrations to that point. The Canadians polled were asked about the types of historic events they believed warranted the expenditure of time and money by the federal government, and the War of 1812 was not high on the list of priorities. As Gloria Galloway of the *Globe and Mail* reported, "many Canadians say they feel no greater sense of affinity for their country as a result of the federally instigated hoopla."[259] In fact, the survey proved disappointingly similar to the one conducted for the Department of Canadian Heritage in 2011, with only about three out of every ten Canadians supporting the government's celebration of the War of 1812.[260] Once again, it was respondents in Ontario who were most likely to feel a greater sense of patriotism in response to the government's initiatives, while people in Quebec were far less inclined and the rest of the country remained largely ambivalent. A greater enthusiasm was expressed for celebrating the centenary of women's suffrage in 2019, and there was considerable disappointment that the thirtieth anniversary of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (a Liberal achievement) had been all but ignored by the Conservatives in 2012. The semblance of politicized commemorations had an alienating effect, as did all the petulant bickering that went along with them. A notable example of off-putting partisanship came early in 2013, when New Democratic Party leader Thomas Mulcair claimed that the Harper government's commemorative plans consisted more of "political branding and jingoism than anything else." It was a characterization that was promptly rejected in a *Globe and Mail* editorial: "If it is an act of 'jingoism' to communicate such events,"

the paper argued, "or to mark the bicentennial of the War of 1812, then let's have more of it. These are critical opportunities to educate Canadians about their history and thereby enhance their identity."[261] There was just one problem: A Conservative-shaped Canadian identity was not to everyone's liking, especially to those individuals who lent their support to the country's major left-leaning political parties. And so it went, a battle for public opinion that was more about Harperism than history. But no matter how rife with dissension, the Conservative commemoration of the War of 1812 effectively reaffirmed Brock's historical significance. And it was the Harper government that resolved a long-standing controversy surrounding his monument.

Some years earlier, in the summer of 2006, Robert Malcomson had become more than a little riled with what he perceived to be an unacceptable situation on Queenston Heights. The tourist season was already well underway, and yet Brock's Monument was off-limits to visitors—just as it had been since 2003, when serious safety concerns were raised by reports of falling debris.[262] After some three years of inaction, and with the monument still surrounded by the temporary fencing that kept people five metres away, Malcomson, as the author of a definitive history of the Battle of Queenston Heights, decided to advocate for its immediate restoration. Upon learning that repairs originally slated to begin in the spring of 2007 were likely to be delayed until the following year, he opted to go public in an attempt to shame the government of Stephen Harper into taking action: "It's one of the most important sites in our history, and the neglect of this distinguished landmark has been shameful."[263]

Besides showing a lack of respect for Brock and the Battle of Queenston Heights, there was also the matter of lost economic activity. As Malcomson explained, "You hear a lot about tourism in Ontario these days, the problems it's having. . . . Well, if ever there was a gateway with some tradition and some panache, absolute panache, my goodness, it's Brock's Monument, which welcomes people across one of the busiest borders in the country. How could people not be taking advantage of that?"[264] Malcomson knew full well that the monument's historical significance was not a sufficiently motivating impetus for a timely restoration, one that was expected to cost upwards of two million dollars. However, the negative effect of its closure on local tourism would have been difficult for any anyone associated with the federal government to ignore, and Malcomson used this angle to his advantage. Bob Andrews

could well appreciate the frustration of people like Malcomson. As the Parks Canada superintendent of historic sites in the Niagara region, Andrews was himself disappointed by the lack of progress. After detailed engineering studies recommended a "thorough compatible restoration program," he expected that work would begin in 2007 at the latest—but "the money just wasn't there."[265]Although Andrews agreed that Brock's Monument was a "very significant Canadian icon," he also had to accept that Parks Canada was responsible for the maintenance of many historic sites and monuments across the country. "Is this," he asked in reference to Brock's Monument, "more significant than a native site in Saskatchewan or a French site in Quebec City?"[266]

It was "a tough call," and one made all the more difficult by the Harper government's budget cuts.[267] But thanks to the determined efforts of Malcomson and a number of other like-minded Brock enthusiasts, pressure was brought to bear and soon resulted in some good news. In early July 2007, the Conservative member of Parliament for Niagara Falls was pleased to announce that the restoration was on track for the spring of 2008 (with the government having already committed the necessary funding). However, Rob Nicholson's claims of support for "anything that honours that great man [Brock]" did not sit well with Malcomson—not after Nicholson blamed the restoration's delays on Paul Martin's Liberal government.[268] According to a *Globe and Mail* report,

> Mr. Nicholson was elected MP for the region less than 10 months after Brock's Monument was closed [in 2003] and "he did not take his own responsibility as a public representative to make its restoration a priority, no matter who sat on the throne in Ottawa," Mr. Malcomson said. Moreover, the Harper government has to have known that repairing the monument was a priority since the study calling for just that was published in February, 2006, one month after the election that brought the Tories to power.[269]

Perhaps Nicholson unfairly blamed the Liberals for delaying work that had yet to be specified, and Malcomson might have struck a more gracious tone once the Harper government agreed to foot the bill. Ultimately, however, there was no question that the restoration of Brock's Monument warranted a fair share of the public financial assistance that would be distributed for Canada's commemoration of the War of 1812. But although

Andrews hoped that the work could be completed in a timely fashion, with a rededication in October of 2008, that timeline proved a little too optimistic.[270]

It was not until nearly six months later, in April 2009, that the restoration of Brock's Monument was finally completed.[271] And with the removal of all the hoarding and scaffolding, the way was cleared for the monument's opening—just in time for that year's tourist season and well in advance of the bicentenary of Brock's death. It was something of a continuum, as there had been various other events commemorating Brock since the closure of his monument in 2003. Such interim measures were hardly surprising, given the significant anniversary that was beginning to attract attention. Among the more noteworthy of these other events was the 2006 unveiling of an unjustifiably pudgy bust as part of Ottawa's Valiants Memorial.[272] In that same year, a pre-existing freeway running through the Niagara Peninsula was named the General Brock Parkway.[273] There was a similar sort of naming exercise in 2012, when the Ontario legislature proclaimed every thirteenth of October as Major-General Sir Isaac Brock Day.[274] These sporadic reminders of Brock helped to keep his name before the Canadian people. But in terms of the public interest they generated, none—including the restoration of Brock's Monument—could hold a candle to the elaborate commemoration that was set to rattle the normally placid little village of Queenston on 13 October 2012.[275]

As was the case with earlier occasions in honour of Brock and the Battle of Queenston Heights, there were the usual rounds of speeches and dignitaries to deliver them. A new feature, however, included added attractions such as guided tours of the battlefield, musical entertainments, and various ceremonies, all spread out over three days. The main event was a massive re-enactment of the Battle of Queenston Heights, albeit one that was rather loosely choreographed. As Canadian geographer and historian Adam Shoalts viewed it, the re-enactment was "very different from how things would have looked two hundred years ago. For one thing, the average age and waistline of a soldier seems to have exponentially expanded since 1812."[276] Shoalts explained himself by pointing out that re-enactors tended "to be aging baby boomers able to afford an expensive hobby."[277] But to the estimated fifteen thousand spectators, strict historical accuracy mattered less than an entertaining spectacle— and the many re-enactors (numbering upwards of a thousand) certainly delivered a thrilling simulation of the battle. For Shoalts,

his participation as an American militiaman put him in the very thick of the action. In describing the experience, he recalled that through

> the smoke I could see a portly re-enactor [Scott Finlay] attired in the resplendent dress of a British general emerge in front. This was the lucky fellow who was the designated Brock. Maybe he had pulled the longest straw for the coveted honour. Our officer hastily yelled for us to make sure we were ready. As "Brock" charged across the field with his sword drawn a roar of applause emanated from the partisan crowd. By some strange bit of luck, among the hundreds of re-enactors, [a friend named] Blair and I found ourselves deployed in the very front centre of the American line directly across from the charging Brock. Orders were given to fire a timed volley. We leveled our muskets. Blair, overcome with the excitement of the moment, forgot the rules [not to point at anyone] and with undisguised glee, took aim directly at Brock. We all fired. Brock fell down as a very audible collective "awwh" echoed from the multitude.[278]

Although lacking in certain crucial details, the re-enacted fate that befell this stand-in for Brock was at least correct in portraying him at the head of his troops. In any case, it was a performance that proved extremely popular, and given the crowd's enthusiastic response, it would be safe to assume that most of the people on Queenston Heights that day had some idea of Brock's renown as the Hero of Upper Canada, even if none of them could actually account for his enduring popularity. With Brock's Monument rising high in the background, providing incontrovertible proof of his patriotic worth, it must have been generally assumed that he was deserving of all the praise that continued to be lavished upon him so long after his death. Even so, there might well have been any number of detractors among Brock's many thousands of admirers that day. But, as it happened, only one was brave enough to come forward and make himself known.

Stephen Sheaffe, a collateral descendant of Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe, had flown in all the way from Australia to make a case for the actual victor of Queenston Heights.[279] A few days before the bicentenary, this very determined fellow was interviewed for the *St. Catharines Standard*, and there was no holding back his frustration with Brock's pre-eminence.

"Everything's named after him. Brock roads. Brock University. Brockville," and yet there was hardly any recognition of the man who actually won the battle, except for a plaque on the terrace alongside Brock's Monument.[280] Stephen Sheaffe was insistent that the "playing field should be made more level. History should be accurately told."[281] It hardly seemed fair that Brock could have bungled the Battle of Queenston Heights and yet still be rewarded with a magnificent monument. Sheaffe had a valid complaint, and there was nothing particularly unusual about his protests against the flagrant injustice against his ancestor. The honour denied the true victor of Queenston Heights had long been an occasional source of historical grievance, not that the raising of it ever brought greater recognition for Sir Roger. This time around, however, the aggrieved soldier was represented by a peeved relative who raised the issue in person and at a rather inopportune time, which made him and his complaint considerably more difficult to ignore. It was something of a forced courtesy, therefore, when Stephen Sheaffe was allowed to speak during the commemoration at Brock's Monument. By all accounts, his comments were discreet, good-natured, and well-received. But Adam Shoalts was later informed that Sheaffe had planned to speak at some length about his ancestor as the unsung hero, advancing the idea that there were actually two battles at Queenston Heights: one that Brock lost and another that Sheaffe won.[282]

This reading of events, while not original to Sheaffe's descendant, apparently caused a minor furor among event organizers. The upshot was an undisguised threat that if he "dared make such a suggestion in the very gaze of Brock's Monument," as Shoalts related the incident, "he would have the microphone yanked out of his hands."[283] Queried about this affair nearly a decade later, Sheaffe had no recollection of any such attempt at intimidation, although he did recall being "certainly aware of the sacredness that was bestowed on Brock and the location." He also remembered that many things were said in jest behind the scenes, including one witty remark about renaming Brock's Monument in Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe's honour. Despite the jocularity, Stephen Sheaffe sensed that he "had to be a little diplomatic" in what he said about Brock.[284] At no point during his speech, however, did he refrain from emphasizing that it was his ancestor who emerged victorious from the Battle of Queenston Heights. And in the end, the oratorical exercise was far from satisfying, as Sheaffe's message failed to generate any discernible support

for his wronged ancestor. It was all very galling, since nothing about the mania for Brock made any sense. His monument was equally perplexing. While it appeared highly reminiscent of Nelson's Column in London's Trafalgar Square, Brock's services to the Crown could hardly compare with those of the famous admiral. There was simply no logical justification for Brock's having been honoured with such an extravagant memorial, except that he was killed in the heat of battle and there was a certain mystique to a general who fell in action. The implication, of course, was that Brock only rated a magnificent monument because he died a heroic death at Queenston. "People were looking for a hero and that's it," Sheaffe bitterly complained as he resigned himself in accepting the misdirected monument and the peculiar historical circumstances surrounding his ancestor's exclusion from Canada's roll of honour.[285]

Baffled by the seemingly special and utterly illogical treatment afforded Brock the loser over his ancestor the winner, Stephen Sheaffe laboured under the completely understandable misconception that the impressive monument commemorated the Battle of Queenston Heights, when, in fact, it was always intended as a mausoleum for Brock and his aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Colonel John Macdonell. Much of the confusion surrounding the monument's intended purpose stemmed from the decision to re-site its precursor—from the place of Brock's fall, down in Queenston village, to the top of the heights, where General Sheaffe won the battle. In doing so, the aesthetic consideration of a beautiful vista took precedence over strict historical accuracy, all while the victor of the Battle of Queenston Heights sank away into obscurity. Like Sheaffe's descendant some two hundred years later, most visitors to Brock's Monument—including those from Canada—would have been just as flummoxed had they given it a second thought. Instead, there was an unquestioning acceptance of Brock's heroic worth. A greater emphasis on the contorted backstory to the monument might have helped to clarify matters. But in the period between the late 1970s and the bicentenary in 2012, there was no real incentive to contradict the old established views of Brock's military ability, as Pierre Berton's highly successful volumes on the War of 1812 so clearly demonstrated. Thus, while military historians and their graduate students had all but eradicated the Militia Myth from academe and were beginning to make headway in challenging the concept of Brock as a military genius, a task made easier by the loss of his status as a role model in teaching young Canadians about their history, popular interest

in Brock's exploits remained curiously non-judgmental, despite the occasional attempts to afford Sheaffe greater consideration. But publications, documentaries, and contests aside, it was the monument on Queenston Heights that had the greatest long-term effect in assuring Canadians that Brock was just as great as they had been led to believe. This greatness, to which the warlike symbolism of his monument alluded, was of a purely military nature. What the impressive neoclassical column failed to convey, however, was the degree to which social engineering had contributed to Brock's enduring popularity.

Conclusion

When the massive meeting for the replacement of Brock's bomb-blasted first monument was called to order on Queenston Heights in July of 1840, each of the resolutions adopted was prefaced by fittingly eulogistic remarks. Among the leading lights called upon to exalt Brock's name was Judge James Buchanan Macaulay of Toronto, whose discourse also proved the most introspective. Suitably impressed by the masses gathered to honour "the unforgotten victim of a war now old in history," Macaulay poetically asked "how it happens that the gallant general who has so long slept the sleep of death, left the lasting impression on the hearts of his countrymen which this scene exhibits: how comes it, that the fame of Brock thus floats down the stream of time—broad—deep—and fresh, as the waters of the famed river, on whose banks we stand—and with its waters it might without hyperbole, be almost said, his life's blood mingled[?]"[1] Without giving pause to his oratory, Macaulay proceeded to rhyme off the positive character traits usually assigned to Brock's civil and military virtues. Included was "his patriotic self-devotion, his chivalrous gallantry, and his triumphant achievements"—references to his conquest of Detroit and martyr's death at Queenston.

But there was something more to this mystique of greatness, and Macaulay pressed the point by rhetorically questioning the source of Brock's "talismanic influence and ascendancy over his fellow men."[2] With his answer at the ready, Macaulay demanded to know if there were any seamen among the crowd. When the cheers of "yes! yes!" subsided, he proclaimed, "then I say, it was the *Nelsonian* spirit that animated his breast with its exciting impulses. It was the mind intuitively to conceive, and the soul promptly to dare, incredible things to feeble hearts—with a skill and bearing which infused that chivalrous and enterprising spirit into all his followers—and impelled them energetically

to realise whatever he boldly led the way to accomplish."[3] In other words, it was Brock's military genius, and specifically his courage as well as his charisma, both of which were major factors in his ability to inspire the confidence of his followers—whether on the battlefield or the colony at large. But after nearly twenty-eight years since Brock's death, there was obviously more at play than the Nelsonian spirit or any other combination of innate leadership qualities comprising military genius. As this book has revealed, "the fame of Brock"—or rather his enduring popularity—did not so much float down the "stream of time" on a wellspring of patriotic remembrance, as it was swept along by the Militia Myth—a national creation story that found form in the mass appeal associated with battlefield sacrifice, political expediency, and ideological aspirations. The essential component of this mythology was Brock's heroic legacy, which the Loyalists of Upper Canada exploited in confecting a collective sense of nationalistic pride and purpose.

Brock's enduring popularity had its origins in his spirited defence of Upper Canada during the War of 1812, and specifically his conquest of Detroit. Although risky, his successful initiative not only secured the colony militarily but improved the morale of its loyal inhabitants and quashed the disaffection of would-be traitors. While a similarly risky initiative at the Battle of Queenston Heights backfired in stunning fashion, his fame lost none of its lustre. Rather, Brock's legendary status overshadowed both his defeat and the battle's actual victor. By having died the death of a noble sacrifice, Brock transcended heroism to become a secular saint whose acolytes—especially those in the colonial militia—bathed in his reflected glory through a blind adherence to a politically motivated colonial ideology, not to mention an early form of social engineering. Such was the beginning of Brock's enduring popularity. Encouraged by the Family Compact, or ruling conservative elite, the unassailable belief that the Upper Canadian yeomanry had borne the brunt of colonial defence was utilized to form the basis for a national creation myth. As an outgrowth of the highly romanticized Loyalist tradition, the Militia Myth served a crucial purpose in maintaining Upper Canada's British sense of itself—and nothing was deemed more consequential for the colony's future development than a Loyalist identity that sustained an aversion to American influences. The continual threat of domination by this dangerous, contiguous, and ever-expanding republic helped to shape the Upper Canadian world view. Central to this outlook was a fixation

on Brock's dashing, if reckless, deeds and the preservation of British interests in North America. While Brock's main concern in 1812, besides glory seeking, was his duty to defend British territory from American aggression, loyal Upper Canadians saw his motives in terms of a broader and longer agenda—one that was political, social, and decidedly homegrown. As their very own saviour and martyr, the champion of their preferred British way of life, Brock was held in the highest regard, and they communicated their undying appreciation through various means, both private and public.

Capitalizing on the fear of American hegemony, the Loyalist ruling class took advantage of the reverence Upper Canadians felt for Brock by using his heroic legacy to influence colonial development. Along with the Militia Myth, Brock's determination to defend the colony reinforced the soundness of Loyalist arguments in favour of a strong British connection. Although generally vague and increasingly autonomous in their sentiments, especially after Confederation in 1867, these pro-British proponents retained an entirely favourable attitude toward Brock. They were no less devoted to the conservative values they associated with the British constitutional monarchy, which Brock had reinforced by his sacrificial brand of heroism. With the cult following of Canada's most populous region to bolster his image, Brock's popularity kept pace with Ontario's rise as the nation's most influential province. A major cultural export to the rest of the country was an abiding respect for Brock and the British Empire he represented. It was part of a nationalizing process that utilized a favourable recollection for political and societal purposes, including an informal partnership between Ontario's United Empire Loyalists' Association and the Conservative minister of education, who was keen to advance Canadian patriotism through educational indoctrination. Under Robert A. Pyne's administration between 1905 and 1918, the patriotization of Ontario schools in accordance with the Militia Myth and Loyalist tradition was intensified. Brock, as the inspirational icon for both the British imperial and Canadian nationalist schools of thought, was seen as the ideal role model in an increasingly militaristic classroom setting. Much of this Ontario-style patriotism spread to other provinces through the Canadian educational publishing industry, which was mainly centred in Toronto. The added prospect of lucrative sales was not limited to the many editions of history textbooks that presented Brock as a commendable figure, and his biography was a major selling point

for several series of books published with a view to providing Canadian schools with supplemental reading materials.

With the end of Pyne's tenure as minister of education in May of 1918, Ontario's influence in promoting a militarized form of curricular patriotism continued unabated into the interwar period, much to the frustration of anti-militaristic crusaders like Agnes Macphail. Despite this opposition, lessons drawn from the Militia Myth, the Loyalist tradition, and Brock's heroic story were viewed by most Canadians as essential for the development of a robust nationalism, especially when it became obvious that another war in Europe was looming. Throughout the Great Depression and the Second World War, Brock remained one of the leading role models for Canadian schoolchildren. Beginning with a severe economic downturn in the late 1920s and continuing with a general mobilization at the end of the 1930s, these catastrophic events caused severe upheavals in the nation's publishing sector, effectively putting an end to the seemingly endless stream of new Brock biographies. Yet, the country's youth still had an abundant supply of such books in the form of public library copies, as well as school textbooks and other reading materials, to reinforce their youthful notion of Brock's significant contribution to Canada's history.

The return of peace in 1945 brought economic prosperity and new educational publishing ventures featuring prominent historical figures, including Brock. But by the mid-1960s, there was mounting concern that Canada's cultural shift from a British nation to one based on multiculturalism, riven by English-French sectionalism, regionalism, and Americanization, would result in a general disconnect with the country's Anglo origins and a corresponding disregard for Brock. Nor did it help that this new sense of Canadian identity meant a further loss of political clout for the United Empire Loyalists' Association and a growing apathy toward the Loyalist tradition. Given Brock's strong imperial association, he might have suffered a similar demotion, one commensurate with the anticipated loss of his role model status. But because his War of 1812 exploits inextricably linked him to the history of Canada, he was guaranteed a place in the nation's history lessons and textbooks, if only in passing. Notwithstanding trends in the teaching of history, which aimed to elevate non-elite historical figures who would otherwise have been omitted from the historical record, Brock's enduring popularity was so thoroughly rooted in the Canadian mindset that he continued to be viewed

favourably throughout much of the nation. This attachment was due in large measure to lingering vestiges of his firmly established recognition as a great Canadian hero.

When the rise of a more self-assured style of Canadian nationalism should have had a generally deleterious effect on Brock's relevance, his name still had a tendency to evoke a positive response—this despite the increasingly regionalized nature of his heroism, which seemed to confine a recognition of the importance of his exploits to southern Ontario. But to many Canadians, no matter how far beyond the Niagara Peninsula they lived, there was still a desire to experience the landscapes that Brock would have known, and particularly those of his final days. It was a new type of history tourism, one that was driven by the country's postwar prosperity and a mania for automobile travel. Enhanced by the interpretative plaques and signage that came courtesy of Parks Canada, historic sites like Brock's Monument left a memorable impression on visitors seeking tangible evidence of the country's past. Included among this segment of the population were several generations of older Canadians, whose public school education included high praise for Brock and left them with an indelible if indistinct appreciation for his contribution to Canadian history.

A more direct boost to Brock's enduring popularity came in 1980 with the publication of *The Invasion of Canada*, the first installment in Pierre Berton's wildly successful two-volume history the War of 1812. Nationalistic in tone and sentiment, it set about debunking myths surrounding the war while at the same time popularizing traditional views of Brock. Although seemingly at cross-purposes with himself, Berton's usurpation of the professional historian's craft achieved an important, if unintended, objective: It focused academic attention on a largely overlooked aspect of Canadian military history—namely, Brock's military genius. While much of the aura surrounding his tactical leadership would be lost to criticisms of his conduct at Queenston, there was no corresponding diminution of admiration for Brock's personal qualities. Heroism and humanity were hallmarks of his generalship, and they continued to endear him to anyone sufficiently well versed in Canadian history to know his name. So strong was the attachment, particularly among English-speaking Canadians, that Brock remained firmly—if misleadingly—entrenched as the person most responsible for the preservation

of Britain's North American colonies, and also their eventual political unification.

While many types of remembrance, ranging from ephemeral to imperishable, helped to keep Brock's memory alive, none of them would have resonated beyond Upper Canada without the impetus of a conservative elite espousing a strong attachment to British institutions and traditions. By the time of Confederation in 1867, this same element of society continued to promote Brock's reputation as the Hero of Upper Canada—but in terms of the new dominion, and in order to accommodate an expanding sense of Canadian nationalism as independent but pro-British. Coinciding with the resulting broader interpretation of Brock's significance were three distinct and officially sanctioned experiments, each meant to reinforce, reaffirm, or recall the importance of former Anglo-colonial associations. First among them was the Militia Myth, fabricated and popularized by the Upper Canadian elite (or Family Compact) in the decades following Brock's uplifting victory at Detroit in 1812. The second of these experiments came about during the first two decades of the twentieth century, when executive members of the United Empire Loyalists' Association co-operated with Ontario's Conservative minister of education to use the teaching of history as a means of patriotic and militaristic indoctrination of Canadian schoolchildren. More recently, the third such experiment involved the federal Conservative government of Stephen Harper and its attempt to militarize the Canadian identity through commemorations of the bicentenary of the War of 1812.

The utilization of Brock's heroism to promote a greater sense of national identity had long been a favoured means of social engineering in Canada, but the Harper Conservatives took the exercise to extremes in a classic case of political opportunism. By celebrating the War of 1812 as a foundational moment in the history of Canada, there was also an obvious attempt to influence societal attitudes based on a preference for British traditions. While there was an implicit respect for Brock's heroism that rose above political differences, its exploitation was predominantly a conservative phenomenon meant to shape and strengthen the idea of a British nation in North America. Earlier, however, and well in advance of the bicentenary of the War of 1812, a multicultural approach to the teaching of Canadian history effectively levelled the importance of great men like Brock. Critical reappraisals of his battlefield competence, particularly those supplied by specialist military historians, furthered

the revisionist attitude toward him. But, despite the negative impact on his heroic legacy, Brock's enduring popularity remained intact.

Having revealed the range and activity of those vested interests whose members engaged in social engineering to exploit and manipulate Brock's legacy, this book has also grappled with the nagging question of his generalship: Was it a true reflection of military genius, or a false image? The incongruities between Brock's enduring popularity and the quality of his command have bedeviled this project from its very outset. Yet, as Arthur R. M. Lower would have recognized (had he been so inclined), Brock's military genius was a necessary component of the national creation myth—otherwise known as the Militia Myth. Moreover, and apart from the notable exceptions of Charles P. Stacey and Keith Walden, most military historians specializing in War of 1812 studies failed to consider the importance of mythology in shaping our perception of Brock's tactical and strategic abilities. Neither did they—or any of their colleagues, for that matter—recognize the extent to which social engineering was employed to promote the idea of Brock as a military genius, or its usefulness in exaggerating the role of the Upper Canadian Militia in defending the colony during the War of 1812. Instead, they tended to concentrate their efforts on Brock's tactical errors, especially at Queenston, where solid evidence of events during the early phase of the battle is sorely lacking. Assumptions filled the void and Brock was made to suffer the scapegoat's fate. But, if not a military genius, then neither was he a battlefield incompetent. Rather, Brock was a zealous and courageous commander, and both of these qualities were considered highly commendable in his day. While leading from the front was extremely dangerous, it was also notably charismatic, and generals like Brock had every right to undertake such actions. This gung-ho style of leadership certainly rewarded him handsomely at Detroit. But just as victory suppresses criticism, defeat invites blame. And so it was with Brock's downfall at Queenston.

Whether a carefully considered decision or an involuntary reaction, Brock's zealous leadership led him to an early but gallant death. And having died at the height of his fame, his defeat was made all the more victorious by its characterization as a crowning glory of self-sacrifice. It was heroic legacy made legendary, and it served a useful purpose by promoting Canadian nationalism in all its various manifestations. Yet, Brock's supposed part in bringing about Confederation by having saved

Upper Canada from American conquest is pure myth. He died far too early in the War of 1812 to have influenced its outcome—something that was left to succeeding British commanders who lacked his charismatic, heroic, and messianic qualities. Those generals who failed to defend Upper Canada as forcefully as Brock had done were severely denounced or simply forgotten by colonists and descendants alike. Brock, however, was never at risk of suffering one of these fates, because his style of leadership was bound to result in a spectacular victory or a glorious death, either or both of which the Loyalist elites of Upper Canada could put to good use in conjuring up a national creation myth.

Just as the war was resolved without Brock's further involvement, Canadian Confederation would have come about regardless of his success at Detroit and, more tellingly, his death at Queenston. The obvious inference is that Brock's contribution to the defence of Upper Canada—indeed, his lauded place in Canadian history writ large—was not so crucial as the Loyalists would have us believe. Like the Militia Myth, Brock's role in the War of 1812 was exaggerated. Other events during the war played a greater part in deciding the colony's fate, as the loss of its western frontier in October of 1813 demonstrates. This vast expanse of land became a veritable no man's land for the rest of the war, controlled by neither American nor British forces. At the end of 1814, it was diplomatic negotiations that restored the disputed territory; but Brock's great achievement earlier in the war had no bearing on the terms and provisions of the Treaty of Ghent. His significance lay, rather, in his inspirational qualities. By his dauntless defence of Upper Canada and bold capture of Detroit, Brock became a source of unbridled hope and confidence to the colony's loyal inhabitants. Suddenly, they had good reason to believe that their old and conservative way of life might yet prevail. Even if Brock's achievements were undone through the vicissitudes of war and a less-than-inspired leadership, his heroic legacy offered a viable and lasting means for securing a bastion of the British Empire in North America, even if it meant a fair degree of mythmaking.

Given the fame Brock achieved for his spectacular victory at Detroit, it must have seemed unlikely to most Upper Canadians that his heroic death at Queenston could ever be forgotten. If so, it was an assumption dramatically buttressed by the dastardly bombing of Brock's first monument and persuasively reiterated in Judge Macaulay's charge to the grand jury that assembled in response to the outrage. Brock's fame, he insisted,

could not be "obliterated from remembrance, though his monumental pile were crumbling in the dust."[4] It was "embalmed in the hearts of his countrymen; he lives in the historic page; and will survive in traditionary legends, faithfully transmitting his name, his exploits, and his fate, from sire to son, and from generation to generation."[5] But far from a natural outpouring of respect and admiration, one that was continually reinvigorated over time based on Brock's sterling worth, what Macaulay described was largely the result of social engineering—a term unknown to Upper Canadians in 1840, and a concept they would have naively viewed as the result of a spontaneously patriotic reaction. Yet, as the judge perhaps sensed, and this book definitely concludes, Brock's enduring popularity had more to do with Loyalist aspirations than with Brock himself.

Abbreviations

AO	Archives of Ontario
AVM	Archives de la Ville de Montréal
BUA	Brock University, James A. Gibson Library, Archives and Special Collections
LAC	Library and Archives Canada
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society
MUA	McMaster University, Mills Memorial Library, William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration
NFHM	Niagara Falls History Museum
NOTLM	Niagara-on-the-Lake Museum
PL	Priaulx Library
UGA	University of Guelph, McLaughlin Library, Archival and Special Collections
UTRB	University of Toronto, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

Notes

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1 For the range of events connected with the bicentenary celebrations, see *Niagara Advance* (Niagara-on-the-Lake, ON), 10 Oct. 2012, pp. 2–4, and 17 Oct. 2012, pp. 1, 24.

2 The collateral descendant was Stephen Sheaffe of Annerley, a suburb in Brisbane, Australia.

3 As far as Buckner was concerned, "these fine studies have certainly made another biography [of Brock] unnecessary." See Phillip Buckner, review of *A Matter of Honour: The Life, Campaigns and Generalship of Isaac Brock*, by Jonathon Riley, and *The Astonishing General: The Life and Legacy of Sir Isaac Brock*, by Wesley B. Turner, in *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 25, no. 2 (2012): 288.

4 Wesley B. Turner, *The Astonishing General: The Life and Legacy of Sir Isaac Brock* (Dundurn Press, 2011), 9.

5 Buckner, review of *A Matter of Honour* and *The Astonishing General*, 288.

6 Buckner, 288.

7 The Royal Military College was not established until 1801.

8 Sir James H. Craig was the governor-in-chief and military commander of British North America between 1807 and 1811.

9 As the effect of Brock's bold capture of Detroit was later concisely summed up, it "inspired the timid, fixed the wavering, and awed the disaffected." See "Campaigns in the Canadas," *Quarterly Review* 27, no. 54 (July 1822): 410.

10 This single-author collection was published after a *festschrift* had already been complied in Lower's honour. For the *festschrift*, see W[elf] H. Heick and Roger Graham, eds., *His Own Man: Essays in Honour of Arthur Reginald Marsden Lower* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974).

11 Welf H. Heick, ed., *History and Myth: Arthur Lower and the Making of Canadian Nationalism* (University of British Columbia Press, 1975), 3.

12 Heick, 3.

13 Heick, 2.

14 Heick, 2.

15 Lower, lacking the benefit of modern scholarship, appears to have been somewhat conflicted about the nuanced aspects of the War of 1812. Canadian militiamen, he wrote, "were defending their hearths and homes. As a result they took their place on honourable terms alongside the British regulars and the regular 'provincial corps' formed in the colonies, though it was the latter two categories of soldiers who did the serious fighting. The war could not have been conducted without the professional experience which the British forces contributed." See Arthur R. M. Lower, *Canadians in the Making: A Social History of Canada* (Longmans Canada, 1958), 180.

16 Adam Podgórecki, Jon Alexander, and Rob Shields, eds., *Social Engineering* (Carleton University Press, 1996), 2–4.

17 And yet, one professional historian, a specialist in Ontario's colonial past, came close to making a connection when he found obvious traces of an orchestrated attempt to promote anti-American sentiment after the War of 1812. As Gerald M. Craig concluded, "Suspicion of American republicanism increased generally throughout the province, but it was at its highest among those in or close to the government, who were more than ever determined that all policy must be aimed at maintaining that line of separation [between Upper Canada and the United States]." While Craig perceived the role of government policies intended to curb American immigration and influence, he failed to grasp the broader implication of social engineering. See Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784–1841* (McClelland and Stewart, 1963), 85.

18 Charles James, *A New and Enlarged Military Dictionary* (London, 1802), n.p.

19 Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. J[ames] J[ohn] Graham, 3 vols. in 1 (London, 1873), 1:24–36.

20 Tolstoy's reasons for being dismissive of military genius were paraphrased by his English biographer, who wrote, "owing to the incalculable different possibilities dependent upon even one of the incalculable unforeseen events that can occur at any moment, there can be no such thing as an exact science of war, and therefore there can be no such thing as military genius." As was further explained, military genius "is simply an epithet applied to any general so long as the historical tide is flowing, quite independently, in the direction which happens to suit his plans." See Derrick Leon, *Tolstoy: His Life and Work* (George Routledge and Sons, 1944), 148.

21 Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* (London, 1841), 316.

22 In Brock's time, there was an abundance of idealized male heroes—many of whom met their fate in battle and were then commemorated with monuments in St. Paul's Cathedral (including Brock himself).

23 For a broader definition of nationalism, see Ernst B. Haas, *Nationalism, Liberalism, and Progress*, 2 vols. (Cornell University Press, 1997), 1:23–4. As another expert on the subject acknowledged, "Nation, nationality, nationalism—all have proved notoriously difficult to define." See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, 1983), 12.

24 As Canadian historian Christian P. Champion observed during the bicentenary, like "other wars in history, 1812 contributed to the development of a cohesive society and a national spirit." See C[hristian] P. Champion, "1812 and the Fathers of Confederation," *Dorchester Review* 3, no. 1 (Spring–Summer 2013): 5. An earlier adherent to this same interpretation was Allan Smith, a University of British Columbia history professor who dedicated his academic career to the study of Canadian nationalism. In 1974, he wrote about the rise of this phenomenon in what would become Ontario. It was "as early as the 1820s," Smith argued, that "Upper Canadians had begun to think of their province and the larger British North American society of which it was a part, as potentially a great nation within the empire." While he should have extended his time period back to Brock's victory at Detroit in 1812, given its far-reaching patriotic effect, Smith's interpretation was otherwise valid—as was his determination that Upper Canadians viewed their colony not simply as an extension of British society, but rather "a community with a character and experience of its own." See Allan Smith, "Old Ontario and the Emergence of a National Frame of Mind," in *Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Ontario: Essays Presented to James J. Talman*, ed. F. H. Armstrong, H. A. Stevenson, and J. D. Wilson (University of Toronto Press, 1974), 194.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1 Macdonell was a militia officer and one of Brock's provincial aides-de-camp.

2 This was the observation of Lieutenant George Ridout of the York Militia, who acted as one of Macdonell's pall bearers. Ridout described his experience in a letter to his brother, Captain Samuel Smith Ridout—also of the York Militia. See Archives of Ontario (AO), Thomas Ridout Family Papers (F 43), George Ridout to Samuel Ridout, 21 Oct. 1812.

3 P[hilip] Stansbury, *A Pedestrian Tour of Two Thousand Three Hundred Miles in North America* (New York, 1822), 131. Men could also become quite emotional over Brock's death, and as the Scottish author John Howison observed, "The Canadian farmers are not overburthened with sensibility, yet I have seen several of them shed tears, when an eulogium was pronounced upon the immortal and generous-minded deliverer of their country." See John Howison, *Sketches of Upper Canada* (Edinburgh, 1821), 76.

4 Both men were from the London District. Westbrook's homestead was located in Delaware Township, while Watson had a settlement scheme in Westminster Township.

5 Such was the view expressed by Alexander Hamilton to his aunt in Edinburgh, Scotland. See Library and Archives Canada (LAC), British Military and Naval Records, C Series (RG 8), vol. 679, Hamilton to Henderson, 4 July 1813, 176c.

6 *York (UC) Gazette*, 20 Aug. 1812, supplement, and 29 Aug. 1812, p. 4, c. 1.

7 *York Gazette*, 29 Aug. 1812, p. 4, c. 1.

8 Ferdinand Brock Tupper, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, 2nd ed. (London, 1847), 249.

9 Tupper, 249.

10 AO, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), Campbell to Tupper, 29 Oct. 1845.

11 LAC, William Dummer Powell and Family Collection (MG 23, H14), Historical and Autobiographical Notes of W. D. Powell, 1061.

12 National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Papers of the Department of State (RG 59), War of 1812 Papers, Miscellaneous Intercepted Correspondence, Evans to Procter, 22 Oct. 1812.

13 For Raye, see ibid., Raye to Procter, 27 Oct. 1812. For Nicolls, see Royal Engineers Museum, Library and Archive, Miscellaneous Collection of Documents, Sketch of [the] Life of Genl Gustavus Nicolls, [26].

14 LAC, Sir George Prevost Papers (MG 24, A9), Diary of Anne E. Prevost, 22 Oct. 1812.

15 *Kingston (UC) Gazette*, 7 Nov. 1812, p. 4, c. 1.

16 *Kingston Gazette*, 7 Nov. 1812, p. 4, c. 1. Brock was then the president administering the civil government of Upper Canada in the absence of Francis Gore, the lieutenant-governor. Brock was also in command of the British military forces in the colony. Macdonell, in addition to his militia appointment, was also attorney general.

17 As one historian commented, the ruling class of Upper Canada—the Family Compact—"regarded the fall of York with a mixture of shame and rage. The cause of their anger was Sheaffe's decision to order the surrender of the town after first withdrawing the regulars. This it was believed was the cause of the capture of the town. If Sheaffe had remained the militia would, with the aid of the regulars, have beaten off the attack, and might even have done so without them, if Sheaffe had not ordered the surrender of the town. They were outraged at what they considered his supine cowardice." See M[ax] L. Magill, "William Allan: A Pioneer Business Executive," in *Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Ontario: Essays Presented to J. J. Talman*, ed. F. H. Armstrong, H. A. Stevenson, and J. D. Wilson (University of Toronto Press, 1974), 105–6.

18 The most extreme example of this antipathy would surface years later in the person of Benjamin Lett, whose hatred of everything British was so fanatical that it compelled him to attack Brock's first monument with a charge of gunpowder in 1840. For Lett's tantamount confession to this crime, see *Allen County Democrat* (Lima, OH), 5 Jan. 1859, p. 1, c. 6. *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, DC), 27 Sept. 1841, p. 3, c. 5. I am grateful to Canadian historian Chris Raible for alerting me to the item in the *Allen County Democrat*.

19 Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, Brock to Brock, 20–5 Aug. 1817, 398.

20 Tupper, 398.

21 Tupper, 398.

22 Tupper, 398.

23 Tupper, 400.

24 Carl Benn, "The Upper Canadian Press, 1793–1815," *Ontario History* 70, no. 2 (1978): 91–114.

25 *York Gazette*, 20 Aug. 1812, supplement.

26 Although the relevant issue of the *Bee* does not appear to have survived, the article about the surrender of Detroit was preserved through its having been reprinted in the *Albany Gazette*—demonstrating the extent to which early nineteenth-century newspapers shared material. Thanks to such duplications, valuable historical information is less likely to be lost. See *Albany (NY) Gazette*, 31 Aug. 1812, p. 3, c. 3.

27 *Quebec Gazette*, 29 Oct. 1812, supplement, p. 5. c. 1. The letter in question was written by George Ridout to his father, Thomas Ridout, at York. Lengthy and descriptive, it became a staple for future historians of the War of 1812.

28 *York Gazette*, 17 Oct. 1812, p. 2, cc. 1–2. Musical adaptations likely served a similar purpose. But if songs were sung in praise of Brock, it appears that they have been lost to time. All that remains is "The Bold Canadian," a ballad about the Upper Canadian Militia's role in helping to bring about the surrender of Detroit—and one in which Brock is hailed as their "bold commander." See Donald R. Hickey, *Don't Give Up the Ship: Myths of the War of 1812* (University of Illinois Press, 2006), 351–4.

29 Jeffrey L. McNairn, *The Capacity to Judge: Public Opinion and Deliberation, 1791–1854* (University of Toronto Press, 2000), 131–2.

30 AO, Mackenzie-Lindsey Family Papers (F 37), Thomas to Mackenzie, 8 Mar. 1825.

31 As the Canadian historian James J. Talman recognized, "Such power as the press exerted was enhanced by the innumerable taverns in the province, where the contents of one newspaper, probably much distorted by repetition and discussion, could influence several score of non-readers." See James J. Talman, "The Newspapers of Upper Canada a Century Ago," *Canadian Historical Review* 19, no. 1 (Mar. 1938): 15.

32 Taverns were particularly well adapted to the dissemination of news and other information. According to the Canadian intellectual historian Jeffrey L. McNairn, "Except for places of worship, taverns were often the only spaces outside the home where large numbers of Upper Canadians regularly congregated and conversed. As such, they served as information clearing houses, places to learn or have confirmed the latest news and gossip." See McNairn, *Capacity to Judge*, 149.

33 Tavern keepers were just as likely to initiate a round of storytelling. As one British traveller (tentatively identified as William Henry Muloch Holmes) related after a visit to Chatham, Canada West, in 1841, "The host asked us into his parlour, and while his wife prepared dinner he served up a dish of personal adventures and hair-breadth 'scapes, not unfrequently met with in the backwoods." See Morleigh [pseud.], *Life in the West: Back-Wood Leaves and Prairie Flowers* (London, 1842), 211.

34 Lorne Pierce, *William Kirby: The Portrait of a Tory Loyalist* (Macmillan Company of Canada, 1929), 50. For additional sources on hearthside reminiscing, see William Canniff, *History of the Settlement of Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1869), 626; [Michael Gonder Scherck], *Pen Pictures of Early Pioneer Life in Upper Canada* (William Briggs, 1905), 45–6.

35 E[dward] T. Coke, *A Subaltern's Furlough: Descriptive of Scenes in Various Parts of the United States, Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia* (London, 1833), 361–2. Corporal Trim is a character

from Laurence Sterne's novel *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, which was published in nine volumes between 1759 and 1767.

36 According to John Richardson, it was an aide-de-camp (Lieutenant Colonel John Macdonell) who forgot his sword. See *New Era* (Brockville, CW), 15 Apr. 1842, p. 5, c. 1.

37 Peregrine Otway-Page, "Sketch of the Family of Otway-Page," United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario *Annual Transactions* (1898): 25. According to Canadian historian Norman Knowles, the story about Brock's sword "is characteristic of the sentimentality and unsubstantiated hearsay frequently found in the genealogical writing of the period." See Norman Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists: The Ontario Loyalist Tradition and the Creation of Useable Pasts* (University of Toronto Press, 1997), 107.

38 William Hamilton Merritt, *Memoirs of Major Thomas Merritt, U.E.L.* (Conservator Print, [1909]), 16. These memoirs were published in conjunction with a speech Merritt delivered before the United Empire Loyalists' Association on 11 November 1909. Merritt's grandfather was William Hamilton Merritt, the avid promoter of the Welland Canal. A descendant of Susan Merritt wrote an entire juvenile novel around this likely fictitious incident involving Brock's sword. See Kit Pearson, *Whispers of War: The War of 1812 Diary of Susanna Merritt* (Scholastic Canada, 2002).

39 In the case of the Otway-Page tradition involving Brock, Norman Knowles considered it and similar stories as "self-serving filiopietism." See Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, 106.

40 One of the few reliable stories relating to Brock involves Garrett Oakes's service in the expedition to Amherstburg/Detroit, during which he acted as a pilot through the Long Point portage. See *Canadian Home Journal* (St. Thomas, ON), 27 Mar. 1874, p. 4, c. 3.

41 The person behind this misconception was Robert Wallace McLachlan, a Canadian numismatic authority who lived between 1845 and 1926. See R[obert] W. McLachlan, "The Copper Tokens of Upper Canada," *American Journal of Numismatics* 49 (1915): 73.

42 *Kingston Gazette*, 24 June 1817, p. 3, c. 2. See also Christopher Faulkner, *Coins Are Like Songs: The Upper Canada Coppers, 1815–1841* (Spink and Son, 2016), 150. The several varieties of these tokens were also known as "Brock Coppers."

43 NARA, Papers of the Department of State (RG 59), War of 1812 Papers, Miscellaneous Intercepted Correspondence, Glegg to Procter, 30 Jan. 1813. The other officer was Lieutenant Colonel Ralph Bruyeres of the Royal Engineers.

44 For additional information regarding the sites associated with Brock's death, see Guy St-Denis, "Not Oblique Enough: The Fall of Sir Isaac Brock," *Canadian Army Journal* 18, no. 2 (2020): 115–39; Guy St-Denis, "The House Where General Brock Died?," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 86, no. 346 (Summer 2008): 109–19.

45 James Strachan, *A Visit to the Province of Upper Canada, in 1819* (Aberdeen, UK, 1820), 100. Brock, of course, was buried alongside Macdonell, his provincial aide-de-camp who was also killed in the Battle of Queenston Heights. Catharine Maria Sedgwick, a budding American novelist, described the burial site in July of 1821: "Fort George. It hardly deserves the name of a fort being merely an embankment surrounded by a palisade. Brock is buried under the flagstaff, without the slightest memorial to remind his countrymen he perished in their cause. I picked a clover stalk from the mound, from a feeling of reverence we always feel for the deposit of the honored dead." See Massachusetts Historical Society (MHS), Catharine Maria Sedgwick Papers, series 1, box 11, "Journal of a Trip to New York and Canada, 1821," [4 July 1821, 47]. However, her fellow countryman, Samuel De Veaux, countered the claim Brock's grave lacked a memorial, advising the readers of his tourist guides that an American cannon captured at Detroit was placed nearby. See [Samuel] De Veaux, *The Falls of Niagara, or Tourist's Guide to the Wonder of Nature* (Buffalo, NY, 1839), 149.

46 Nichol was a pioneer merchant, entrepreneur, and politician who was appointed quartermaster of militia by Brock at the outset of the War of 1812. He was also one of Brock's greatest admirers.

47 Ontario, Bureau of Archives, "Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada," *Ninth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario* 3 (1912): 159. A monument to Brock had been contemplated for some time, but most people—including Brock's former military aide-de-camp, Major John B. Glegg—assumed it was something that would have to wait upon the return of peace. As Glegg predicted at the end of December 1813, "Were a peace to take place tomorrow I am perfectly confident the gratitude and admiration of these provinces would be immediately recorded by a monument to his memory." See AO, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), Glegg to Brock, 30 Dec. 1813.

48 Priaulx Library (PL), Tupper Collection, Nichol to William Brock, 13 May 1814.

49 Upper Canada, Statutes, *An Act to provide for the erection of a Monument to the Memory of the late President Major General Sir Isaac Brock*, 55 Geo. III, c. 15, passed 14 Mar. 1815.

50 LAC, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries (RG 5, A1), vol. 46, Nichol to Hillier, 5 Jan. 1820, 22499. As the person responsible for the money granted to construct Brock's Monument, Nichol considered himself a "public accountant." Major George Hillier was Maitland's civil secretary.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid., 22500. The other two commissioners were Thomas Clark of Stamford Township (at Niagara Falls) and Thomas Dickson of Queenston, both of whom were prominent members of the Upper Canadian merchant class.

53 Ibid., 22499.

54 Ontario, Bureau of Archives, "Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, 1821–1822," *Eleventh Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario* 4 (1914): 92.

55 Nichol submitted this report to Maitland in mid-December of 1821. He also requested an audience with the lieutenant-governor in order to explain the report in greater detail. See LAC, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries (RG 5, A1), vol. 54, Nichol to Hillier, 14 Dec. 1821, 27514–16.

56 Ibid., vol. 71, Nichol to Brock, 17 Mar. [1815], 37700. This copy of Nichol's letter to Brock is dated 1825, which is incorrect.

57 William Brock found the estimates he received so extravagant that he delayed forwarding them to Nichol in order that his brother Savery Brock, who was planning a tour of Upper Canada, could explain them "viva voce." See ibid., William Brock to Nichol, 8 May 1817, 37703–4. It would be unfair to suggest that William Brock was negligent in co-operating with his Upper Canadian correspondents, as there is evidence that he had been actively attempting to do so. In mid-January 1815, he received a letter from John Bacon Jr., an eminent English sculptor, advising that Brock's Monument should take the form of a statue in the well-lighted interior of a church. See PL, Tupper Collection, Bacon to [William] Brock, 16 Jan. 1815.

58 LAC, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries (RG 5, A1), vol. 71, Nichol to Brock, 17 Mar. [1815], 37700.

59 Ibid., 37701.

60 As Nichol explained to William Brock, it was "contemplated to erect a monument which shall be worthy—[of] both his [Brock's] own character [and] that of the province which he saved." Obviously, Nichol's idea of a monument was not limited to commemorating Brock. See PL, Tupper Collection, Nichol to William Brock, 13 May 1814.

61 The contract for this public commission was given to Richard Westmacott, RA, on 3 August 1814. See Great Britain, Parliament (Commons), "Erections of Monuments, *Sessional Papers; Accounts and Papers* 26, no. 559 (1842): 505.

62 LAC, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries (RG 5, A1), vol. 71, "Estimates for a Statue in honor of the late Major General Sir Isaac Brock K.B. from a Model [and] Drawing by Richd Westmacott R.A.," 25 Sept. 1816, 37706–7. In the same source, see also Westmacott to Brock, Sept. 1816, 37709–11.

63 Ibid., Brock to Nichol, 8 May 1817, 37704.

64 Ibid., Clark, Dickson, Nichol to Maitland, 1 Dec. 1821, 37716–17.

65 Ibid., 37718.

66 Ontario, Bureau of Archives, "Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, 1821–1822," *Eleventh Report of the Bureau of Archives* 4 (1914): 144.

67 The quote is from one of the printed subscription lists, for amounts collected by William Allan of York. See LAC, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries (RG 5, A1), vol. 71, "Subscription under Sanction of His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor," 2 May 1825, 37713.

68 *Kingston (UC) Chronicle*, 22 Feb. 1822, p. 3, c. 2.

69 LAC, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries (RG 5, A1), vol. 65, Nichol to Hillier, 23 Feb. 1824, 34519.

70 Ibid., Governor General's Office, Letter Books, Upper Canada, Civil Secretary's Letter Books, 1799–1840 (RG 7, G16C), vol. 13, Hillier to Clark, 14 Jan. 1824, 125.

71 Ibid., Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries (RG 5, A1), vol. 65, Clark and Nichol to Hillier, 13 Jan. 1824, 34147.

72 Ibid., Governor General's Office, Letter Books, Upper Canada, Civil Secretary's Letter Books, 1799–1840 (RG 7, G16C), vol. 13, Hillier to Clark, 13 Jan. 1824, 124; ibid., Hillier to Clark, 14 Jan. 1824, 125.

73 Ibid., Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries (RG 5, A1), vol. 71, Brock to Nichol, 8 May 1817, 37704.

74 Ontario, Bureau of Archives, "Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, 1821–1822," *Eleventh Report of the Bureau of Archives* 4 (1914): 651, 665. Proposals for a church, favoured in some circles from an early date, continued to be raised occasionally until construction began on Brock's second monument in 1853. In the summer of the preceding year, for example, there was the following interesting justification for a church: "This would be indeed a monument to the memory of the brave Sir Isaac Brock, a monument founded on a rock—the Rock of Ages." See *Church* (Toronto), 8 July 1852, p. 381, c. 2. In 1879, the small Anglican parish at Queenston accomplished much the same goal by consecrating an impressive new church in Brock's honour. See *Dominion Churchman* (Toronto), 27 Nov. 1879, p. 568, c. 3-p. 569, cc. 1–2. Given the community's other Brock associations, it was not especially surprising that the English

medieval-style edifice was named St. Saviour—undoubtedly an allusion to Upper Canada's salvation in 1812 (and the congregation's name for an earlier, short-lived pioneer church). Singular, however, was the subordinate title: "the Brock Memorial Church." While Anglican churches were not normally named for laymen, Brock was an exception. In 1881, this appreciation for Upper Canada's saviour found further expression in a magnificent stained glass memorial window. Designed to depict Joshua before Jericho, it offers an allegorical representation of Brock during the critical opening stages of the War of 1812. And in emphasizing his tireless efforts to solidify Upper Canadian defence, the following biblical quote from Joshua 5:13 asks, "Art thou for us or for our adversaries?"

75 LAC, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries (RG 5, A1), vol. 65, Nichol to Hillier, 23 Feb. 1824, 34519.

76 Upper Canada, Statutes, *An Act to provide for the erection of a Monument to the Memory of the late President Major General Sir Isaac Brock*, 55 Geo. III, c. 15, passed 14 Mar. 1815.

77 LAC, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries (RG 5, A1), vol. 108, Clark to McMahon, 30 July 1831, 61565. For additional information on Dickson's lot, see St-Denis, "Not Oblique Enough," 115–39.

78 LAC, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries (RG 5, A1), vol. 108, Clark to McMahon, 30 July 1831, 61565.

79 Ibid., vol. 65, Nichol to Hillier, 23 Feb. 1824, 34520.

80 *Gleaner* (Niagara, UC), 28 Feb. 1824, p. 3, c. 2. An earlier call for tenders was advertised for a similar but shorter monument. Although this notice went into print at the end of October 1823, it was not followed through, presumably because of a change in plans. See, for example, *Kingston Chronicle*, 14 Nov. 1823, p. 3, c. 5, and 21 Nov. 1823, p. 4, c. 2; *Upper Canada Gazette* (York), 27 Nov. 1823, p. 398, c. 2.

81 Despite the Masonic ceremony, there is no evidence to suggest that Brock himself was a Mason.

82 *Colonial Advocate* (Queenston, UC), 3 June 1824, p. 3, c. 5. In the next issue of his paper, Mackenzie mentioned a further item placed in the bottle. It was a scroll descriptive of the event. See issue of 10 June 1824, p. 1, c. 2.

83 William L. Mackenzie, *Sketches of Canada and the United States* (London, 1833), 317. See also *Colonial Advocate*, 18 May 1824, p. 2, c. 2.

84 *Colonial Advocate*, 8 July 1824, p. 3, c. 2. For additional information on this incident, see Chris Raible, "Sacred to the Memory: William Lyon Mackenzie and the Brock Monument," *York Pioneer* 103 (2008): 22–34.

85 AO, Mackenzie-Lindsey Family Papers (F 37), [Clark] to Mackenzie, 18 June 1824, 154–5. After receiving Clark's letter, Mackenzie decided to publish it. See *Colonial Advocate*, 8 July 1824, p. 3, c. 4.

86 *Upper Canada Gazette*, 8 July 1824, p. 226, c. 3. Nichol was killed late one cold and stormy night (3 May 1824) when his horse and wagon left the Portage Road and plunged over the edge of Queenston Heights. The verdict of a coroner's inquest was accidental death. See *Colonial Advocate*, 18 May 1824, supplement, [pp. 2–4]. See also Robert Lochiel Fraser, "Nichol, Robert," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 6:545.

87 *Colonial Advocate*, 8 July 1824, p. 3, c. 2.

88 Ibid.

89 Oddly enough, Mackenzie claimed that "on the 1st of June, when the foundation of the monument was laid, *I was not present, nor knew of it*." See ibid., 29 July 1824, p. 2, c. 1. But elsewhere, he reported how a wide-mouthed bottle was "deposited by William Lyon Mackenzie, of Queenston, in a hollow place which had been cut out of the foundation stone"—and this, it would seem, was done during the ceremony. See ibid., 10 June 1824, p. 1, c. 2. Mackenzie's denial was perhaps motivated by a desire to contradict the accusations of his involvement made by Thomas Dickson, but it would also appear that he forgot about his self-incriminating description of the ceremony. Whether or not Mackenzie was actually present during the ceremony, the effect of his arrangements was no less controversial.

90 In a letter reporting on the monument's progress, Thomas Clark referred to a separate vault for Macdonell. See LAC, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries (RG 5 A1), vol. 77, Clark to Hillier, 1 Apr. 1826. Also, a contractor's account dating to November of 1824 itemizes the vaults of Brock and Macdonell separately. See University of Guelph, McLaughlin Library, Archival and Special Collections (UGA), Goodwin-Haines Collection, Samuel Street Papers, Duncan Kennedy in account with Thomas Clark, 5 Nov. 1824.

91 LAC, Claus Papers (MG 19, F1), vol. 22, pt. 1, Diary of William Claus, no. 30, 2 Oct. 1824, 31.

92 *Upper Canada Gazette*, 21 Oct. 1824, p. 348, c. 1. Lieutenant Colonel John Macdonell's surname has become standardized as "Macdonell," although he sometimes spelled it "McDonell" and it was frequently mistaken as "McDonald." Furthermore, and as Macdonell's relative John A. Macdonell cautioned Mary Agnes FitzGibbon (one of the organizers of the 1899 Canadian Historical Exhibition held in Toronto), there was only one *n* in Macdonell, as two "changes it from a Highland Catholic name to an Irish Protestant one." See AO, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Papers (F 1180), Correspondence (series 1), file 5, "Memo for Miss FitzGibbon as to Exhibits Sent by J. A. Macdonell," n.d.

93 *Times* (Niagara-on-the-Lake, ON), 18 Feb. 1898, p. 5, c. 2.

94 LAC, Claus Papers (MG 19, F1), vol. 22, pt. 1, Diary of William Claus, no. 30, 2 Oct. 1824, 31. Two additional coffin plates were fashioned out of silver in a style similar to the one that adorned Brock's coffin. One was made for Macdonell, and the other served as a record of the reinterment. See ibid., 32–3.

95 Ibid., 37.

96 *Colonial Advocate*, 14 Oct. 1824, p. 3, c. 1.

97 Ibid., cc. 1–2.

98 While very few copies of the *Observer* survive, including—apparently—the relevant issue, Carey's description of the reburial was reprinted by other newspapers. See, for example, *Montreal Herald*, 27 Oct. 1824, p. 2, c. 2.

99 As Rev. John McEwen remembered, the so-called hearse was a large army wagon. See *Times*, 18 Feb. 1898, p. 5, c. 2.

100 *Colonial Advocate*, 14 Oct. 1824, p. 3, c. 1.

101 *Upper Canada Gazette*, 21 Oct. 1824, p. 348, c. 1; *Montreal Herald*, 27 Oct. 1824, p. 2, c. 2.

102 *Colonial Advocate*, 14 Oct. 1824, p. 3, c. 1.

103 *Montreal Herald*, 27 Oct. 1824, p. 2, c. 2. See also *Upper Canada Gazette*, 21 Oct. 1824, p. 347, c. 3.

104 *Upper Canada Gazette*, 21 Oct. 1824, p. 348, c. 2. The procession likely stopped at or near the intersection of modern-day Queenston and Kent Streets. Curiously enough, if the commissioners had opted for a monument like Nelson's Column in Montreal, which was similar to one of the designs they had under consideration, Brock and Macdonell might have remained undisturbed in their bastion at Fort George—as the less elaborate style of monument rejected by the commissioners did not include a vault for human remains.

105 Ibid.

106 Ibid.

107 *Colonial Advocate*, 14 Oct. 1824, p. 3, c. 1.

108 Ibid.

109 *Upper Canada Gazette*, 21 Oct. 1824, p. 348, c. 3.

110 Richard H. Gassan, *The Birth of American Tourism: New York, the Hudson Valley, and American Culture, 1790–1830* (University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 96.

111 AO, William Hamilton Merritt Papers (F 662), package no. 43b, "Family Letters, 1817–1818," Baker to Chase, 24 Aug. 1817. The spelling in this passage has been corrected and punctuation added. Although some sources indicate that John Valleau was killed in the crossing, his father received a letter from Captain Richard Malcom, 13th Regiment US Infantry, stating that "in the heat of battle he saw my son fall but could not pay the attention due to him at the moment, but having repulsed the enemy he says he returned and among the killed [and] wounded he found the body of his best friend." See Abraham E. Helffenstein, *Pierre Fauconnier and His Descendants* (S. H. Burbank and Company, 1911), 136. Helffenstein further indicates that the British buried John Valleau's body in a grave on the riverbank, where his mother supposedly found it. However, this information is rather suspect.

112 Gassan, *Birth of American Tourism*, 96. Others of these American tourists limited their fascination to discreet observations of the war-torn countryside. One of the first to visit the Niagara region of Upper Canada after the War of 1812 was a Mrs. John Heard from Boston. While horrified by the devastation she witnessed in the neighbourhood of Chippawa, she also delighted in the atmospheric wonders produced by Niagara Falls. Unable to find a room for the night of 3 August 1815, she apparently had to take lodging in a barn, where she dreamed "on my pallet of straw of 'unutterable things' [and] to see rainbows such as I witnessed to day [and] such as are constantly before my optics—a scene well worth travelling five hundred miles to witness." Whether it was battle scars, rainbows, or both, Mrs. Heard was well satisfied with what she saw on her trip (even before she got a close look at the Falls). See MHS, Mrs. John Heard's Diary, 1815 (Ms. N-1384), [3 Aug. 1815, 12].

113 Similarly, the bones and ashes of war dead cremated after the Battle of Lundy's Lane were still being brought to the surface as late as 1831. See MHS, Rebecca Russell Lowell Gardner Travel Diaries (Ms. N-1274), 15 May 1831, 52. However, a British tourist to the Lundy's Lane battlefield in 1816 suggested that a sacrilege explained the exposed bones at that site. "Our host," Richard Barrett confided to his diary, "pointed out to us the funeral pyres of the American dead. They were consumed in two heaps, [and] many were thrown into a well [and] covered with earth. Their countrymen who visit the spot have dug up the bones nearer the surface [and] carried them away as reliques [relics]. On the spot where the well had been we saw several bones that had been dug up this way [and] left behind to be taken no doubt by the next visitors." See Thomas Brott and Philip Kelley, eds., *Richard Barrett's Journal: New York and Canada, 1816* (Wedgestone Press, 1983), 48. It would be just as likely that the bones in question surfaced by some natural process.

114 *Salem (MA) Gazette*, 3 Nov. 1824, p. 3, c. 1. As this reference suggests, the report of a new tourist attraction was communicated far and wide across the eastern United States.

115 Gassan, *Birth of American Tourism*, 2, 92. As the Canadian historian James J. Talman observed, "by 1820 Canada was the Mecca of many tourists." See James J. Talman, "Travel Literature as Source Material for the History of Upper Canada, 1791–1840," *Report of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association* 8, no. 1 (1929): 111.

116 As the Upper Canadian colonization agent John Galt observed less than a decade later, Brock's Monument "forms a prominent object to the numerous *voyageurs* [travellers], who are constantly arriving at this portage [Queenston]." See John Galt and Andrew Picken, *The Canadas, as They at Present Commend Themselves to the Enterprize of Emigrants, Colonists, and Capitalists* (London, 1832), 183–4.

117 Patricia Jasen, "Romanticism, Modernity, and the Evolution of Tourism on the Niagara Frontier, 1790–1850," *Canadian Historical Review* 72, no. 3 (1991): 302.

118 Jasen, 302.

119 Jasen, 302.

120 William Dalton, *Travels in the United States, and Part of Upper Canada* (Appleby, UK, 1821), 185. The cicerone was Captain Shubael Park of the 3rd Regiment, Lincoln Militia. Dalton was fortunate to have avoided the subsequent scourge of unscrupulous tour guides, such as the Irish wagon driver who tried to hoodwink a pair of newlywed tourists in 1853 by driving "about in all directions, [and] with naive discursiveness narrating events which never occurred." See Jasen, "Romanticism, Modernity, and the Evolution of Tourism on the Niagara Frontier," 316.

121 Jasen, 297.

122 Jasen, 297.

123 Jasen, 297–8.

124 While the Militia Myth is still debated, there can be no doubt that the effectiveness of the Upper Canadian Militia during the War of 1812 was generally overstated until relatively recent times. For some interesting discussions on the subject, see J[ack] L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace*, 2nd ed. (University of Toronto Press, 2011), 3–6, 9–15; Donald E. Graves, "The Canadian Militia Myth of the War of 1812: Its Origin, Course and Dissolution," *War of 1812 Magazine* 25 (May 2016): 1–12; Robert Henderson, "The Myth of the 'Militia Myth,'" *Dorchester Review* 3, no. 1 (Spring–Summer 2013): 12–18; Robert W. Passfield, *Anglican Toryism in Upper Canada: The Critical Years, 1812–1840* (Rock's Mills Press, 2020), 32–3; George Sheppard, "'Deeds Speak': Militiamen, Medals and the Invented Traditions of 1812," *Ontario History* 83, no. 3 (Sept. 1990): 207–32; Keith Walden, "Isaac Brock: Man and Myth. A Study of the Militia Myth of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada, 1812–1912" (master's thesis, Queen's University, 1971), 3–5, 61, 71–7. For evidence of much earlier skepticism about the effectiveness of the Upper Canadian Militia, see William Wood, "War—the Neglected Factor in Canadian Problems for a Hundred Years," in *Addresses Delivered Before the Canadian Club of Toronto: Season of 1914–1915* (Warwick Brothers and Rutter, 1915), 114; Alan Gordon, "Marshalling Memory: A Historiographical Biography of Ernest Alexander Cruikshank," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 49, no. 3 (Fall 2015): 47. Incidentally, Canadian historian James Wood argues that the Militia Myth is not uniquely Canadian, and that it should be "more properly regarded as the common cultural heritage of the English-speaking world." According to Wood, there are comparable myths in Britain's other colonies. See James Wood, *Militia Myths: Ideas of the Canadian Citizen Soldier, 1896–1921* (University of British Columbia Press, 2010), 25.

125 Dennis Duffy, *Gardens, Covenants, Exiles: Loyalism in the Literature of Upper Canada/Ontario* (University of Toronto Press, 1982), 3.

126 Duffy, 23.

127 Duffy, 23.

128 Duffy, 23.

129 *The Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada* (Montreal, 1817), 365.

130 *Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society*, 366.

131 *Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society*, 365–6.

132 *Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society*, 26.

133 *Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society*, 27.

134 *Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society*, 353–4.

135 *Niagara (UC) Spectator*, 3 Dec. 1818, p. 2, c. 4.

136 *Montreal Herald*, 26 Dec. 1818, p. 2, c. 3.

137 Ibid.

138 As Gerald M. Craig aptly described him, "Robert Gourlay was a congenital dissident, an inveterate scribbler, a stiff-necked individualist who sooner or later fell out with nearly everyone he knew." See Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784–1841* (McClelland and Stewart, 1963), 93.

139 *Principles and Proceedings of the Inhabitants of the District of Niagara, for Addressing His Royal Highness the Prince Regent* ([Niagara, UC], 1818), 21.

140 The reference to Brock's "favorite sergeant-major" was a frequent boast of FitzGibbon's granddaughter, and there seems no reason to doubt it as Brock's brother, Savery, acknowledged that FitzGibbon was a "favorite and protegé [*sic*] of my late brother." See Mary Agnes FitzGibbon, *A Veteran of 1812: The Life of James FitzGibbon* (Toronto, 1894), 51; LAC, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries (RG 5, A1), vol. 39, Brock to Maitland, 30 Apr. 1818, 18351.

141 Jane Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada: A Developing Colonial Ideology* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 92.

142 Errington, 93.

143 Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 353.

144 Craig, *Upper Canada*, 109.

145 Craig, 111.

146 Craig, 109.

147 Craig, 109.

148 Reginald Arthur Bowler, "Propaganda in Upper Canada: A Study of the Propaganda Directed at the People of Upper Canada During the War of 1812" (master's thesis, Queen's University, 1964), 39.

149 S[arah Anne] Curzon, "A Rescued Record, the Thirteenth of October, Eighteen Hundred and Twelve," *Week* 8, no. 47 (23 Oct. 1891): 752. For a further consideration of the subject, see Guy St-Denis, "A Final Utterance: The Last Words of Sir Isaac Brock," *Ontario History* 110, no. 1 (Spring 2018): 1–8.

150 Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867–1914* (University of Toronto Press, 1970), 106.

151 Magill, "William Allan," 105.

152 C[harles] P. Stacey, "The War of 1812 in Canadian History," *Ontario History* 50, no. 3 (Summer 1958): 158. Stacey seems to have echoed John Beverley Robinson, the chief justice of Upper Canada, who in 1840 advised the British government that the War of 1812 "has had the effect of binding them [the Canadas], as well as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, much more strongly to the crown," while at the same time having "produced in the British colonists a national character and feeling." See John Beverley Robinson, *Canada and the Canada Bill* (London, 1840), 15.

153 As Berger observed in more general terms, the Militia Myth was "kept green and fresh long afterwards by the dominance of the Family Compact, the recurrence of the issues of loyalty versus republicanism, and the continuing fear of the United States." See Berger, *Sense of Power*, 91.

154 Walden, "Isaac Brock," iii.

155 Walden, iii.

156 Walden, 55.

157 Walden, 101.

158 Walden, 20.

159 Walden, 99.

160 Walden, 53.

161 As Patricia Jasen observed, "To some extent, it [Brock's Monument] reinforced the Tory elite's obsession with their role in the War of 1812, but it was evidently regarded with affection and reverence by a large portion of the population." See Jasen, "Romanticism, Modernity, and the Evolution of Tourism on the Niagara Frontier," 316–17.

162 As American historian Thomas A. Chambers has noted, "Without Brock's grave or any formal markers to guide their interaction with place, visitors to Queenston Heights could naturally find their attention drawn to the site's other main feature," meaning the sweeping view. See Thomas A. Chambers, *Memories of War: Visiting Battlegrounds and Bonefields in the Early American Republic* (Cornell University Press, 2012), 147.

163 As Thomas L. McKenney recalled, "The way into the base of the monument was open, and on entering it, we found it filled with lime and lumber. There were no steps by which to ascend it to its top." See Thomas L. McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes* (Baltimore, 1827), 92. Brock's Monument was more or less completed by January of 1827, although it was still "contemplated to erect the figure of a warriour" on top of the dome, where "at present a flag-staff only is placed." See *Farmer's Journal* (St. Catharines, UC), 3 Jan. 1827, p. 3, c. 2. Differences between Thomas Clark, the surviving monument commissioner, and Duncan Kennedy, the contractor, were resolved through arbitration. See LAC, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries (RG 5, A1), vol. 84, Phillpotts to Clark, 4 May 1827, 45540–3; UGA, Goodwin-Haines Collection, File Concerning the Erection of Brock's Monument at Queenston Heights, "Report on Monument by Archibald Fraser," 23 Aug. 1827; ibid., "Award between the Honble. Thos. Clark [and] Duncan Kennedy," 28 Aug. 1827.

164 McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*, 92. An anonymous traveller agreed, and referred to Brock's Monument as "a clumsy structure, unfinished; one hundred and two feet high [thirty-one metres], void of taste in architecture; but a monument is a monument." See *New York Spectator*, 27 June 1826, p. 1, c. 3.

165 [Thomas Hamilton], *Men and Manners in America*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1833), 2:314. In discussing the Battle of Queenston Heights, Hamilton submitted that "had the achievement [victory] not unfortunately been rendered memorable by the death of the British leader, it would probably, like most other events of the war, have been forgotten. Its memory, however, has been perpetuated by the erection of a trophy column on the summit of the height." See [Hamilton], 2:313–14.

166 G[ideon] M. Davison, *The Fashionable Tour; an Excursion to the Springs, Niagara, Quebec, and Through the New-England States*, 3rd ed. (Saratoga Springs, NY, 1828), 186.

167 Davison, 186–7. A few years later, in July of 1833, a disappointed Scottish farmer described Brock's Monument for intending emigrants as "commanding a wider range of landscape, without diversifying the scene [or improving upon the view obtained from the heights], and certainly does not reward the labour of reaching the summit [of the monument]." Patrick Shirreff, however, found fault with most everything in Upper Canada. See Patrick Shirreff, *A Tour through North America; Together with a Comprehensive View of the Canadas and United States* (Edinburgh, 1835), 93.

168 Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel*, 3 vols. (London, 1838), 1:158–9.

169 Theresa Nichol's second husband was Captain David Boyd of the Royal Navy, a widower of Niagara. They were married 29 July 1837. See AO, Marriage Records Collection (F 982), Niagara, Upper Canada, 1832–9.

170 Secord claimed that the superintendence of Brock's Monument was originally offered to her. For her complaint against Thomas Clark, the commissioner she held responsible for the injustice, see LAC, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries (RG 5, A1), vol. 108, Secord to Colborne, 17 July 1831, 61567–70.

171 Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel*, 1:159.

172 Martineau, 159–61.

173 The original and innocuous epitaph was replaced by a more contentious version authorized by Maitland, and one that threatened to antagonize American sensibilities with its references to the capture of Detroit and the Michigan Territory. However, the offending epitaph was subsequently altered to something more in keeping with the original. For the redrafting approved by Maitland, see *Gleaner*, 9 Oct. 1824, p. 3, cc. 4–5, and 16 Oct. 1824, p. 3, cc. 4–5. For a contemporary transcription of the epitaph as it finally appeared on Brock's Monument, see Davison, *Fashionable Tour*, 187. Davison's transcription conforms in the main with what George Russell Dartnell, assistant staff surgeon in the British Army, jotted down during a visit to Queenston Heights in June of 1838. See Honor de Pencier, *Posted to Canada: The Watercolours of George Russell Dartnell, 1835–1844* (Dundurn Press, 1987), 102.

174 Somewhat later, a British Anglican minister commented that Brock's Monument "seems to frown defiance at the neighbouring states." See A Clergyman [pseud.], *Peace or War?* (London, 1839), 9. The potential for insult appears to have continued well into the twentieth century. As Arthur Hunt Chute, the Canadian novelist and short story writer, recalled in 1924, "An American friend found his artistic temperament ruffled by this monument. 'What's the matter with it?' I inquired. 'Well, I don't hardly think it's good taste for you Canadians to stick that thing up there, so that everywhere we turn, one of your heroes hits us in the eye.'" See *Acadian* (Wolfville, NS), 4 Sept. 1924, p. 3, c. 2.

175 [Henry C. Todd], *Notes Upon Canada and the United States of America* (Toronto, 1835), 71.

176 University of Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, Journal of an Unidentified Traveller in New York State and Upper Canada, 1834–1835 (Ms. Eng. Misc. d. 995) 1835, 147.

177 Ibid., 147–8. The old veteran would have been Captain David Boyd, whose wife was keeper of Brock's Monument.

178 Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel*, 1:160. As Martineau was told, the "Irishwoman [Theresa Boyd] was grieved that she had no telescope wherewith to enable us to see what was doing on the lake [Lake Ontario]. She and her husband had provided one for the accommodation of visitors. Some travellers (English) had thrown it down from the top of the monument, and when she asked for payment, only bullied her; and her husband had not been able to afford to get another." See Martineau, 160.

179 In 1839, Samuel De Veaux published a tourist's guide to Niagara Falls including the following lament on Brock's Monument: "To Americans, this monument must cause but one emotion—sorrow for their fellow citizens who fell in that ill fated battle," and as such, it was "no object of veneration." See De Veaux, *Falls of Niagara*, 149–50.

180 Chris Raible, "Benjamin Lett, Rebel Terrorist," *Beaver* 82, no. 5 (Oct.–Nov. 2002): 10–15; Allan J. MacDonald, "Lett, Benjamin," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 8:501–2; Edwin C. Guillet, *The Lives and Times of the Patriots* (T. Nelson and Sons, 1938), 163–77. For additional background on Lett, see the following article published in association with the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society: Robert B. Ross, "The Patriot War," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society *Historical Collections* 21 (1894): 607–8.

181 *Allen County Democrat*, 5 Jan. 1859, p. 2, c. 2.

182 *Allen County Democrat*, 5 Jan. 1859, p. 2, c. 1. Brock's Monument probably became an eyesore to Lett because it served, according to Allan J. MacDonald of the Archives of Ontario, as "a symbol of British power and domination." See MacDonald, "Lett, Benjamin," 8:502.

183 *Allen County Democrat*, 5 Jan. 1859, p. 2, c. 1. As Chris Raible points out, this description of the bombing includes details only Lett could have provided. They form part of a biography written by James Mackenzie and published in the *Allen County Democrat*, which he edited at Lima, Ohio. Mackenzie, whose father was William Lyon Mackenzie, was well-known to Lett. See Raible, "Benjamin Lett, Rebel Terrorist," 13–14.

184 *St. Catharines (UC) Journal*, 23 June 1840, p. 2, c. 4. In June of 1840, Lett and an accomplice named David Dafoe were arrested for attempting to burn the steamer *Great Britain* at Oswego, New York. During his interrogation, Dafoe confessed their revolutionary intentions for Upper Canada. It would appear that the bombing of Brock's Monument was viewed in this context. See *St. Catharines Journal*, 23 June 1840, p. 2, c. 4. However, according to the verbose inscription on one of Lett's two tombstones, which is attributable to his brother Thomas Lett, the bombing of Brock's Monument was justified because it served as a watchtower for military purposes during the Upper Canadian rebellions. Not surprisingly, there is no evidence to support this outlandish claim. Benjamin Lett lies buried in the Lett Cemetery, near Sandwich, Illinois.

185 As a correspondent to the New York *Albion* reported, the blast was like an earthquake, "all the houses shook to their foundations; a broad flash, as of intense lightning, illuminated the gloom, followed by an explosion of tremendous power! The inhabitants rushed in consternation from their beds, and beheld an immense cloud of smoke which enveloped the mountain." See *Albion* (New York), 25 Apr. 1840, p. 138, c. 2. Apparently, the concussion from the explosion was felt in Niagara, some ten kilometres to the north. See *British Colonist* (Toronto), 22 Apr. 1840, p. 3, c. 4. This report was communicated from the *Niagara (UC) Chronicle* and dated 17 April 1840.

186 LAC, Upper Canada State Papers (RG 1, E3), vol. 90, Thorburn to Harrison, 17 Apr. 1840, 58–61. Thorburn wrote this letter at seven o'clock in the morning. Theresa Boyd's husband was Captain David Boyd.

187 *Toronto Patriot*, 21 Apr. 1840, p. 2, c. 7. To give some idea of the force of the blast, another source described the damage done to the massive front door, which "was shivered to fragments and thrown a great distance." See *Church* (Cobourg, UC), 25 Apr. 1840, p. 171, c. 4. For additional information relating to the attack on Brock's Monument, see Robert Malcomson, "They Blew Up Brock's Monument," *Beaver* 78, no. 6 (Dec. 1998–Jan. 1999): 39–43.

188 *Toronto Patriot*, 21 Apr. 1840, p. 2, c. 7.

189 *British Colonist*, 22 Apr. 1840, p. 2, c. 7.

190 This was the view expressed by the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, which was widely communicated in the United States. See *New Hampshire Sentinel* (Keene, NH), 29 Apr. 1840, p. 2, c. 6.

191 Ibid.

192 As the *Niagara Chronicle* submitted, "This renewal of aggressions from the American side has excited intense feelings on this frontier. Assassinations, robberies, burnings, have taken place in succession, and now the sanctuary of the dead is invaded and polluted—the hallowed tribute of provincial gratitude to one of the bravest and best of men is fiendishly desecrated. The offence is clearly traced to the perpetrators, and they are the same band of villains to whom all the atrocities committed on this frontier are imputed. They are few in number, however desperate their deeds, and it is clear that were the Americans to fulfil their treaty stipulations, the gang would be broken up and this country freed from their diabolical machinations." For the communicated article, see *British Colonist*, 29 Aug. 1840, p. 3, c. 5.

193 Ward based his opinion on a personal inspection and the report of Captain Benjamin J. Stehelin, Royal Engineers. However, neither Stehelin nor Ward thought that repairing the monument was feasible. See Great Britain, Colonial Office, *Canada: Correspondence Relative to the Affairs of Canada*, 4 vols. (London, 1840), 4:60.

194 LAC, Governor General's Office, Upper Canada, Letter Books (RG 7, G16A), Lieutenant Governor's Internal Letter Book, 1839–1841, "Despatches to His Majesty's Minister at Washington," vol. 6, Arthur to Fox, 5 May 1840, 67. See also Charles R. Sanderson, ed., *The Arthur Papers*, 3 vols. (Toronto Public Libraries; University of Toronto Press, 1959), Arthur to Jackson, 29 Apr. 1840, no. 1310, 3:43, and Arthur to Thomson, 2 May 1840, no. 1317, 3:46.

195 Sanderson, *Arthur Papers*, Arthur to Thomson, 2 May 1840, no. 1317, 3:46.

196 *St. Catharines Journal*, 23 June 1840, p. 2, c. 5.

197 Sanderson, *Arthur Papers*, Arthur to Harvey, 18 Apr. 1840, no. 1302, 3:38.

198 Ibid., Arthur to Thomson, 1 Aug. 1840, no. 1418, 3:100. Elsewhere, Arthur claimed that this second meeting came about "in answer to an appeal made to the government, at the late general militia muster, [where] a general militia order was issued *inviting* the officers of the militia to meet on Queenston Heights on the 30th July for the purpose of considering what was most proper to be done." See ibid., 3 Aug. 1840, no. 1420, 3:101. As Arthur acknowledged, the meeting's resolutions were "frothy [and] wordy," but there was "nothing in them [against] Americans [and] Rebels [which] was the difficulty to be avoided." See ibid., Arthur to Thomson, 1 Aug. 1840, no. 1418, 3:100.

199 Ibid., Arthur to Russell, 27 Sept. 1840, no. 1487, 3:138–9.

200 *Toronto Patriot*, 28 July 1840, p. 2, c. 2. Windsor and Prescott refer to the Battle of the Windmill at Prescott (12–16 November 1838) and the Battle of Windsor (4 December 1838), raids instigated by members of the Hunters' Lodges who were intent on bringing about war between the United States and Britain in order to liberate Canada from British rule.

201 Sanderson, *Arthur Papers*, Arthur to Thomson, 1 Aug. 1840, no. 1418, 3:100; ibid., Arthur to Russell, 27 Sept. 1840, no. 1487, 3:138–9. According to his biographer, MacNab "organized a meeting at the site [Queenston Heights] to consider means of restoring the monument to Upper Canada's hero." While Arthur appears to have imposed himself on the meeting, MacNab managed to head the committee responsible for building a new monument to Brock. See Donald R. Beer, *Sir Allan Napier MacNab* (Dictionary of Hamilton Biography, 1984), 244–5. See also *Chronicle and Gazette* (Kingston, UC), 8 July 1840, p. 1, c. 3, and 2 Sept. 1840, p. 2, c. 3.

202 *British Colonist*, 5 Aug. 1840, p. 2, c. 5. As the *Toronto Patriot* reported, "In our good city the occasion was observed as a solemn holiday—the public offices were closed, the places of public resort [inns and taverns] were shut, and business was suspended, to enable all classes to unite in the noble duty of testifying respect to the memory of General *Sir Isaac Brock*." See *Toronto Patriot*, 7 Aug. 1840, p. 2, c. 1.

203 *Toronto Patriot*, 7 Aug. 1840, p. 2, c. 1. As was noted in this report with some derision, when the naval procession passed the American Fort Niagara, "scarcely a living being was to be seen; a sentinel, in solitary blessedness, marched and countermarched on his narrow path, but, save this, nought else looked from our 'friendly neighbours' upon the imposing spectacle." In all fairness, it is possible that many Americans took in the spectacle from the Canadian side of the Niagara River.

204 *British Colonist*, 5 Aug. 1840, p. 2, c. 6.

205 Ibid. For the reference to "rapturous applause," see ibid., 12 Aug. 1840, p. 1, c. 1.

206 As Arthur admitted in his correspondence, "a handsome obelisk it strikes me is better suited to the nature of the ground, than a column." See Sanderson, *Arthur Papers*, Arthur to Harvey, 10 July 1840, no. 1400, 3:92.

207 It should be noted that James Gordon Bennett, the Scottish-born American editor of the *New York Herald*, was struck by the meeting's "coldness, its formality, its want of all real natural enthusiasm." Much of his opinion appears to have been based on the crowd's low-key reaction to a man (Matthew Murphy) "who clambered up the out side of the monument, a height of 126 feet [38 metres], holding on and hoisting himself by the lightning rod alone. It was a bold and somewhat daring feat, and required great strength of nerve as well as muscle. On reaching the top he planted the British Union Jack on the cupola, where it still flaps in the breeze. When this national flag was unfurled, one of the Canadians near me said, very coolly, 'that deserves a cheer,' but not a single one attempted to raise one." See *Morning Herald* (New York), 7 Aug. 1840, p. 2, c. 2. Bennett might have been biased, as other accounts of the proceedings make reference to tremendous cheering and rapturous applause. See, for example, *British Colonist*, 5 Aug. 1840, p. 2, c. 5, and 12 Aug. 1840, p. 1, c. 1. One such account is that of a young man named James George Currie, who went on to become a prominent lawyer and politician. Many years later, Currie recalled how the unfurled Union Jack had brought about a tremendous cheer. See *Times* (Niagara-on-the-Lake, ON), 17 Oct. 1913, p. 4, c. 1.

208 *British Colonist*, 5 Aug. 1840, p. 2, c. 7. In 1853, legislation was enacted to safeguard the new monument from a repeat of Lett's vandalism. See Province of Canada, Statutes, *An Act to indemnify the Brock Monument Building Committee, and for other purposes therein mentioned*, 16 Vict., c. 113, s. 2, assented to 22 Apr. 1853.

209 *British Colonist*, 5 Aug. 1840, p. 2, c. 5. For the reply, see *Chronicle and Gazette*, 11 Nov. 1840, p. 3, c. 2.

210 The first attempt on Queen Victoria's life took place a short time before the meeting, in June of 1840.

211 Sanderson, *Arthur Papers*, Thomson to Arthur, 8 Aug. 1840, no. 1425, 3:103. One observer, however, was likely more accurate when he recalled that "occasional expressions of vindictiveness towards the Americans escaped; but these were exceptions to the general rule." See James S. Buckingham, *Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Other British Provinces in North America* (London [1843]), 40.

212 *St. Catharines Journal*, 23 June 1840, p. 2, c. 4.

213 Ibid.

214 Ibid., 10 Sept. 1840, p. 2, c. 2.

215 Regarding the Indigenous donations, see *Chronicle and Gazette*, 5 Oct. 1842, p. 2, c. 5; *Correspondence, Addresses, &c. Connected with the Subscriptions of Various Indian Tribes in Upper Canada, in Aid of the Funds for the Re-Construction of Brock's Monument* (Toronto, 1841). Ironically, the same "Indian" generosity that helped to fund the completion of Brock's Monument also reinforced the Militia Myth, and in so doing marginalized Indigenous participation in the War of 1812.

216 For Richardson's communicated comments, see *Western Herald* (Sandwich, CW), 14 Oct. 1841, p. 2, c. 3.

217 Ibid. Richardson was then the struggling editor of the *New Era*, a newspaper he published briefly in Brockville. He soon after became the author of the *War of 1812*, a book he intended to serve as a history of

that conflict "for the use of schools in Canada" in order to counteract "the corrupt channel of American party publications bearing on the subject, all which have a tendency to pervert facts, and to instil into the youthful mind that diffidence and mistrust which operate as a check upon the generous aspirings, and weaken the energies of the national character." See [John] Richardson, *War of 1812* ([Brockville, CW], 1842), 1. This insidious threat was recognized from the earliest days of the colony, when a British Army officer in 1802 expressed fears that widespread use of American textbooks would negatively influence Upper Canada's children with republican ideas: "Youths educated in such books," Major William Graham of the York garrison complained, "by and by will have the privilege of voting members for our assembly, and filling the house with their own kind." See David Mills, *The Idea of Loyalty in Upper Canada, 1784–1850* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 21.

218 *Western Herald*, 14 Oct. 1841, p. 2, c. 3.

219 Ibid.

220 Ibid., c. 4.

221 Ibid., 25 Nov. 1841, p. 2, c. 4. Richardson planned these fancy balls to be held in conjunction with the birth of Queen Victoria's second child and male heir, Prince Albert Edward, who was later King Edward VII.

222 Ibid.

223 As the *Niagara Reporter*, published in what is now Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, warned its readers, "the wreck of Brock's monument is in so dilapidated a condition, that it is dangerous to venture near it, in a stormy day." For the communicated article, see *St. Catharines Journal*, 30 Sept. 1841, p. 4, c. 2.

224 Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation*, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (London, 1842), 2:188. To Dickens, the remnants of Brock's Monument inspired a wistful analogy: "a melancholy ruin, with a long fragment of iron railing hanging dejectedly from its top, and waving to and fro like a wild ivy branch or broken vine stem" (188). For the English-born Upper Canadian author and poet Susanna Moodie, the blasted monument might have been a melancholy-looking ruin, but it was "by no means a picturesque one, resembling some tall chimney that has been left standing after the house to which it belonged had been burnt down." See [Susanna] Moodie, *Life in the Clearings Versus the Bush* (London, 1853), 335. Moodie appears to have visited Brock's Monument in the early autumn of 1852.

225 Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation*, 2:188.

226 *Chronicle and Gazette*, 26 Nov. 1842, p. 3, c. 6.

227 As the *Kingston Herald* noted, one of the designs submitted was "such a villainous affair, that the committee jocosely say it must have been sent by Benjamin Lett." See *Kingston (CW) Herald*, 14 Feb. 1843, p. 3, c. 2.

228 *Toronto Herald*, 15 June 1843, p. 3, c. 2.

229 The impression of a blasted monument tottering to its fall appears to have been a fairly common reaction among tourists. See, for example, Morleigh, *Life in the West*, 172; *British Colonies in North America: Canada* (London, 1847), 224; Sir James E. Alexander, *L'Acadie, or, Seven Years' Explorations in British America*, 2 vols. (London, 1849), 2:218.

230 The member of the Legislative Assembly of United Canada for Lincoln County, William Hamilton Merritt, was the driving force behind this petition. His determination for an investigation led to a testy exchange between himself and MacNab. See Elizabeth Gibbs, gen. ed., *Debates of the Legislative Assembly of United Canada, 1841–1867*, 13 vols. (Centre d'étude du Québec; Centre de recherche en histoire économique du Canada Français, 1848), 15 Mar. 1848, 7:387.

231 Ibid., 15 Mar. 1848, 7:385–8; Beer, *Sir Allan Napier MacNab*, 245. A committee of subscribers, consisting of John Beverley Robinson, William Allan, and David Thorburn, absolved MacNab of any wrongdoing by pointing out that he had no involvement in the management of the funds destined for the construction of the new monument. See AO, William Hamilton Merritt Papers (F 662), package no. 8, "Brock's Monument," Report of Chief Justice Robinson, Mr. Allan and Mr. Thorburn, 19 Jan. 1850.

232 AO, William Hamilton Merritt Papers (F 662), package no. 8, "Brock's Monument," Report of Chief Justice Robinson, Mr. Allan and Mr. Thorburn, 19 Jan. 1850.

233 The three members were John Beverley Robinson, William Allan, and David Thorburn. See ibid. Also supporting a change of design was William Hamilton Merritt, a member of the Legislative Assembly of United Canada for Lincoln County and an avid proponent for an "open monument," so people could "survey the country round." See Gibbs, *Debates of the Legislative Assembly of United Canada*, 15 Mar. 1848, 7:387. The public's dissatisfaction with an obelisk began to make news early in 1843. See *St. Catharines Journal*, 9 Mar. 1843, p. 2, c. 3.

234 As the prominent Toronto civil servant John Macaulay expressed himself on the subject, "An obelisk which will be a solid structure [and] less easily injured than a hollow column, is to be erected on the site of the present one." See AO, Macaulay Family Papers (F 32), Macaulay to his mother, Ann Macaulay, 4 Aug. 1840.

235 AO, William Hamilton Merritt Papers (F 662), package no. 8, "Brock's Monument," Report of Chief Justice Robinson, Mr. Allan, and Mr. Thorburn, 19 Jan. 1850. Glenn McArthur and Annie Szamosi have

contended that the commemoration of George Washington with an obelisk made it an unacceptable style of monument for Brock, who was "killed fighting the Yankee invaders." See Glenn McArthur and Annie Szamosi, *William Thomas, Architect, 1799–1860* (Carleton University Press, 1996), 94.

236 AO, William Hamilton Merritt Papers (F 662), package no. 8, "Brock's Monument," Report of Chief Justice Robinson, Mr. Allan, and Mr. Thorburn, 19 Jan. 1850; Peter Baskerville, ed., *The Bank of Upper Canada: A Collection of Documents* (Champlain Society; Ontario Heritage Foundation; Carleton University Press, 1987), cvi–cvii.

237 *Globe* (Toronto), 1 July 1852, p. 315, c. 5.

238 Ibid., 14 Aug. 1852, p. 390, c. 4.

239 LAC, William Hamilton Merritt Papers (MG 24, E1), vol. 17, Bullock to Merritt, 14 Jan. 1843, 2512.

240 Thomas Gibbs Ridout was treasurer of the Brock Monument Fund, and in a letter dated 21 June 1853, he informed his wife, Matilda Ridout, that "we gave out the Brock monument rebuilding contract today. [John] Worthington [of Toronto] got it—his being the lowest tender." See AO, Thomas Ridout Family Papers (F 43), Ridout to Ridout, 21 June 1853. See also *Globe*, 9 July 1853, p. 214, c. 2

241 *Daily National Intelligencer,* 16 July 1853, p. 3, c. 2. See also *Mail* (Niagara, CW), 13 July 1853, p. 2, c. 6.

242 *Mail*, 20 July 1853, p. 2, c. 8.

243 Ibid. As Thomas seemed to suggest, the remains were removed before the first monument was brought down. See *Niagara Chronicle* (Niagara, CW), 29 July 1853, p. 2, c. 5.

244 *Mail*, 20 July 1853, p. 2, c. 8.

245 *Niagara Chronicle*, 29 July 1853, p. 2, c. 5.

246 Ibid. Thomas also went so far as to accompany the remains to the nearby Hamilton family burial ground, where he had them buried in an extra-deep grave.

247 *Mail*, 19 Oct. 1853, p. 2, c. 6. See also *British Colonist*, 14 Oct. 1853, p. 2, c. 6; *St. Catharines Journal*, 20 Oct. 1853, p. 3, c. 1.

248 *Mail*, 19 Oct. 1853, p. 2, c. 6. Kirby's authorship was confirmed by his grandson in 1927. See *Daily Mail and Empire* (Toronto), 21 Oct. 1927, p. 8, c. 5.

249 *Mail*, 19 Oct. 1853, p. 3, c. 5. Kirby was confident that such "an example will not be thrown away, and the feeblest veteran there, perhaps excited the greatest influence in this respect."

250 *Globe*, 24 Oct. 1854, p. 1, c. 9. See also ibid., 3 Sept. 1855, p. 2, c. 10; *Mail*, 19 Sept. 1855, p. 1, c. 5.

251 AO, William Hamilton Merritt Papers (F 662), package no. 8, "Brock's Monument," Thomas to Street, 1 Oct. 1855.

252 Yet, the capping of Brock's new monument caused no little confusion, as it was generally assumed there would be a public celebration to correspond with the occasion. See *St. Catharines Journal*, 8 Oct. 1856, p. 2, c. 5; ibid., 9 Oct. 1856, p. 3, c. 1; ibid., 15 Oct. 1856, p. 2, c. 5.

253 The finishing touches were still being put to the lower part of the monument in mid-November 1855, and Thomas did not expect them to be completed for about another month. See AO, William Hamilton Merritt Papers (F 662), package no. 8, "Brock's Monument," Thomas to Merritt, 13 Nov. 1855. Regarding the 40 acres, see *Globe*, 2 Aug. 1859, p. 1, c. 9; ibid., 14 Oct. 1859, p. 2, c. 7. The ornamental gardens consisted of approximately twelve acres (five hectares) of land, the design of which was entrusted to the "landscape and garden architect" William Mundie of Hamilton, Canada West, whom Merritt had commissioned by early July of 1856. See LAC, Canada Land Petitions (RG 1, L3), B9 (1856–1857), vol. 83, petition of Allan N. MacNab, 28 July 1857, no. 6.

254 *Mail*, 29 Aug. 1855, p. 3, c. 1. In describing the completed monument four years later, Kirby revealed plans (apparently never effected) for a de facto museum in its base: "It is intended to make the monument a place of deposit for the colors of the Niagara frontier regiments engaged in the War of 1812, and perhaps many other interesting relics of the times of General Brock may there find a suitable resting place." See *Daily Exchange* (Baltimore), 6 Aug. 1859, p. 1, c. 8.

255 For contemporary descriptions of the monument, see "The Brock Monument," *Canadian Journal* 1, no. 2 (Sept. 1852): 41–2; ibid., n.s. 1, no. 2 (Feb. 1856): 201–3.

256 This according to the article's subtitle. See *Globe*, 14 Oct. 1859, p. 2, c. 6.

257 As MacNab recalled, serving militiamen and their officers were expected to contribute one day's pay to the rebuilding of Brock's Monument. See *Weekly Spectator* (Hamilton, CW), 20 Oct. 1859, p. 2, c. 3. Specifically, it was proposed that all members of the militia be invited to subscribe a day's pay, according to his respective rank and the scale of pay while on actual service. See *Chronicle and Gazette*, 2 Sept. 1840, p. 2, c. 5.

258 *Weekly Spectator*, 20 Oct. 1859, p. 2, c. 5.

259 Ibid., p. 3, c, 1.

260 In writing to MacNab, Tupper acknowledged that his speech was "as gratifying to our feelings as it is creditable to yourself, and no one can read it without being forcibly struck with its imagery and beauty;

the allusion to the judgment morning, the last trump, the rending of the pillar, and the bursting of the tomb, is particularly appropriate and touching, and I am not ashamed to confess that I could not read this passage and some others aloud without being moved to tears." Tupper's letter was found tipped into a copy of his *Family Records*. See Toronto Reference Library, Marilyn and Charles Baillie Special Collections Centre, Baldwin Collection of Canadiana, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers, Ferdinand Brock Tupper, *Family Records* (St. Peter Port, Guernsey, 1835), Tupper to MacNab, 7 Nov. 1859, bet. 164–5.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1 *Weekly Spectator* (Hamilton, CW), 20 Oct. 1859, p. 2, c. 1.

2 Rather, Brock was killed well below the heights and in a field adjacent to Queenston. See Guy St-Denis, "Not Oblique Enough: The Fall of Sir Isaac Brock," *Canadian Army Journal* 18, no. 2 (2020): 115–39. Besides which, Brock's second monument was not sited according to the place of his fall.

3 As Sydney F. Wise, a Canadian historian with an interest in military studies, wrote, "Not only was there the element of sacrifice, of Brock having laid down his life to save the province, but also death had removed the hero to another and superior level of veneration." See S[ydney] F. Wise, "The War of 1812 in Popular History," in *War Along the Niagara: Essays on the War of 1812 and Its Legacy*, ed. R. Arthur Bowler (Old Fort Niagara Association, 1991), 111.

4 Donald R. Beer, *Sir Allan Napier MacNab* (Dictionary of Hamilton Biography, 1984), 6–8, 130–47. According to Beer, the war "confirmed forever the love of military life [MacNab] gained from his father" (8). In 1841, MacNab's deep bond with the militia was demonstrated by the presentation of a ceremonial sword for his service during the rebellions. See ibid., 146.

5 *Times* (London), 18 Apr. 1859, p. 6, c. 5.

6 *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 3 June 1859, supplement, p. 1, c. 3.

7 While the *Globe*'s editor was the reform-minded and subsequent Liberal premier of Ontario George Brown, both he and MacNab had a "surprisingly warm" relationship based on respect rather than agreement. See Beer, *Sir Allan Napier MacNab*, 297.

8 *Globe* (Toronto), 10 May 1859, p. 1, c. 1. For the original source of this paraphrased version, see *Times*, 19 Apr. 1859, p. 6, c. 5.

9 *Times*, 18 Apr. 1859, p. 6, c. 5.

10 Norman Knowles portrayed Merritt as someone who "believed that history could play an important role in creating a shared sense of identity and destiny that would facilitate Upper Canada's political growth and national development within the British Empire." See Norman Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists: The Ontario Loyalist Tradition and the Creation of Usable Pasts* (University of Toronto Press, 1997), 32.

11 *Globe*, 5 Oct. 1852, p. 478, c. 1. For the text of the address, see Elizabeth Gibbs, gen. ed., *Debates of the Legislative Assembly of United Canada, 1841–1867* (Centre d'étude du Québec; Centre de recherche en histoire économique du Canada Français, 1852), 8 Sept. 1852, 11, pt. 1:344–5.

12 *Globe*, 17 Feb. 1853, p. 82, c. 5.

13 Ibid., 9 Apr. 1853, p. 170, c. 2.

14 Ibid., 15 Oct. 1853, p. 518, c. 1. Merritt perhaps alluded to a letter Brock addressed to his superior officer at the end of 1811, in which he expressed his desire "to rouse the energy of the militia and Indians, who are now impressed with a firm belief, that in the event of war they are to be left to their fate." See Ferdinand Brock Tupper, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, 1st ed. (London, 1845), Brock to Prevost, 2 Dec. 1811, 104.

15 *Globe*, 15 Oct. 1853, p. 518, c. 1.

16 Ibid., c. 2.

17 Archives of Ontario (AO), William Hamilton Merritt Family Papers (F 662), package no. 3, "War of 1812," Merritt circular, 1 Aug. 1853.

18 Ibid.

19 Clark was an officer in the 1st Regiment of the Lincoln Militia. See L. Homfray Irving, *Officers of the British Forces in Canada during the War of 1812–15* (Welland Tribune Print, 1908), 72–3.

20 As Clark wrote to Merritt in August of 1860, "I claim not to have been in the engagement, but nevertheless stood along-side of Major General Sheaffe, when he received a flag [of truce] from Genl. Wadsworth's messenger surrendering his forces, unconditionally." See AO, William Hamilton Merritt Family Papers (F 662), package no. 9, "Prince of Wales' Visit," Clark to Merritt, 3 Aug. 1860. Not long afterwards, Clark elaborated that he and Sheaffe were in the redan battery when Wadsworth surrendered, and that Clark "thereafter gladly assisted in escorting the prisoners to Fort George." See ibid., 7 Sept. 1860. See also Niagara Falls History Museum (NFHM), "Autobiography of John Clark Written by Himself," 210.

21 AO, William Hamilton Merritt Family Papers (F 662), package no. 3, "War of 1812," Merritt circular, 1 Aug. 1853.

22 While the historical record of these dinners is spotty at best, it appears that they were annual events across the Canadas and from an early date. There was also a tendency for some of them to become quite unruly affairs, such as the dinner held at Hamilton in 1833. After a cannon in the street had been fired a number of times, it exploded and maimed two men. See E[rnest] A. Horsman and Lillian Rea Benson, eds., *The Canadian Journal of Alfred Domett* (University of Western Ontario, 1955), 32.

23 *St. Catharines (CW) Constitutional*, 15 Oct. 1856, p. 2, c. 5. At a similar dinner held several years earlier in 1851, Clark echoed the Militia Myth propagated by Rev. John Strachan when he ventured to say that the "Canadian militia aided by a handful of regular troops under the command of the lamentable and brave General Brock retained this colony as a continued appendage to that [the British] crown." See NFHM, "Autobiography of John Clark Written by Himself," 235.

24 *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 15 Oct. 1856, p. 2, c. 5.

25 More specifically, Konkle served in a flank company of the 4th Regiment of the Lincoln Militia. See Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Upper Canada Land Petitions (RG 1, L3), K12 (1819–1820), vol. 271a, petition of Adam Konkle, 14 Oct. 1819, no. 72, certificate of Abraham Nelles, 14 Oct. 1819, no. 72a.

26 "How Queenston and Other Frontier Battles Were Fought," *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* 11, no. 11 (Nov. 1858): 168.

27 "Memoirs of Colonel John Clark, of Port Dalhousie, C.W.," Ontario Historical Society *Papers and Records* 7 (1906): 179. Cummings, a merchant and entrepreneur of Chippawa, Canada West, was successively a lieutenant and captain in the 3rd Lincoln Militia. See Irving, *Officers of the British Forces in Canada during the War of 1812–15*, 79.

28 "Memoirs of Colonel John Clark," 179. In addition to Cummings, Clark provided a similar case of neglect in the person of James Kerby, who was "always first in the field and the last to leave it." He was furthermore a poor man holding a "paltry situation from the government in recollection of his eminent services on all occasions—scarcely sufficient to keep him alive when others who have not the most trifling pretension are wallowing in wealth as the servants of government, not bearing a comparison to Kerby in any one respect." See NFHM, "Autobiography of John Clark Written by Himself," 226.

29 "Memoirs of Colonel John Clark," 179.

30 It was only in 1875 that the surviving militiamen of the War of 1812 received a government pension for their services. See *Statement Showing the Name, Age and Residence of Militiamen of 1812–15* (Ottawa, 1876), iii.

31 Although the invitation extended to Queen Victoria (and members of the royal family) by the Canadian government was not formally accepted until 30 January 1860, news of the prince's visit was circulating in newsprint by mid-December 1859. For an account of the extensive planning that went into the event, see Ian Radforth, *Royal Spectacle: The 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States* (University of Toronto Press, 2004), 17–23.

32 Despite rumours that several cities were vying to host the militia reception of the Prince of Wales, when "the name of Queenston Heights was mentioned" at a meeting of militia officers, "it occurred to every one present at that meeting, that there was the spot appropriate for the military demonstration of Upper Canada, that there was the fitting place for the presentation of an address to the Prince of Wales from the surviving veterans of 1812, who hastened to meet a brave foe at their first invading step, and fought and rallied around the gallant Brock, as he fell on the verdant height where his monumental remains now rest." See *Globe*, 4 Aug. 1860, p. 2, c. 7. See also ibid., 25 Aug. 1860, p. 2, c. 7.

33 The "foundation" or cornerstone was laid by Lieutenant Colonel Donald Macdonell, who was then deputy adjutant general of militia for Canada West. See ibid., 14 Oct. 1859, p. 2, c. 7; [Alexander McLean Macdonell], *Fighting Men of a Highland Catholic Jacobite Clan* ([R. G. McLean, 1912]), 44.

34 *Leader* (Toronto), 21 Apr. 1860, p. 2, c 4. The defeat of the Americans at the Battle of Chateaugay, in October of 1813, foiled an invasion of Lower Canada (Quebec).

35 Ibid.

36 *Weekly Spectator*, 20 Oct. 1859, p. 3, c. 2. The idea of marking the site of Brock's fall was contemplated at least as early as 1850 or 1852, when a local surveyor named George Keefer prepared a plan meant to "shew where Gen. Brock Fell." See AO, William Hamilton Merritt Family Papers (F 662), package no. 8, "Brock's Monument," Sketch of Queenston Heights designed to shew where Gen. Brock Fell on the 13th Oct. [1812], by George Keefer, 1860. While Keefer was not entirely sure, he thought the plan was intended for the building committee of the new Brock monument—although its survey might have been prompted by the opening of a campaign to mark the various battlefields of the War of 1812. For this campaign, see *St. Catharines (CW) Journal*, 4 Aug. 1853, p. 3, c. 1; ibid., 24 Aug. 1853, p. 3, c. 1; *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 5 Sept. 1855, p. 3, c. 1.

37 *Weekly Spectator*, 20 Oct. 1859, p. 2, c. 1. Macdonald might have been prompted to raise this issue by the attendance of an elderly veteran, who was seen seated on a black pony making a spectacle of himself prior to the speeches. From his mount, he delighted in recounting his experiences during the War of 1812 and "boasted that he saw the old boy—meaning Gen. Brock—fall where the monument now stands."

Unfortunately for the aged attention seeker's credibility, Brock did not fall at the site of the current monument. See ibid.

38 Niagara-on-the-Lake Museum (NOTLM), Brock Cenotaph Correspondence, Stanton to MacNab, 28 July 1860, acc. 992.5.296. Stanton was clerk of process at Osgoode Hall in Toronto, the seat of provincial superior courts and the headquarters of the Law Society of Upper Canada, as well as its law school.

39 NOTLM, Sketch showing the spot where Brock fell by Robert Stanton, undated, acc. 989.5.33. This sketch became separated from Stanton's letter to MacNab, dated 28 July 1860, and is now catalogued separately.

40 Ibid., Brock Cenotaph Correspondence, MacNab to MacDougal, 30 July 1860, acc. 989.5.29.

41 AO, John Beverley Robinson Family Papers (F 44), Calendared Papers, 1857–1905, Stanton to clerk of the peace, 10 July 1860.

42 During an enfeebled old age, Clark admitted to doing "little else, than that of committing to paper, my remembrances of early days, in this my native land." See ibid., Clark to Robinson, 28 July 1860. Clark wrote a number of pieces on what he perceived to be the loyal characteristics of the inhabitants of Upper Canada. He sent a version to MacNab at the end of April 1860, and later hinted that he be allowed to recite a history of the Battle of Queenston Heights before the prince. That opportunity, however, was not afforded him. See University of Toronto, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library (UTRB), Sir Allan MacNab Papers (MS 220), box 1, file 36, Clark to MacNab, 30 Apr. 1860; AO, William Hamilton Merritt Family Papers (F 662), package no. 9, "Prince of Wales' Visit," Clark to Merritt, 3 Aug. 1860.

43 UTRB, Sir Allan MacNab Papers (MS 220), box 1, file 36, Clark to MacNab, 30 Apr. 1860, enclosure 2, p. 5.

44 AO, William Hamilton Merritt Family Papers (F 662), package no. 8, "Brock's Monument," Clark to Merritt, 22 June 1860.

45 [Henry James Morgan] A British Canadian [pseud.], *The Tour of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales* (Montreal, 1860), 189.

46 AO, John Beverley Robinson Family Papers (F 44), Calendared Papers, 1857–1905, Stanton to clerk of the peace, 10 July 1860.

47 The *St. Catharines Constitutional* alerted its readers to the address in the latter half of July, urging "all who took part in the struggles of the last American war" to affix their signatures as soon as possible. It is intriguing to think that Secord might have been inspired by this same notice. See *St. Catharines Constitutional*, 19 July 1860, p. 2, c. 7.

48 "Notes on Niagara, 1759–1860," Niagara Historical Society [*Transactions*] 32 (1919): 69. The original source of this quotation was the Niagara *Mail* of 8 August 1860, which unfortunately appears to be lost. Another transcript was published in "Canadian Heroine," *Journal of Education, Upper Canada* 13, no. 9 (Sept. 1860):142. The two versions vary somewhat.

49 *Canadian Almanac, and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the Year 1861* (Toronto, [1860]), 70.

50 "Canadian Heroine," 142.

51 As Kirby related, Secord "having observed the advance of Boerstler's American army towards the Beaver Dams, and the male part of her family being all away on duty, hastened on foot in the night, through woods and by-ways to the British head quarters, a distance of fifteen miles [twenty-four kilometres], and gave information that led to the attack on Boerstler, and the capture of himself and all his forces, a piece of very important service at that time." See "Canadian Heroine," 142. For a detailed examination of Secord's exploits, see George C. Ingram, "The Story of Laura Secord Revisited," *Ontario History* 57, no. 2 (June 1965): 85–6.

52 Soon after the prince visited Queenston Heights, an article in the *Globe* discussed the address presented to him by the militia veterans. But despite some detailed statistics and other interesting information, there is no reference to Laura Secord. The novelty of such a signatory surely would have excited editorial interest, had it been allowed. See *Globe*, 26 Sept. 1860, p. 4, c. 1. A request of the Royal Archives failed to uncover the original address, and so a confirmation of Secord's signature was not possible.

53 If, as the author contends, Secord was not allowed to sign the address of the militia veterans, it might explain a seeming determination on her part to push the matter. The outcome was a special introduction to the prince, her own address, and a gift of £100.

54 NOTLM, Brock Cenotaph Correspondence, Thomas to MacNab, 1 Aug. 1860, acc. 989.5.31. The architect, William Thomas, had also designed Brock's new monument. In both cases, the building contractor was John Worthington of Toronto.

55 The date of the visit was not finalized for some time, and it remained uncertain until at least the end of August. See *St. Catharines Journal*, 6 Sept. 1860, p. 1, c. 3.

56 NOTLM, Brock Cenotaph Correspondence, Thomas to MacNab, 9 Aug. 1860, acc. 989.5.30. Although Thomas plotted these sites on a map that he sketched for MacNab, this all-important enclosure has gone missing.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid., Thomas to MacNab, 4 Aug. 1860, acc. 989.5.32.

59 Ibid., 9 Aug. 1860, acc. 989.5.30. Thomas thought the local residents would prefer to see the obelisk erected in a "public road," as opposed to having it "cornered up on private property."

60 Ibid., MacNab to MacDougal, 10 Aug. 1860, acc. 992.5.297. The meeting at Queenston took place on 17 August 1860. See *Leader*, 25 Aug. 1860, p. 2, c. 6.

61 Benson J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812* (New York, 1868), 416.

62 NOTLM, Brock Cenotaph Correspondence, MacNab to MacDougal, 10 Aug. 1860, acc. 992.5.297.

63 *New York Herald*, 22 Sept. 1860, p. 3, c. 4.

64 *Globe*, 19 Sept. 1860, p. 2, c. 4.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid., c. 5.

67 Ibid.

68 Royal Archives, Victorian Additional Papers (VIC/ADD/A/3/21), Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, to Queen Victoria, 23 Sept. 1860.

69 *Globe*, 19 Sept. 1860, p. 2, c. 5.

70 *Times*, 4 Oct. 1860, p. 4, c. 1. At the end of 1837, a party of Canadian Militia crossed the Niagara River and seized the American steamboat *Caroline*, which was then sent ablaze over the Falls. The justification for the attack was the *Caroline*'s use by Canadian rebels led by William Lyon Mackenzie, who were based on Navy Island. The militia leader who led the attack against the *Caroline* was Allan Napier MacNab.

71 *Times*, 4 Oct. 1860, p. 4, c. 1. James Wolfe was the major general who commanded the British expedition to Quebec in 1759.

72 *Globe*, 19 Sept. 1860, p. 2, c. 5.

73 Ibid.

74 For Secord's address, see LAC, Office of the Governor General of Canada Papers, Records Relating to Royal Visits and Vice Regal Tours, 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales (RG 7, G23), vol. 1, file 2, "Laura Secord's Address to the Prince of Wales," 1860.

75 For the date of the church service, see *New York Herald*, 17 Sept. 1860, p. 1, c. 5; Robert Cellem, *Visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales* (Toronto, 1861), 309.

76 Although Secord's address is undated, James Cummings, in his capacity as warden of Welland County, certified it on 10 September 1860. Therefore, Secord's introduction to the prince was not likely a spontaneous meeting. See LAC, Office of the Governor General of Canada Papers, Records Relating to Royal Visits and Vice Regal Tours, 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales (RG 7, G23), vol. 1, file 2, "Laura Secord's Address to the Prince of Wales," 1860.

77 Secord received word of the prince's gift in March of 1861. See LAC, Governor General's Office, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Governor General's Secretary (RG 7, G20), vols. 81–2, no. 9499, Secord to Pennefather, 28 Mar. 1861.

78 LAC, Office of the Governor General of Canada Papers, Records Relating to Royal Visits and Vice Regal Tours, 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales (RG 7, G23), vol. 1, file 2, "Laura Secord's Address to the Prince of Wales," 1860.

79 The prince engaged in "a short battle with the artist, Mr. Bellringer, of Toronto, as to the propriety of standing in a certain position, the prince insisting that it was too much in the sun, and the artist insinuating that His Highness did not know anything at all about it, which was, in the main true—the prince got into the desired position, and bidding his noisy suite to be quiet, was successfully taken, hat in hand, in about twenty seconds." See *Leader*, 19 Sept. 1860, p. 2, c. 4.

80 Ibid.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid.

83 *Globe*, 20 Sept. 1860, p. 2, c. 8.

84 OA, William Hamilton Merritt Family Papers (F 662), package no. 9, "Prince of Wales' Visit," Clark to Merritt, 22 Sept. 1860.

85 Canadian military historian Charles P. Stacey recognized the psychological significance of Brock's Monument during a 1958 speech to the Ontario Historical Society. Acknowledging that Upper Canada "had been successfully defended against heavy odds" during the War of 1812, he added, "Great deeds had been done, and good blood spilled, upon its soil; and future generations of Upper Canadians would look back to the years 1812–14 as a heroic age, whose symbol was the tall shaft they erected on the battlefield of Queenston Heights." See C[harles] P. Stacey, "The War of 1812 in Canadian History," *Ontario History* 50, no. 3 (1958): 159.

86 MacNab died 8 August 1862; Merritt died 5 July 1862; and Clark died 12 July 1862. For their obituaries, see *Globe*, 16 Aug. 1862, p. 2, c. 1; ibid., 8 July 1862, p. 2, c. 4; ibid., 16 July 1862, p. 2, c. 8.

87 *Morning Post* (London), 3 Dec. 1861, p. 4, c. 3. Charles de Salaberry was a Lower Canadian Militia officer who won fame at the Battle of Chateauguay, south of Montreal, in October of 1813.

88 *Globe*, 6 Jan. 1860, p. 2, c. 4.

89 Ibid. The militia convention consisted of delegates from active militia units in Canada West who met in Toronto on 6 January 1860 to formulate a response to the Canadian government's unpopular Militia Act of 1859.

90 Ibid.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid.

93 The audacity of this correspondent, who might have been William Kirby of what is now Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, was shared with readers as far afield as New York City. See *New York Herald*, 13 Dec. 1861, p. 1 c. 6.

94 Ibid.

95 Ibid. The Militia Myth would continue to give Canadians a false sense of security well into the twentieth century. According to James Wood, "the militia myth fostered a sense of complacency on the part of the Canadian people. For more than a century afterward, it allowed them to be fooled into believing that there was no military contingency so serious that it could not be met by the citizen soldiers of a volunteer militia." See James Wood, *Militia Myths: Ideas of the Canadian Citizen Soldier, 1896–1921* (University of British Columbia Press, 2010), 11.

96 *Globe*, 1 Jan. 1862, p. 2, c. 4. The reference to 1775 alludes to the invasion of the Province of Quebec by forces of the American Continental Army early in the American Revolutionary War, their ultimate defeat before Quebec City on 31 December 1775, and the death of the American commander (General Richard Montgomery).

97 [Charles] P. Stacey, *Canada and the British Army, 1846–1871*, rev. ed. (University of Toronto Press, 2018), 118.

98 *Times*, 25 June 1861, p. 7, c. 4.

99 Ibid., c. 5.

100 As one military historian described the prevailing attitude toward a standing army, most Canadians "were satisfied and comfortable with the part-time citizen militia that grew out of the country's colonial experience, in part because it was cheap, and in part because of the exaggerated accounts of the militia's prowess during the War of 1812. All the time the threats to Canadian security remained abstract and hypothetical, and there was a British garrison in North America, governments had no reason to anger their constituents by initiating fundamental reforms of the country's military system." See Stephen J. Harris, *Canadian Brass: The Making of a Professional Army, 1860–1939* (University of Toronto Press, 1988), 216. Also see the same source at 6 and 12.

101 Stacey, *Canada and the British Army*, 128.

102 Stacey, 129–31.

103 Stacey, 133, 138.

104 Stacey, 134.

105 *Globe*, 12 Mar. 1862, p. 2, cc. 2–3.

106 Stacey, *Canada and the British Army*, 136.

107 *Times*, 6 June 1862, p. 8, c. 3.

108 Edmund Lodge, *The Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire* (London, 1890), 14. Bury married Sophia MacNab in 1855.

109 *Times*, 26 July 1862, p. 10, c. 1.

110 Stacey, *Canada and the British Army*, 152. McGee was the Irish Canadian member of Parliament for Montreal West. He was assassinated outside his Ottawa boarding house in 1868.

111 Stacey, 158.

112 *Globe*, 1 Aug. 1863, p. 2, c. 8.

113 *Mitchell (CW) Advocate*, 20 Oct. 1865, p. 2, c. 1.

114 Andrew Smith, "Confederation as a Hemispheric Anomaly: Why Canada Chose a Unique Model of Sovereignty in the 1860s," in *Remaking North American Sovereignty: State Transformation in the 1860s*, ed. Jewel L. Spangler and Frank Towers (Fordham University Press, 2020), 45–6.

115 As Charles P. Stacey wrote of the situation, "With American soldiers everywhere, there were capital opportunities for practitioners of unofficial war; and Irish-Americans were soon playing with the idea of striking at England through her possessions in America." See Stacey, *Canada and the British Army*, 189. However, as another Canadian historian cautioned, the assumption that the Fenian raiders were all discharged Irish American veterans of the Civil War was "a lightly tested notion." See Colin Read, review

of *The Last Invasion of Canada: The Fenian Raids, 1866–1870*, by Hereward Senior, in *American Historical Review* 98, no. 1 (Feb. 1993): 276.

116 Stacey, *Canada and the British Army*, 188.

117 C[harles] P. Stacey, "Fenianism and the Rise of National Feeling in Canada at the Time of Confederation," *Canadian Historical Review* 12, no. 3 (Sept. 1931): 242.

118 Stacey, 249–50. See also Hereward Senior, *The Last Invasion of Canada: The Fenian Raids, 1866–1870* (Dundurn Press, 1991), 45–57.

119 Senior, *Last Invasion of Canada*, 64.

120 Senior, 69, 71. For a detailed accounting of the fluctuating Fenian troop strength, see Peter Vronsky, *Ridgeway: The American Fenian Invasion and the 1866 Battle That Made Canada* (Penguin, Allan Lane, 2011), 46.

121 Senior, *Last Invasion of Canada*, 71.

122 Senior, 79–88, 91–8.

123 Senior, 88. The Fenian dead numbered about the same as that of the Canadian Militia, along with "several" wounded.

124 *Globe*, 4 June 1866, p. 2, c. 2. As Peter Vronsky clarifies, the Battle of Ridgeway comprised two battles: one at Lime or Limestone Ridge on the morning of 2 June 1866, and the other at Fort Erie in the afternoon of that same day. See Vronsky, *Ridgeway*, xxx.

125 *Globe*, 15 June 1866, p. 1, c. 8.

126 *Globe*, 4 June 1866, p. 2, c. 3.

127 In writing about the Fenian Raids, Charles P. Stacey noted that the "imperial troops had, of course, shared with the volunteers the exertions of guarding the frontier (though it happened that the only fighting was done by the Canadians, and done rather badly)." See Stacey, *Canada and the British Army*, 191.

128 *Globe*, 26 Oct. 1866, p. 3, c. 2.

129 The chairman was Edward Lee, warden of Welland County. See ibid.

130 Ibid.

131 Ibid.

132 Ibid.

133 Vronsky, *Ridgeway*, 250–3.

134 *Globe*, 26 Oct. 1866, p. 3, c. 2. Currie was the member of the Legislative Council of the Province of Canada representing the Niagara electoral district. See C[harles] H. Mackintosh, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Companion, and Annual Register, 1877* (Ottawa, 1877), 253.

135 *Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces* (Quebec, 1865), 465–6.

136 McGiverin's wife, whom he married in 1851, was Jane Clark. See William F. Coffin, *1812; The War, and Its Moral: A Canadian Chronicle* (Montreal, 1864), 150; Rev. Robert Ker, ed., *St. George's Parish Church, St. Catharines. Jubilee Celebration and Historic and Centenary Review* (St. Catharines, ON, 1891), 125.

137 *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. (London, 1865), vol. 177, col. 1580.

138 Ibid., vol. 178, col. 1593.

139 Ibid., col. 147.

140 Edward Whelan, *The Union of the British Provinces* (Charlottetown, PEI, 1865), 176–7. Charles Fisher was a former attorney general in New Brunswick and a prominent reform politician in that colony. The regiment he referred to was the 104th, which was raised in New Brunswick and marched to the relief of Upper Canada early in 1813.

141 *Upper Canada Gazette* (York), 21 Oct. 1824, p. 347, c. 3.

142 *Toronto Patriot*, 11 Aug. 1840, p. 2, c. 1.

143 *Mail* (Niagara, CW), 20 July 1853, p. 2, c. 8.

144 "Canadian Patriotism, the Lever of Canadian Greatness," *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* 3, no. 3 (Mar. 1850): 40.

145 Ibid.

146 In discussing Carl Berger's reappraisal of those imperialists who supported some form of federation between Britain and its colonies in the years leading up to the First World War, Phillip Buckner disclosed a little-known fact: that "Berger's attempt to rehabilitate the imperial federalists was never accepted by all Canadian historians." The most outspoken critic was Douglas L. Cole, who denied that "Canadian imperialism" was just one variety of the Canadian nationalism perceived by Berger. Differing approaches to nomenclature resulted in much confusion, but Buckner introduced a greater degree of clarity by elaborating on Berger's finding that imperialism was a form of nationalism. As Buckner stipulated, the two concepts were not antithetical. For most English-speaking Canadians of the late nineteenth and

early twentieth centuries, there was "no contradiction between their nationalism and their imperialism." Moreover, Buckner recognized that there were very few anti-imperialists—and that many imperialists were Canadians who preferred a decentralized form of empire. Frequently mislabelled as nationalists by later historians, Buckner sees them as liberal imperialists in pursuit of the same goal: "an empire composed of autonomous British nations." See Phillip Buckner, "The Long Goodbye: English Canadians and the British World," in *Rediscovering the British World*, ed. Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis (University of Calgary Press, 2005), 182, 189, 194.

147 This early form of Canadian imperialism emphasized economic and military co-operation, as well as political changes that would "give the dominions influence over imperial policy." See Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867–1914* (University of Toronto Press, 1970), 3.

148 George T. Denison claimed to have originated the term "Canada First" in 1871, while seeking a motto for the group. See LAC, George Munro Grant Papers (MG 29, D38), vol. 9, Denison to Grant, 20 Oct. 1896, 3564–5.

149 According to George T. Denison, the founding members of Canada First were William A. Foster, Robert G. Haliburton, Charles Mair, Henry J. Morgan, and himself. See ibid., 3562.

150 Ibid.

151 Foster's audience were members of the North West Emigration Aid Society.

152 *Globe*, 17 July 1871, p. 4, c. 6.

153 As Carl Berger recognized, the "young men of Canada First fully realized that history was the most effective of all instruments for instilling a sense of national unity." See Berger, *Sense of Power*, 93.

154 *Globe*, 17 July 1871, p. 4, c. 2.

155 D[avid] R. Farrell, "The Canada First Movement and Canadian Political Thought," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 4, no. 4 (Nov. 1969): 17.

156 In considering Denison's support for the Confederacy during the Civil War, Norman Knowles provided valuable insight into his character. To Denison, the South "represented an idyllic society that embodied the social order, conservative values, and chivalric traditions he wished to see maintained in British North America. He drew parallels between his loyalist ancestors, who had fought to uphold their principles against the demagoguery of American patriots, and the southerners, who were struggling to preserve their identity and way of life." See Norman Knowles, "Denison, George Taylor," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 15:271.

157 George T. Denison, *Soldiering in Canada: Recollections and Experiences*, 2nd ed. (George N. Morang and Company, 1901), 13–14.

158 Denison, 8.

159 Denison, 8.

160 Denison, 14. By referring to the Battle of Queenston Heights as the first battle, Denison probably meant the first major battle of the War of 1812.

161 Denison, 14–15.

162 LAC, George Munro Grant Papers (MG 29, D38), vol. 9, Denison to Grant, 20 Oct. 1896, 3563.

163 G[eorge] M. Hougham, "Canada First: A Minor Party in Microcosm," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 19, no. 2 (May 1953): 182.

164 Canadian historian Keith Walden offers the following explanation: To Denison, Brock's name was synonymous with "the deeds performed by the Canadian militia, deeds which enabled him to walk with pride at the center of the empire." See Keith Walden, "Isaac Brock: Man and Myth. A Study of the Militia Myth of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada, 1812–1912" (master's thesis, Queen's University, 1971), 102.

165 The Barrie *Northern Advance* described Denison as "well qualified for a public lecturer. He has correct enunciation, a magnificent flow of choice language combined with great flexibility of voice, this, united with fluent and easy delivery and a graceful attitude gives his address a pleasing effect." See *Northern Advance* (Barrie, ON), 16 Feb. 1871, p. 2, c. 6.

166 *The Centennial of the Settlement of Upper Canada by the United Empire Loyalists, 1784–1884* (Toronto, 1885), vi.

167 *Centennial of the Settlement of Upper Canada*, iv.

168 Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, 71–3, 76–7.

169 According to Carl Berger, it was "much easier for British Canadians to recall and celebrate the victory of 1812 than the defeat of 1783." See Berger, *Sense of Power*, 90. Berger also saw the Militia Myth, or "militia legend" as he sometimes described it, as being at the very heart of the Loyalist tradition, where it gave credit to the Loyalists for having defended imperial unity, and for the national meaning it lent their efforts. Sharing the glory would have diminished the Militia Myth, as well as the standing of the Loyalists who promoted it. See Berger, 104–8.

170 Norman Knowles identified five characteristics of the Loyalist tradition: (1) an unfailing devotion to the British monarchy and empire; (2) a strong and pervasive anti-Americanism; (3) a willingness to suffer and sacrifice for the sake of principle; (4) a perception of elite social origins; and (5) a conservative social vision. See Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, 3.

171 Knowles, 78. As the Toronto *Globe* alerted its readers, "In the afternoon [of 3 July 1884] a reception to the descendants of the U. E. Loyalists will be held at Government House by his honour the lieutenant-governor of Ontario. Only those wearing badges will be admitted to Government House." See *Globe*, 3 July 1884, p. 6, c. 1.

172 *Centennial of the Settlement of Upper Canada*, 67.

173 *Centennial of the Settlement of Upper Canada*, 67.

174 *Centennial of the Settlement of Upper Canada*, 97.

175 *Centennial of the Settlement of Upper Canada*, 98. While "bountied mercenaries" is fairly self-explanatory as soldiers who were paid to enlist, "three months' men" were volunteers who enlisted for that period of time.

176 *Centennial of the Settlement of Upper Canada*, 96.

177 Jane Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada: A Developing Colonial Ideology* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 54.

178 Errington, 36–7.

179 Errington, 39.

180 In a discussion of the United Empire Loyalist' Association, Norman Knowles conceded that its members' "efforts to create a heroic past were confounded by the fact that few Loyalists stood out as particularly outstanding individuals. The association thus found itself increasingly turning to the War of 1812 and figures such as Sir Isaac Brock." See Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, 160.

181 Elisabeth Wallace, *Goldwin Smith: Victorian Liberal* (University of Toronto Press, 1957), 53; Ramsay Cook, "Smith, Goldwin," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 13:970, 973.

182 Cook, "Smith, Goldwin," 13:973.

183 Cook, 13:973.

184 Cook, 13:972.

185 According to Elisabeth Wallace, "Smith never recovered from a feeling of outrage that the unpopularity of his political opinions should involve social ostracism, as for years it did, in the intensely loyal capital of Ontario." See Wallace, *Goldwin Smith: Victorian Liberal*, 74.

186 Goldwin Smith, *Canada and the Canadian Question*, popular ed. (Toronto, 1892), 118.

187 Brown had lived in Toronto since 1843. See J[ames] M[aurice] S[tockford] Careless, *Brown of the Globe*, 2 vols. (Macmillan Company of Canada, 1959, 1963), 1:25.

188 *Globe*, 5 Oct. 1852, p. 478, c. 2. Brown also promoted the idea of erecting "a monument on the spot where Tecumseh fell, and also on other spots rendered famous by the most brilliant events of the war." See *Globe*, 5 Oct. 1852, p. 478, c. 1.

189 Ibid., c. 2.

190 As Brown's biographer observed, "From the earliest days of the *Globe*, Brown had written of the Canadian nation of the future, no paltry province, but a continental realm, to which would belong—by a wholly Canadian version of Manifest Destiny—the immense British western territories." His attitude toward imperialism, particularly as it related to military defence, was philosophical, and "there was no desire to foist all obligations off on Britain, nor any wish for a larger scope for Canada in managing her own affairs. He simply took the situation as it was, while the colony was weak and the mother country strong, and assumed a division of the duties of colonial defence, with the Canadians clearly taking the secondary part." In a nutshell, Brown "hoped to see Canada grow up within the British Empire, not cut off from it." See Careless, *Brown of the Globe*, 1:232–3, and 2:61, 72.

191 *Globe*, 5 Oct. 1852, p. 478, c. 2.

192 Ibid.

193 J[ames] J. Talman, "Coventry, George," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 9:164.

194 Gerald Killan, *Preserving Ontario's Heritage: A History of the Ontario Historical Society* (Love Printing Service, 1976), 6.

195 Killan, 8.

196 Killan, 8–9. The United Canadian Association, which had dispersed by 1880, was replaced by the Pioneer Association of Ontario, a similar organization, in 1888. Renamed the Pioneer and Historical Association of the Province of Ontario, it was reorganized in 1898 and rebranded the Ontario Historical Society. See Killan, 14, 38, 56.

197 Killan, 9. These early historical societies included the Loyal Canadian Society of Grimsby, St. Catharines Historical Society, Chatham Canadian Society, York Pioneers, Native Canadian Society of Belleville,

Loyal Canadian Society of Niagara, No. 1, Canadian Society of Hamilton, and the Collingwood Pioneers. See Killan, 30. By 1912, there were many such societies, and the organizers of the Brock Centenary published the following partial list: "British Empire League; Caledonian Society; Canadian Club; Canadian Defence League; Daughters of the Empire, Niagara Falls, Ont.; Daughters of the Empire, St. Catharines; Empire Club; Historical Society, Niagara Falls, Ont.; Historical Society, Niagara-on-the-Lake; Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire; Irish Protestant and Benevolent Society, Toronto; Lundy's Lane Historical Society, Niagara Falls, Ont.; Ontario Historical Society; St. Andrew's Society, Toronto; St. Catharines Historical Society; St. George's Society, Toronto; Sons of England, Toronto; Sons of Scotland Benevolent Association, Toronto; Women's Canadian Historical Society, Toronto; Women's Canadian Club, Toronto; Women's Historical Society, Hamilton; Women's Institute, Queenston; Women's Institute, Stamford; York Pioneers Association." See Alexander Fraser, ed., *Brock Centenary, 1812–1912* (William Briggs, 1913), 23.

198 For the origins and activities of the Loyal Canadian Society, see R. Janet Powell, comp., *Annals of the Forty*, 10 nos. (Grimsby Historical Society, 1959; repr. ed., 1967), 10:39–41. See also *Hamilton (CW) Weekly Times*, 21 Oct. 1864, supplement, p. 2, c. 1. Despite the timing of its founding, which coincided with a movement promoting Canada's annexation to the United States, the Loyal Canadian Society was more patriotic than political.

199 The driving force behind this expedition was Richard H. Oates, a millstone manufacturer of Toronto and president of the United Canadian Association. For additional information on the quest to discover Tecumseh's last resting place, see Guy St-Denis, *Tecumseh's Bones* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

200 The two founding members who took such a great interest in Brock's portrait were Sara Mickle and Mary Agnes FitzGibbon. The purported likeness of Brock, which proved to be that of a handsome young Lieutenant George Dunn, 23rd Regiment of Foot, was reproduced extensively before it was finally disproved. For an investigation into Brock's portraits, see Guy St-Denis, *The True Face of Sir Isaac Brock* (University of Calgary Press, 2018).

201 AO, Niagara Historical Society Collection (F 1138), Minute Books, vol. 1 (1895–1909), "Address of the President," [13 Oct. 1896], 22. This acquisition, described as a contribution, actually began as a long-term loan.

202 For an article on the opening of the museum, see "Report of the Opening of Memorial Hall, June 4th, 1907," Niagara Historical Society [*Transactions*] 16 (1919): 5–16.

203 "Report of the Opening of Memorial Hall," 11.

204 "Report of the Opening of Memorial Hall," 11.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1 Norman Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists: The Ontario Loyalist Tradition and the Creation of Usable Pasts* (University of Toronto Press, 1997), 139.

2 Knowles, 141. In the same source, also see 145, 149–50. The historical precedence dated back to the order-in-council of 1789, by which it was resolved that every Loyalist and "all their children and their descendants by either sex are to be distinguished by the following capitals affixed to their names: U.E., alluding to their great principle, the unity of the empire" (21).

3 Knowles, 139–40. Norman Knowles described the ethos of the association as "exclusive, conservative, and defensive" (139).

4 As Carl Berger acknowledged, many English Canadians perceived a connection between racial considerations and societal advancement. But he also recognized that the "familiar language of racism," so often associated with references to the Anglo-Saxon race, was sometimes "simply a synonym for a total culture which was itself understood to be the product of history and not only racial instincts." See Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867–1914* (University of Toronto Press, 1970), 117.

5 Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, 156.

6 Actually, the vessels in question were two merchant schooners—the *Mary* and the *Ellen*. See Guy St-Denis, "A Place Called Bowles's: In Search of a Historic Site from the War of 1812," *Ontario History* 111, no. 1 (Spring 2019): 78.

7 Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, 155. For additional information regarding Burton's failed attempt to raise and remove the schooners, see *Chatham (ON) Daily Planet*, 19 Aug. 1905, p. 1, c. 3; ibid., 11 Sept. 1905, p. 1, c. 3; ibid., 22 Dec. 1905, p. 1, c. 6; ibid., 26 Dec. 1905, p. 1, c. 3.

8 American newspapers, critical of Canadian objections to the proposed monument, did nothing to assuage outraged United Empire Loyalist sensibilities. The *Milwaukee Journal* conceivably stoked old annexationist fears with the following observation: "Montgomery captured Montreal, but failed in his assault on Quebec. And it may also be borne in mind that while Quebec is essentially liberal, Montreal is equally conservative, exhibiting that old tory spirit which characterized a portion of the people of our colonies during the days of the revolution. If the union of Canada with the United States is ever brought

about it will be done by the Liberal party over the protest of the Tories of the present day." See *Milwaukee (WI) Journal*, 25 Dec. 1894, p. 4, c. 3.

9 *Globe* (Toronto), 14 Oct. 1898, p. 7, c. 2. The gentleman with the sharp tongue was Allan McLean Howard, and the president was Herman Henry Cook.

10 Phillip Buckner, "The Long Goodbye: English Canadians and the British World," in *Rediscovering the British World*, ed. Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis (University of Calgary Press, 2005), 185–6.

11 Buckner, 186.

12 Keith Walden surmised that on one level Brock "represented Canada's traditional acceptance of British leadership, as well as the close co-operation within the empire which was the goal of so many Canadians in the nineteenth century. This is why he lent himself so easily to the Imperial Federationist cause and why so much material was written specifically about him around the turn of the century." And on another level, "when his name was used in association with the myth of the militia, his symbol tended to reinforce the belief that Canada could achieve independence without fear of bear absorbed into the republic. If the men of 1812 had prevented an armed American invasion, their sons could easily repeat this performance should the need arise." See Keith Walden, "Isaac Brock: Man and Myth. A Study of the Militia Myth of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada, 1812–1912" (master's thesis, Queen's University, 1971), 103.

13 Alexander Fraser, ed., *Brock Centenary, 1812–1912* (William Briggs, 1913), 21. The renaming took place a short time earlier. As the *Globe* reported, the "United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario has grown so rapidly since its formation that it has found it necessary to adopt a bigger name." See *Globe*, 15 Mar. 1912, p. 8, c. 6.

14 Fraser, *Brock Centenary*, 21.

15 Fraser, 22.

16 Fraser, 23; *Globe*, 26 Sept. 1912, p. 1, c. 5, and p. 8, c. 3.

17 Fraser, *Brock Centenary*, 23.

18 Fraser, 23. According to Norman Knowles, "Although other historical societies, patriotic clubs, and militia regiments were invited to participate in planning the event, the United Empire Loyalist Association exercised careful control over the proceedings." See Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, 161.

19 Fraser, *Brock Centenary*, 29. See also 26–7.

20 Fraser, 27.

21 Fraser, 29–30.

22 Fraser, 32.

23 Fraser, 32–3.

24 Fraser, 34.

25 Fraser, 45.

26 Fraser, 45.

27 Ben Forster, "Macdonell (Greenfield), John Alexander," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 15:637–8.

28 Fraser, *Brock Centenary*, 50.

29 Fraser, 50.

30 Fraser, 60–1.

31 Fraser, 71.

32 Fraser, 71.

33 Fraser, 72.

34 Fraser, 72. Smith's comments were a marked departure from earlier professions he made during a speech to the Ontario Historical Society in 1898, and which Canadian historian Michelle A. Hamilton noted were "strikingly similar to the United Empire Loyalist myth [or tradition]." See Michelle A. Hamilton, *Collections and Objections: Aboriginal Material Culture in Southern Ontario, 1791–1914* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 126.

35 Smith recognized the root of the problem in the following terms: "The Six Nations have never had an historian of their own to record the brave deeds of valour of their warriors, and therefore get but scant justice in the historical records of this country; naturally the [white] historians magnify the achievements of their own people, while I claim that more credit should be given my own people." See Fraser, *Brock Centenary*, 72.

36 Fraser, 73.

37 Fraser, 73.

38 Fraser, 73.

39 Fraser, 56.

40 Fraser, 56.

41 Fraser, 56.

42 Fraser, 57.

43 Fraser, 69. Perhaps Hughes was impressed by an 1890 teachers' convention and a trip to Brock's Monument, during which the conventioneers were treated to a stirring lecture on the Battle of Queenston Heights. "The recital so awakened the patriotic feeling of the people addressed that they marked the occasion by singing the national anthem and [giving] three cheers for the queen." See *Globe*, 15 Aug. 1890, p. 2, c. 4.

44 Fraser, *Brock Centenary*, 69.

45 Fraser, 69.

46 Fraser, 69.

47 Fraser, 69.

48 Fraser, 70–1.

49 Fraser, 70.

50 Fraser, 68.

51 Fraser, 68.

52 *Toronto World*, 14 Oct. 1890 p. 1, c. 3.

53 *Globe*, 14 Oct. 1890, p. 3, c. 2.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid., 13 Oct. 1890, p. 4, c. 5.

58 Ibid. The McKinley Bill, or Tariff Act of 1890, was American protectionist legislation. Bonded transport, or in this case the licensing of Canadian railways to transport American freight without taxes and duties, was another contentious issue of the time.

59 *Milwaukee (WI) Sentinel*, 17 Oct. 1890, p. 4, c. 4.

60 *Globe*, 13 Oct. 1890, p. 4, c. 5.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid., c. 1.

63 Despite his Liberal politics, Ross's appreciation of the Loyalists was in keeping with the conservative element dominating the executive of the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario. See G[eorge] W. Ross, "Some Characteristics of United Empire Loyalists, and Their Influence on Canadian History," United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario, *Annual Transactions* 3 (1899–1900): 32–9.

64 Ross favoured closer relations with the British Empire but doubted Britain's commitment to defend Canadian interests—especially in negotiations with the United States. He was also intrigued by the concept of imperial federalism, although it seemed a distant prospect. For his biography, see David G. Burley, "Ross, Sir George William," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 14:888–95.

65 Later, as Senator Sir George Ross, he expressed his tacit approval for militarism at a Defence League conference in 1910. "Sir George got away from the narrow and nearsighted view that national defence was militarism pure and unalloyed, and in an instructive manner opened up a new vista of ideas, all, however, closely allied, if not actually related to the one implied in the title of the league." See *Globe*, 10 Sept. 1910, p. 26, c. 1.

66 Carl Berger drew the same conclusion. See Berger, *Sense of Power*, 97–8.

67 Goldwin Smith, *Loyalty, Aristocracy and Jingoism* (Toronto, 1891), 24–5.

68 Smith, 25.

69 *Globe*, 14 Oct. 1890, p. 3, c. 2.

70 Ibid., c. 3.

71 Ibid.

72 Molly Pulver Ungar, "Trenholme, Clementina (Fessenden)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 14:1008. Trenholme was Fessenden's maiden name. For additional material on Fessenden and Empire Day, see Michihisa Hosokawa, "Making Imperial Citizens: Empire Day in Canada," *Journal of American and Canadian Studies* 25 (2007): 55–8.

73 Although Ross had given thought to the idea of a day devoted to patriotic school exercises several years earlier, in 1893, it would appear that Fessenden came up with a similar idea independently, which the minister of education then supported. Fessenden is generally regarded as the founder of Empire Day, but arguably Ross deserves some of the credit. See Robert M. Stamp, "Empire Day: The Training of Young Imperialists," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 8, no. 3 (Aug. 1973): 32–4. See also J. Castell Hopkins, *The*

Origin and History of Empire Day (n.p., 1910); [Reginald A. Fessenden], *Founding of Empire Day* (Bermuda Press, [1926]).

74 *Globe*, 24 May 1899, p. 1, c. 2, and p. 5, c. 1.

75 "Indoctrination" is a term Ross himself used in 1892. See Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876–1976* (University of Toronto Press, 1982), 33.

76 *Globe*, 24 May 1911, p. 1, c. 4. Albert Henry George Grey, 4th Earl Grey, was governor general of Canada from 1904 to 1911.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid., 24 May 1912, p. 8, c. 2.

79 Ibid. Nearly a year later, the *Globe* took exception with the duke's interpretation of militarism. "He seems to think that to be a 'militarist' a country must have large armies and that its 'whole administration must be subservient to military conditions.' Now a people may be thoroughly militaristic in spirit and yet have no embodied military organization worth mentioning. Militarism is a matter of bias, and motive, and environment, and education. It implies in the individual a fondness for war, a training for war, a determination to be ready for war, and a willful blindness toward the horrors of war, which are not allowed to offset, as they should do, its alleged 'glories' and 'heroic' achievements." See ibid., 15 May 1913, p. 6, c. 2.

80 Fraser, *Brock Centenary*, 40.

81 MacTavish was one of the many people who preferred to celebrate peace over war. As such, he was motivated to lend his support to the Canadian Peace Centenary Association. This organization commemorated the one hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, which brought an end to the War of 1812. See *The Canadian Peace Centenary Association* (n.p., [1912?]), 10.

82 *Globe*, 27 Sept. 1912, p. 6, c. 4.

83 Ibid. The grave of the great Shawnee war chief was unknown and remains so to this day. For a discussion of the subject, see Guy St-Denis, *Tecumseh's Bones* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

84 Fraser, *Brock Centenary*, 68.

85 Fraser, 49.

86 Fraser, 49.

87 The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire is today's IODE. Brockville, originally known as Elizabethtown, was renamed in Brock's honour following his victory at Detroit in August of 1812.

88 The numbers varied, depending on the newspaper. According to the Brockville *Evening Recorder*, it was several hundreds. The *Brockville Times*, however, pegged it at over two thousand. See *Evening Recorder* (Brockville, ON), 20 Aug. 1912, p. 1, c. 1; *Brockville (ON) Times*, 20 Aug. 1912, p. 1, c. 1.

89 It was Carl Berger who provided this apt description of Hughes's severe character flaw. See Berger, *Sense of Power*, 22.

90 For a detailed study of the General Brock Chapter's patriotic celebration, see Peter W. Holdsworth, "Social Networks and the 1912 Commemoration of the 'Brock Centenary,'" *Ontario History* 109, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 107–31.

91 *Evening Recorder*, 20 Aug. 1912, p. 1, c. 2. Brockville's mayor was Charles W. MacLean. The sculptor responsible for the bust was Hamilton MacCarthy. Like all artists attempting a posthumous rendition of Brock, he was challenged by a lack of reference material.

92 *Brockville Times*, 20 Aug. 1912, p. 1, c. 3.

93 As Canadian military historian Stephen J. Harris acknowledged, the "origins of Hughes's ideas were complex." However, they "clearly derived from his experience as a volunteer officer and from his profound acceptance of Canada's militia myth. . . . By implication, this myth also propagated the belief that, when taught to shoot, the yeoman of Canada were inherently superior to any regular formation because they had not become stultified and overly regimented by the parade-square mentality of the standing army. By contrast, Canadian militiamen remained innovative and creative individuals who knew when to forget 'the book' and all its foolish rules in order to adapt to changing conditions." See Stephen J. Harris, *Canadian Brass: The Making of a Professional Army, 1860–1939* (University of Toronto Press, 1988), 86.

94 *Brockville Times*, 20 Aug. 1912, p. 1, c. 3.

95 Ibid.

96 The trend toward militarism in Canada intensified during the Boer War of 1899–1902, and the following observation—made by an official of the Dominion Women's Christian Temperance Union at a convention in 1901—encapsulates the attitude of the opposing and overwhelmed minority: "the military craze has been carried to such an extent that those who did not bow down as hero-worshippers were looked upon as disloyal." See Thomas P. Socknat, *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900–1945* (University of Toronto Press, 1987), 23.

97 *Brockville Times*, 20 Aug. 1912, p. 1, c. 3.

98 *Evening Recorder*, 20 Aug. 1912, p. 1, c. 4. Hughes's stance regarding the threat posed by Germany was well-known, given a blustering speech he delivered at Vancouver earlier in the month. Emphasizing the threat of German expansionism, Hughes assured his audience that "war is closer than you dream." See *Globe*, 8 Aug. 1912, p. 1, c. 5. He likely caused a greater controversy, however, when he bluntly stated that "Germany has to be taught a lesson, and the lesson to be taught her is that Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand are behind the mother country." See *Globe*, 8 Aug. 1912, p. 2, c. 3.

99 *Evening Recorder*, 20 Aug. 1912, p. 1, c. 4.

100 Ibid.

101 Ibid.

102 Hughes's military designs on Canadian boys were well-known. In 1905, for instance, he expressed his desire before the Empire Club of Canada to "have them drafted into regiments and brigades." See Berger, *Sense of Power*, 255.

103 The Boy Scout movement spread to Canada in 1908, soon after it was founded in Britain, and resulted in the twin images of "the little soldier and the young knight." See Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890–1918* (University of Toronto Press, 1993), 7, 186. Beginning in 1910, the establishment of Girl Guide Companies in Canada combined "'womanliness' with practical skills related to military defence." See Kristine Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire, and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s* (University of British Columbia Press, 2017), 28. For Alexander's discussion on Girl Guides and militarism, see 154–63.

104 Ontario, Legislative Assembly, "Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario), for the Year 1896," *Sessional Papers* 29, pt. 1, no. 1 (1897): 217; Felix Adler, *The Moral Instruction of Children* (D. Appleton and Company, 1904), 29–30. Adler's book was originally published in 1892.

105 W[illiam] S[cott] Daniels, "History," *Educational Journal* 9, no. 3 (15 May 1895): 45. Daniels went on to become a United Church minister.

106 Daniels, 45.

107 John A. Cooper, review of *The History of the Dominion of Canada*, by W. H. P. Clement, in *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada* 2, no 1. (1898): 23.

108 Stamp, *Schools of Ontario*, 33.

109 Cooper, review of *The History of the Dominion of Canada*, 24.

110 Cooper, 24.

111 Cooper, 24.

112 Cooper, 25–6. Louis-Joseph de Montcalm, Marquis de Montcalm, was the French commander at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759.

113 Cooper, 26–7.

114 Burke A. Hinsdale, *How to Study and Teach History, with Particular Reference to the History of the United States* (New York, 1894), 8.

115 Cooper, review of *The History of the Dominion of Canada*, 25.

116 *Globe*, 22 June 1901, p. 14, cc. 2–3. The reading exercise Keenleyside remembered with such fondness was from the *Third Book of Reading Lessons*, which dates to 1867. See *Third Book of Reading Lessons* (Toronto, 1867), 239–43. For a similar recollection of the "Third Reader" and its account of the Battle of Queenston Heights, see *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 13 Oct. 1927, p. 4, cc. 5–6.

117 The issue of boring history textbooks was acknowledged by John A. Cooper in the 1898 issue of the *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada*. As Cooper asserted, Canadian schools lacked a "text-book which would give teachers and pupils a comprehensive and concise statement of the leading events, indicating at the same time the romantic character of the past and the silver lining of the future." While Cooper was not an educationist, his opinion was likely in keeping with the general attitude toward the teaching of Canadian history. See Cooper, review of *History of the Dominion of Canada*, 23.

118 [James E. Wells], "'The Hero of Upper Canada,'" review of *Life and Times of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, by D[avid] B. Read, in *Educational Journal* 8, no. 17 (15 Jan. 1895): 262.

119 [Wells], 262.

120 *Globe*, 9 June 1894, p. 12, c. 4.

121 Valerie Legge, "Agnes C. Laut: High Ideals and Dreams of Unity," *Studies in Canadian Literature* 42, no. 1 (2017): 191.

122 Agnes C. Laut, *Canada: The Empire of the North* (William Briggs, 1909), iii.

123 Laut, iv.

124 Laut, iv.

125 Laut, 346. Although not entirely accurate in every regard, and somewhat paraphrased, Laut's very literary description of Brock's final moments is not egregiously incorrect. Her source was the account of Judge

George S. B. Jarvis, which was published in the mid-1850s. See G[ilbert] Auchinleck, *A History of the War Between Great Britain and the United States of America* (Toronto, 1855), 104–5.

126 A number of Laut's books were featured in the *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada* between 1903 and 1909, including *The Story of the Trapper* (1902), *Pathfinders of the West* (1904), *Vikings of the Pacific* (1905), and *The Conquest of the Great Northwest* (1908).

127 For example, in 1897 Nellie Spence published *Topical Studies in Canadian History*, followed by Katharine Livingstone MacPherson's *Pictures from Canadian History for Boys and Girls* (1899), Emily P. Weaver's *Canadian History for Boys and Girls* (1900), and Edith L. Marsh's *The Story of Canada* (1900).

128 In one of the reviews of Laut's *Canada: The Empire of the North*, she was accused of being careless to the point that "there are hundreds of little inaccuracies in the book." See George M. Wrong and Hugh H. Langton, review of *Canada: The Empire of the North*, by Agnes C. Laut, in *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada* 14 (Jan. 1910): 20–1.

129 Wrong and Langton, 20.

130 William Briggs, pub., "Just Published," *Canadian Epworth Era* 10, no. 10 (Oct. 1908): 290. Briggs was the steward in charge of the Methodist Book and Publishing House, the publishing branch of the Methodist Church in Canada. During his tenure, the company's book list was expanded to include both religious and secular titles. Under Briggs's imprint, the company became one of the country's leading publishing houses.

131 Walter R. Nursey, *The Story of Isaac Brock: Hero, Defender and Saviour of Upper Canada, 1812*, repr. ed. (William Briggs, 1909), second front flyleaf verso; [John A. Cooper], "Canadian Heroes Series: A Review of the Life of General Brock," *Canadian Courier* 5, no. 8 (23 Jan. 1909): 10.

132 As the *Globe* commented in July of 1909 regarding the cost of textbooks, a "commonly occurring instance is the habit, widely prevalent among teachers, of asking pupils to buy 'helps' of various sorts." See *Globe*, 16 July 1909, p. 4, c. 3.

133 [Cooper], "Canadian Heroes Series," 10.

134 [Cooper], 10.

135 It should be noted that Brock administered the civil government of Upper Canada in the absence of Francis Gore, the lieutenant-governor. Also, at the Brock Centenary held in 1912, Pyne observed that "The history of the past is valuable chiefly for the opportunities it gives to be stirred to deep, true enthusiasm for heroism, for honour, for patriotism, for love of freedom, for devotion to duty, and for sublime self-sacrifice for high ideals." In terms of a role model, Pyne was inspired "by the records of such men as Brock." See Fraser, *Brock Centenary*, 69–70.

136 George M. Wrong and Hugh H. Langton, review of *The Story of Isaac Brock*, by Walter R. Nursey, in *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada* 13 (1909): 40.

137 Lorne Bruce, *Free Books for All: The Public Library Movement in Ontario, 1850–1930* (Dundurn Press, 1994), 136.

138 Bruce, 138.

139 [Cooper], "Canadian Heroes Series," 10.

140 [Cooper], 10.

141 For Nursey's book, see Walter R. Nursey, *The Story of Isaac Brock: Hero, Defender and Saviour of Upper Canada*, 1812, 1st ed. (William Briggs, 1908).

142 Wrong and Langton, review of *The Story of Isaac Brock*, 39.

143 As the reviewer further noted, "Mr. Nursey has succeeded in clothing the dry bones of chronology with living flesh and blood," just as Laut had advocated. See Wrong and Langton, 39. See also Laut, *Canada: The Empire of the North*, iii.

144 For overviews of Nursey's life, see Henry James Morgan, ed., *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 2nd ed. (William Briggs, 1912), 858; *Globe*, 18 Aug. 1909, p. 14, c. 3; *Toronto Daily Star*, 14 Mar. 1927, p. 1, cc. 1–2, and 16 Mar. 1927, p. 37, c. 8.

145 Nursey later claimed that he was invited to write Brock's biography by the Department of Education of Ontario. See Archives of Ontario (AO), Niagara Historical Society Collection (F 1138), Correspondence, 1905–1961, Nursey to his readers, 11 Oct. 1923.

146 "Report of the Minister of Education . . . for 1908," *Sessional Papers* 41, pt. 5, no. 12 (1909): 138.

147 Ibid. Pyne was determined to lead the way in creating a sentiment of patriotism and loyalty among the children of Canada. His call was echoed by the chief inspector of Toronto's public schools, James L. Hughes. Both men expressed their views in speeches they delivered at the base of Brock's Monument during the centenary celebration in October of 1912. See Fraser, *Brock Centenary*, 55–7, 67–71.

148 A revised edition following in 1923. See Walter R. Nursey, *The Story of Isaac Brock: Hero, Defender and Saviour of Upper Canada, 1812*, new ed. (McClelland and Stewart, 1923).

149 "Report of the Minister of Education . . . for 1909," *Sessional Papers* 42, pt. 5, no. 16 (1910): 400; "Report of the Minister of Education . . . for 1910," *Sessional Papers* 43, pt. 5, no. 16 (1911): 539.

150 Wrong and Langton, review of *The Story of Isaac Brock*, 39. For a similar assessment, see "The Way of Letters," *Canadian Magazine* 32, no. 5 (Mar. 1909): 479. As Nursey later gloated, his "book met with instant recognition from 'grown ups' as well as young people." See Nursey, *Story of Isaac Brock*, new ed. (1923), 9.

151 The colour illustrations represented "an expense that is not often incurred in the making of a book to sell at less than a dollar a volume." See "Way of Letters," 479. While Dent was the first of Brock's biographers to make use of illustrations, they were limited to biographical sketches. The earliest book-length biography to be illustrated was Nursey's *Story of Isaac Brock*.

152 Although Nursey claimed to have consulted over a hundred books and documents, his research was at best glancing. For his sources, see Nursey, *Story of Isaac Brock*, 1st ed. (1908), v, and new ed. (1923), 227–8. As for Nursey's mythological overtones, consider his unquestioning acceptance of Brock's betrothal to Sophia Shaw, which is pure myth. See Nursey, *Story of Isaac Brock*, new ed. (1923), 211–13.

153 See, for example, *Quebec Gazette*, 29 Oct. 1812, p. 2, c. 1; *Kingston (UC) Gazette*, 7 Nov. 1812, p. 4, c. 1; *Quebec Mercury*, 22 June 1813, p. 195, c. 1. Although Nursey listed the *Kingston Gazette* in the 1923 reprint of his book, there is no reference to the obituary in the issue of 7 November 1812. See Nursey, *Story of Isaac Brock*, new ed. (1923), 228.

154 *Quebec Mercury*, 22 June 1813, p. 195, c. 1.

155 *Quebec Gazette*, 29 Oct. 1812, p. 2, c. 1

156 AO, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), [Robinson to Tupper], 15 Apr. 1846.

157 *British Colonist* (Toronto), 12 Aug. 1840, p. 1, c. 6. Robinson's remarks about Brock's death formed part of his speech at the Indignation Meeting held on Queenston Heights (30 July 1840). This was after the destruction of Brock's first monument by Benjamin Lett the previous April.

158 Ferdinand Brock Tupper, *Family Records* ([St. Peter Port, Guernsey], 1835). After the publication of Tupper's *Family Records* in 1835, as well as two editions of the *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock* in 1845 and 1847, a number of lengthy excerpts were serialized. See *Chronicle and Gazette* (Kingston, UC), 22 Feb. 1837, p. 1, c. 4; ibid., 25 Feb. 1837, p. 2, c. 2; ibid., 1 Mar. 1837, p. 1, c. 4; *Montreal Gazette*, 29 Aug. 1845, p. 2, c. 1; ibid., 5 Sept. 1845; *British Colonist*, 5 Sept. 1845, p. 2, c. 3; ibid., 16 Sept. 1845, p. 2, c. 6; *Colburn's United Service Magazine* (Apr. 1848), pt. 1:616–26.

159 Tupper completed most of the manuscript over the course of nineteen days at sea, while en route from Rio de Janeiro to Salvador da Bahia. His biography of Sir Isaac Brock was written largely from memory. See Tupper, *Family Records*, vii–viii. Despite the limited scope of Tupper's work, his *Family Records* received favourable notice in Guernsey. See Jonathan Duncan, review of *Family Records*, by Ferdinand Brock Tupper, in *Guernsey and Jersey Magazine* 1 (1836): 124–8.

160 While Brock's personal effects were turned over to William Brock, an older brother who lived in London, most of the items were soon after transferred to Guernsey and into his brother Savery Brock's possession.

161 Ferdinand Brock Tupper, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, 1st ed. (London, 1845), v.

162 This decision was likely made by Savery Brock's wife. The former Elizabeth de Lisle would have been influenced by Guernsey's ancient law of primogeniture, which gave preference to first-born males in all matters of inheritance. As Tupper himself explained it, there were "no male descendants living of the brothers of Sir Isaac Brock." Therefore, as the "eldest son of his elder sister," he was recognized as Brock's "legal representative," or heir. Originally, the intended recipient had been the second son of Daniel de Lisle Brock. But with the death of Captain Eugene Brock in February of 1844, Tupper became next in line to inherit Brock's personal effects (minus the portrait by Schipper). See McCord Stewart Museum, War of 1812 Collection (C 177), Tupper to Perry, 22 Oct. 1855. Tupper's genealogical interest may have prompted an early transfer of the papers, as they appear to have been in his possession by the time of Savery Brock's death in August of 1844. See Ferdinand Brock Tupper, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, 2nd ed. (London, 1847), iii, vii, 420.

163 Archives de la Ville de Montréal (AVM), Collection Philéas Gagnon (BM007), série 1, dossier 25, pièce P0022, Tupper to Glegg, 28 June 1844; Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed. (1847), 420.

164 The full citation for this first venture is Ferdinand Brock Tupper, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, 1st ed. (London, 1845).

165 Tupper also admitted to a lack of preparation, which was occasioned by constant demands upon his time and his father's final, fatal illness. See Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed. (1847), iii.

166 Typical of the positive response that greeted Tupper's book in Canada was that of the *Montreal Gazette*, which pronounced, "we have every reason to believe that it will be hailed with satisfaction by the numerous friends of the late General [Brock] throughout the Canadas." See *Montreal Gazette*, 29 Aug. 1845, p. 2, c. 1. However, not everyone was so enamoured with Tupper's literary contribution, and the editor of the *United Service Gazette* took exception with Tupper's attacks on Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe. For a

portion of the heated exchange that followed, see *Naval and Military Gazette* (London), 25 Oct. 1845, p. 684, c. 2–p. 685, c. 3; *United Service Gazette* (London), 22 Nov. 1845, p. 4, c. 2.

167 Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed. (1847), iv–v. Much of Tupper's motivation was derived from a perceived slight by Major General Henry Procter, or someone in his circle. As Tupper later publicly observed, an article published in the *Quarterly Review* for July of 1822 gave more credit to then "Colonel Proctor [*sic*], for the capture of Detroit, than to Major-General Brock, although the former advised the latter not to cross the [Detroit] river!" See Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed. (1847), 308. For the offending portion of the article, see "Campaigns in the Canadas," *Quarterly Review* 27, no. 54 (July 1822): 409.

168 For an example of the praise Tupper's second edition received, see review of *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, edited by Ferdinand Brock Tupper, in *Colburn's United Service Magazine* (Apr. 1848), pt. 1:616–26.

169 Carl Berger, *Sense of Power*, 106. See also Berger, 78–108; Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists,* 26–47.

170 Berger, *Sense of Power*, 106.

171 Berger, 105.

172 Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 1st ed. (1845), 415.

173 Trent University, Thomas J. Bata Library, Trent University Archives, Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani Papers (94-016), General Correspondence (series A), Tupper to Robinson, 25 Jan. 1882.

174 "Certain it is," Tupper wrote, "that Major-General Brock did not approve of the defensive warfare to which he was restricted, and subsequent events too truly proved that had he been permitted to pursue that course which his zeal and foresight dictated, his valuable life might have been spared." See Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 1st ed. (1845), 278–9. See also Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed. (1847), 297.

175 As Tupper discovered, his uncle "was not in the habit of committing to paper any private details of his life or services, with the exception of a few lines relative to the expedition to Detroit." See Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed. (1847), v.

176 While Tupper's mother is not acknowledged in his *Family Records*, or either edition of his *Life and Correspondence*, there is evidence that he obtained information from her—particularly about the mutiny at Fort George in 1803. See AVM, Collection Philéas Gagnon (BM007), série 1, dossier 25, pièce P0022, Tupper to Glegg, 28 June 1844. Elizabeth (Brock) Tupper lived until October of 1847, long enough for her to have contributed to the making of her son's *Life and Correspondence*, which was published earlier that same year. For her obituary, see *Colburn's United Service Magazine* (Dec. 1847), pt. 3:639.

177 There might have been other aged Guernsey islanders who remembered Brock as a boy, but there is no evidence that Tupper ever approached any of them. Instead, he seems to have been content with a cursory overview of his uncle's childhood.

178 Savery Brock acknowledged that James FitzGibbon was a "favorite and protegé [*sic*] of my late brother." See Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries (RG 5, A1), vol. 39, Brock to Maitland, 30 Apr. 1818, 18351.

179 Thankfully, FitzGibbon's grand-daughter took it upon herself to publish some of his other recollections. However, a first-hand account by FitzGibbon himself would have been much preferred. See Mary Agnes FitzGibbon, *A Veteran of 1812: The Life of James FitzGibbon* (Toronto, 1894).

180 Toronto Reference Library, Marilyn and Charles Baillie Special Collections Centre, Baldwin Collection of Canadian, Manuscript Collection, Letter, FitzGibbon to McKenzie, 10 May 1855.

181 Ibid.

182 An initial offer to provide Tupper with a document regarding the mutiny at Fort George in 1803 was rescinded, with the excuse that it could not be located. See AO, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), Glegg to Tupper, 8 July 1844. In relaying this disappointing news, Glegg expressed his opinion that it was best not to mention the mutiny, as it might "prove offensive to my old gallant corps (the 49th Regt) and certainly very painful to the officer who then had the command of it." See ibid., 23 July 1844.

183 As Glegg confessed to William Brock in 1813, "At one time I had thoughts of writing the first campaign and wrote a preface which I intended should shew the wisdom and foresight of your illustrious brother, but finding myself bound to relate so many strong facts affecting my superiors, I paused for reasons, which in a military man you will I think consider prudent." See ibid., Glegg to Brock, 30 Dec. 1813.

184 Ibid., Glegg to Tupper, 8 July 1844.

185 In a lightly disguised reference, Tupper lauded Glegg as the officer who, "from having served on the personal staff of the general, both at Detroit and Queens[ton], and long enjoyed his esteem and friendship, was in every way more qualified for the task." See Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 2nd ed. (1847), v.

186 For Prevost's perceived faults, see Tupper, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 1st ed. (1845), 206–7, 258–9, 274, 276–8, 349, 353, 356–7, 369, 418–19. Tupper even went so far as to blame

Prevost for his uncle's death, "hastened as he believes it was by the defensive policy and mistaken views of Sir George Prevost." See ibid., 376.

187 As an example of the critical reaction Tupper faced, see [John Richardson], "Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, and the 41st Regiment," *Colburn's United Service Magazine* (Mar. 1846), pt. 1:440–7. For Tupper's response, see F[erdinand] Brock Tupper, "Major-General Sir Isaac Brock and the 41st Regiment," *Colburn's United Service Magazine* (Apr. 1846), pt. 1:598–600.

188 In defending his criticisms of Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe to Chief Justice John Beverley Robinson, Tupper offered valuable insight regarding his approach to historical writing. Taking the moral high ground, he claimed that his "offence has been not the perversion of truth, but its fearless utterance." Furthermore, "truth is not always to be with-held because its expression may wound the feelings of public men, whose acts have subjected them to public censure—if it were, history and biography would cease to be guiding stars, and above all would offer no wholesome restraint to the cruel, or corrupt, or incompetent exercise of authority." See AO, John Beverley Robinson Family Papers (F 44), Private Letters Chiefly from Men in Public Life, Tupper to Robinson, 2 June 1846, pp. 752–3. For all Tupper's lofty expressions of objectivity, however, it seems that he did not hold his uncle to the same exacting standards.

189 As the Canadian journalist, poet, and feminist Sarah Anne Curzon observed in 1895, when Tupper's biography of Brock appeared, "now nearly half a century ago, it was hailed with enthusiasm, both in England and Canada, and few respectable libraries, public or private, were without a copy." See [Sarah Anne] Curzon, review of *Life and Times of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, by D[avid] B. Read, in *Canadian Magazine* 4, no. 5 (Mar. 1895): 489.

190 More precisely, Tupper died 21 December 1873. It was concluded that he came to his death by falling off a pier. Although his body was never recovered, his walking stick was found near the spot where he was believed to have drowned. See *Star* (St. Peter Port, Guernsey), 23 Dec. 1873, p. 2, c. 6.

191 Henry J[ames] Morgan, *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians* (Quebec, 1862), 174–84. Morgan thought his *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians* was the first "series of biographical notices or sketches," or biographical dictionary, to be published in Canada. See Morgan, *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians*, vii. However, he was preceded by a French Canadian lawyer with a passion for history and biography. In 1858, François-Maximilien Bibaud published *Le pantheon Canadien*. Despite its impressive title, Bibaud's book excluded many of Canada's greatest men and thereby justified Morgan's pursuit. While *Le pantheon Canadien* has an entry for Brock, it is not very expansive or accurate. See Morgan, *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians*, vii; [François-Maximilien] Bibaud, *Le pantheon Canadien* (Montreal, 1858), 51.

192 Berger, *Sense of Power*, 50; Robert Lanning, "Morgan, Henry James," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 14:768–9; M. Brook Taylor, *Promoters, Patriots, and Partisans: Historiography in Nineteenth-Century English Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 1989), 167–9.

193 Morgan's biographical sketch of Brock draws heavily on a speech by Sir Allan Napier MacNab, which was delivered during the new monument's inaugural ceremony in October of 1859. See Morgan, *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians*, 176–84. Morgan was also indebted to Tupper, who encouraged him to make use of the second edition of his *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*. See LAC, Henry James Morgan Papers (MG 29, D61), Correspondence, vol. 47, Tupper to Morgan, 13 July 1861.

194 LAC, Henry James Morgan Papers (MG 29, D61), Correspondence, vol. 47, Tupper to Morgan, 13 July 1861. Morgan was perhaps encouraged in his quest by Sir Allan Napier MacNab, who—among other things—was chairman of the committee that oversaw the construction of Brock's second monument.

195 For many years, this portrait was thought to be the work of such artists as William Berczy and James Sharples. However, an attribution initiated by the author has conclusively assigned the work to Gerrit Schipper. For a study of the portrait's provenance, see Guy St-Denis, *The True Face of Sir Isaac Brock* (University of Calgary Press, 2018).

196 Regarding the suppression of Brock's portrait, see St-Denis, *The True Face of Sir Isaac Brock*, 14-15.

197 Morgan, *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians*, 174–84.

198 [John Charles Dent], "Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.," *Globe* (Toronto), weekly ed., 13 Apr. 1877, pp. 237–8. Dent reprinted this sketch in 1880. See [John Charles Dent], *The Canadian Portrait Gallery*, 4 vols. (Toronto, 1880–1), 1:129–40. Dent also published his sketch of Brock's life in a more economical format. See [John Charles Dent], *Canadian Notabilities*, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1880), 2:63–79. Nor was Dent alone in his endeavour. A Montreal publisher, someone by the name of John Dougall, came up with his own article the following year. See [John Dougall], "Sketches from Canadian History: Sir Isaac Brock," *New Dominion Monthly* 22, no. 5 (May 1878): 513–26.

199 G[raeme] H. Patterson, "Dent, John Charles," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 11:249. For additional information on Dent, see Taylor, *Promoters, Patriots, and Partisans*, 249.

200 Yet, Dent was not completely despised by all Conservatives. George Taylor Denison is a case in point. Although one of the most imperialistic Conservatives in the land, Denison thought highly enough of Dent to sponsor his election to the Royal Society of Canada. See Patterson, "Dent, John Charles," 11:249.

201 This phrase, although not strictly accurate, expressed a popular belief well into the twentieth century—especially in Guernsey, where it was perpetuated in the form of a plaque on Brock's boyhood home. For a newspaper report on the unveiling ceremony, see *Times* (London), 9 May 1934, p. 9, c. 4.

202 Berger, *Sense of Power*, 98.

203 For the quote, see *The Canadian Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men*, Ontario Volume (Toronto, 1880), 454. See also Judson D. Purdy, "Hodgins, John George," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 14:496–9.

204 The Educational Museum, which formed part of the Normal School (or Teachers' College) complex, was "established to provide examples of the best teaching methods and resources." See Purdy, "Hodgins, John George," 14:497.

205 Dent, *Canadian Portrait Gallery*, 1:129–40; Dent, *Canadian Notabilities*, 2:63–79.

206 Dent, *Canadian Portrait Gallery*, 1:139.

207 For the entries pertaining to Brock, see H[enry] M[anners] C[hichester], "Brock, Sir Isaac," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 6:367–8, and C[harles] P. Stacey, "Brock, Sir Isaac," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 5:109–15. Both Chichester and Stacey were well-respected military historians, as is John Sweetman. It was Sweetman who wrote Brock's biography for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, a revamped version of the earlier *Dictionary of National Biography*. See John Sweetman, "Brock, Sir Isaac," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 7:749–50.

208 *Commemorative Biographical Record of the County of York, Ontario* (J. H. Beers and Company, 1907), 13.

209 David B. Read, *The Lives of the Judges of Upper Canada and Ontario* (Toronto, 1888).

210 Read, 1; John D. Blackwell, "Read, David Breakenridge," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 13:858–9.

211 D[avid] B. Read, *The Life and Times of Gen. John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto, 1890).

212 There is evidence that Read was actively researching the life of Sir Isaac Brock as early as September of 1890, and perhaps even earlier. See LAC, George Murray Jarvis Papers (MG 29, D34), Read to Jarvis, 15 Sept. 1890.

213 Read, *Lives of the Judges*, 409.

214 D[avid] B. Read, *Life and Times of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.* (Toronto, 1894). This book was essentially a vanity press publication. See Janet B. Friskney, "Beyond the Shadow of William Briggs Part II: Canadian Authored Titles and the Commitment to Canadian Writing," *Papers of the Bibliographic Society of Canada* 35, no. 2 (Jan. 1997): 175.

215 Norman Patterson, "Mr. Willison's 'Laurier,'" review of *Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party: A Political History*, by John S. Willison, in *Canadian Magazine* 20, no. 5 (Mar. 1903): 474.

216 In his preface, Read claims that he was "influenced by a desire to place before the Canadian public, in a compact form, the life of a soldier who, by common consent of the people, was given the title of 'The Hero of Upper Canada.'" See Read, *Life and Times of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, preface.

217 Read, 260–6. While Britain's armed forces offered a strong deterrent to any military aggression against its North American colonies, Canadians still feared an attack from the United States. The recurring debate about an American annexation of Canada was also a cause for concern. But by the time Read began work on Brock's biography, the annexation movement was losing its appeal. See Donald F. Warner, *The Idea of Continental Union* (University of Kentucky Press for the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1960), 238.

218 Read, *Life and Times of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 263.

219 Read, 263–4.

220 For a sampling of the favourable reviews, see [James E. Wells], "'The Hero of Upper Canada,'" review of *Life and Times of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, by D[avid] B. Read, in *Educational Journal* 8, no. 17 (15 Jan. 1895): 262; "Of the Making of Books . . . There Is No End," review of *Life and Times of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, by D[avid] B. Read, in *Globe*, 26 Jan. 1895, p. 9, c. 3; "New Books from Wm. Briggs," review of *Life and Times of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, by David B. Read, in *Books and Notions* 11, no. 1 (Jan. 1895): 14; George M. Grant, review of *Life and Times of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, by David B. Read, in *Week* 12, no. 13 (22 Feb. 1895): 301–2; "Some New Books," review of *Life and Times of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, by D[avid] B. Read, in *Globe*, 16 Mar. 1895, p. 10, c. 2; [Sarah Anne] Curzon, review of *Life and Times of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, by D[avid] B. Read, in *Canadian Magazine* 4, no. 5 (Mar. 1895): 489.

221 Read, *Life and Times of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, 120. Although most of the British Army was recalled from Canada in 1871, its records were left behind and transferred to the newly established Dominion Archives in 1873. See [Ernest A.] Cruikshank, *Inventory of the Military Documents in the Canadian Archives* (Government Printing Bureau, 1910), 3.

222 Thomas Guthrie Marquis, a Canadian writer who would go on to pen his own biography of Brock, thought that Read's *Life and Times* "often looks as though he deliberately took up side issues for the purpose of padding his book." See Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds., *Canada and Its Provinces: A History*

of the Canadian People and Their Institutions by One Hundred Associates, 23 vols. (Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1914), 12:508.

223 Erin Breault, "Ridout, Matilda," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 13:869.

224 Matilda Ridout's grandfather was Thomas Ridout, and her father was Thomas Gibbs Ridout. Her uncles who served in the militia were Samuel Smith Ridout and George Ridout. Another uncle, John Ridout, was a member of the provincial marine. See Robert J. Burns, "Ridout, Thomas Gibbs," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 9:661; Robert J. Burns, "Ridout, Samuel Smith," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 8:749; Thomas H. B. Symons, "Ridout, George," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 10:618; L. Homfray Irving, *Officers of the British Forces in Canada During the War of 1812–15* (Welland Tribune Print, 1908), 67, 205.

225 Maud J. McLean and Robert M. Stamp, *My Dearest Wife* (Natural Heritage, 1998), 162; Breault, "Ridout, Matilda," 13:870.

226 Matilda Edgar, *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War, 1805–1815* (Toronto, 1890). The "labour of love" reference is taken from the last page of the introduction.

227 For a selection of the reviews, see review of *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War, 1805–15*, by Matilda Ridout, in *Week* 8, no. 6 (9 Jan. 1891): 95; review of *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War, 1805 to 1815*, by Matilda Edgar, in *Methodist Magazine* 33, no. 2 (Feb. 1891): 210; review of *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War*, by Mrs. Matilda Edgar, in *Books and Notions* 7, no. 2 (Feb. 1891): 8, 10; and [Sarah Anne] Curzon, review of *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War, 1805–15*, by Mrs. Edgar, in *Dominion Illustrated* 6, no. 133 (17 Jan. 1891): 65.

228 "Sketch of Lady Edgar's Life," Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto *Transaction* 8 (1914): 3.

229 Paul Stevens, "Edgar, Sir James David," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 12:294; McLean and Stamp, *My Dearest Wife*, 235, 239–46.

230 The other co-editor was Duncan Campbell Scott, a Canadian civil servant and poet.

231 *Globe*, 18 Nov. 1903, p. 12, c. 1.

232 Ibid.

233 Ibid.

234 For the book, see Lady [Matilda] Edgar, *General Brock* (Morang and Company, 1904). See also McLean and Stamp, *My Dearest Wife*, 247. For a selection of the reviews, see *Globe*, *Saturday Magazine Section*, 4 Feb. 1905, p. 4, cc. 1–4; [Ernest A.] Cruikshank, review of *General Brock*, by Lady Edgar, in *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada* 10 (1906): 63–6. Edgar's *General Brock* was reprinted in 1906, and every year between 1909 and 1912. In 1926, a new edition was published with additional print runs in 1927 and 1928. It should be noted, however, that the American historian Charles Moore was less than impressed with Edgar's writing abilities, calling her *General Brock* "a plain tale of a popular hero," while at the same time acknowledging its "strong appeal to Canadian patriotism." See Charles Moore, review of *General Brock*, by Lady Edgar, in *American Historical Review* 11, no. 1 (Oct. 1905): 201.

235 The Canadian military historian Lieutenant Colonel Ernest A. Cruikshank duly noted a number of mistakes, and also deplored the lack of both a bibliography and an adequate index. See Cruikshank, review of *General Brock*, 63–6.

236 McLean and Stamp, *My Dearest Wife*, 247.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1 For the success of Morang's Makers of Canada series, see Kenneth N. Windsor, "Historical Writing in Canada to 1920," in *Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English*, 2nd ed., 4 vols., ed. Carl F. Klinck (University of Toronto Press, 1990), 1:242.

2 Walter R. Nursey, *The Story of Isaac Brock: Hero, Defender and Saviour of Upper Canada, 1812*, 1st ed. (William Briggs, 1908), 173–4.

3 The first three books in this new series were published by the beginning of June 1912. See *Globe* (Toronto), 1 June 1912, p. 18, c. 5.

4 Brock's biography was third in line after those of Wolfe and Montcalm, the British and French commanders at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759. Of the planned forty or more volumes, only three were actually published. For the plans regarding Morang's new series, see *Globe*, 15 June 1912, p. 18, c. 1.

5 In 1912, the Morang Company's precarious financial situation forced its sale to the Macmillan Company of Canada. See Bruce Whiteman, "The Early History of the Macmillan Company of Canada, 1905–1921," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* 23, no. 1 (1984): 72–3.

6 Given that Lieutenant Colonel William Wood, who was considered one of Canada's chief authorities on the Seven Years' War, was chosen to write the biographies of Wolfe and Montcalm, it would appear that the editor of Morang's Chronicles of Canada for Boys and Girls series, John C. Saul, gave serious thought to the authors he commissioned. See George M. Wrong and W[illiam] Stewart Wallace, review of *Montcalm: The Hero of a Lost Cause* and *Wolfe: The Hero of Quebec*, by William Wood, and *Brock:*

The Hero of Upper Canada, by Thomas Guthrie Marquis, in *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada* 17 (1913): 28.

7 This sketch was included in two simultaneously published children's books. See [Agnes M. Machar] and T[homas] G. Marquis, ed., *Heroes of Canada, Based Upon "Stories of New France"* (Toronto, 1893), 85–90; [Agnes M. Machar] and T[homas] G. Marquis, *Stories from Canadian History, Based Upon "Stories of New France"* (Toronto, 1893), 85–90. In 1903, Marquis contributed the same material to another juvenile publication. See T[homas] G. Marquis, *Builders of Canada from Cartier to Laurier* (Bradley-Garretson Company, 1903), 204–11.

8 Henry James Morgan, ed., *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 2nd ed. (William Briggs, 1912), 731.

9 Morgan, 731.

10 Thomas Guthrie Marquis, *Brock: The Hero of Upper Canada* (Morang and Company, 1912), 1.

11 Marquis, 1–2.

12 McMaster University moved to Hamilton, Ontario, in 1930 with opening ceremonies held in November of that year. See Charles M. Johnston, *McMaster University*, 2 vols. (University of Toronto Press, 1981), 2:38.

13 W[illiam] S[tewart] Wallace, "Canadian History and Biography," in *The Year Book of Canadian Art, 1913*, comp. Peter Donovan et al. (J. M. Dent and Sons, [1913]), 19. At the time, Wallace was also co-editor of the *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada*, which in 1920 became the *Canadian Historical Review*.

14 Wallace, 23.

15 Wrong and Wallace, review of *Montcalm* and *Wolfe* by Wood, and *Brock* by Marquis, 28.

16 Nursey's *Story of Isaac Brock* was also taken into consideration by the editors of the *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada*. There was a definite lack of criticism, however, which may have had something to do with the fact that Wallace had yet to become one of the co-editors. See George M. Wrong and Hugh H. Langton, review of *The Story of Isaac Brock*, by Walter R. Nursey, in *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada* 13 (1909): 39.

17 Yet, Marquis went on to author a booklet about Brock in the mid-1920s. This time it was for the Ryerson Press series of Canadian History Readers. See T[homas] G. Marquis, *Sir Isaac Brock* (Ryerson Press, [1926?]).

18 Nursey's *Story of Isaac Brock* was reprinted twice in 1909. A new edition was released in 1923.

19 After its publication in 1904, Edgar's *General Brock* was reprinted in 1905, 1906, 1909, 1910, 1911, and 1912. This book was subsequently republished by Oxford University Press in 1926.

20 Hugh S. Eayrs, *Sir Isaac Brock* (Macmillan Company of Canada, 1918).

21 According to Macmillan historian Ruth Panofsky, Eayrs came to Canada in 1912. He became the company's president in 1921. See Ruth Panofsky, *The Literary Legacy of the Macmillan Company of Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 2012), 65–6, 68.

22 While this increase in book sales has also been linked to Canada's growing population, the effect of the First World War offers a more compelling explanation. In any case, Christmas book sales set new records every year from 1914 to 1919. See Panofsky, 52, 78.

23 *Globe*, 1 Nov. 1924, p. 23, c. 6.

24 Charles H. J. Snider, review of *Sir Isaac Brock*, by Hugh S. Eayrs, in *Canadian Historical Review* 5, no. 4 (Dec. 1924): 360.

25 Snider, 360.

26 Snider, 360.

27 Snider, 360.

28 Eayrs's *Sir Isaac Brock* was obviously popular with the reading public, as it was reprinted in 1924, 1926, and 1927.

29 It has been estimated that between the mid-1890s and the First World War, no fewer than fourteen publishing firms were established in Toronto. See Whiteman, "Early History of the Macmillan Company of Canada," 68.

30 Susan R. Fisher, *Boys and Girls in No Man's Land: English-Canadian Children and the First World War* (University of Toronto Press, 2011), 54.

31 Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890–1918* (University of Toronto Press, 1993), 16.

32 Ronald Caplan, ed., *Cape Breton Lives: A Book from Cape Breton's Magazine* (Breakwater Books, 1988), 150.

33 MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire*, 194.

34 MacDonald, 194.

35 Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (University of Toronto Press, 2014), 36. See also Daphne Read, ed., *The Great War and Canadian Society: An Oral History* (New Hogtown Press, 1978), 99.

36 One of these typical patriotic bombasts was the spiel used by a Major Brown, who in January of 1916 assured his audience at Mimico, Ontario, that "the York Rangers [127th Battalion] were living up to General Brock's command of 'push on, brave York Volunteers,' and asked for more men to keep up the traditions of the regiment." See *Globe*, 15 Jan. 1916, p. 2, c. 3.

37 *Toronto Daily News*, 21 July 1915, p. 4, c. 3.

38 Ian Hugh Maclean Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (University of Toronto Press, 2002), 112–13.

39 As William J. Campbell, an assistant professor of history at California State University, Chico, has argued, much of this support was pragmatic. Another factor, no doubt, was duress. But whatever their motivation, the Germans of Berlin, Ontario, reacted to the war by adhering to the norms of patriotic behaviour expected of them while at the same time defending their place in Canadian society. See William J. Campbell, "'We Germans . . . Are British Subjects': The First World War and the Curious Case of Berlin, Ontario, Canada," *Canadian Military History* 21, no. 2 (Spring 2012): 45–57.

40 Patricia P. McKegney, *The Kaiser's Bust: A Study of War-Time Propaganda in Berlin, Ontario, 1914–1918* (Bamberg Press, 1991), 172.

41 McKegney, 172–3. While the resolution calling for the renaming of Berlin was framed in patriotic terms, without explicitly mentioning commerce, the Board of Trade's proposal was obviously self-interested.

42 McKegney, 173–4.

43 McKegney, 175–6.

44 McKegney, 175.

45 *Berlin (ON) News Record*, 25 Feb. 1916, p. 7, c. 4.

46 The complications involving Brock, Saskatchewan, and Brockville, Ontario, were raised by other contributors to the *Berlin News Record*. See ibid., 26 June 1916, p. 2, c. 5, and 27 June 1916, p. 4, c. 7.

47 For Brockton, Brockhowe, and Brockwack, see ibid., 26 May 1916, p. 4, c. 4; ibid., 23 Mar. 1916, p. 8, c. 5; ibid., 16 Mar. 1916, p. 3, c. 5. Brockton was merely a combination of the root word with a place name suffix; Brockhowe linked Brock with Admiral Lord Richard Howe; and Brockwack was a sincere effort to celebrate both Brock and Corporal Edgar Wackett, one of Berlin's First World War heroes who returned wounded from the front in 1915. For Wackett, see ibid., 16 Oct. 1915, p. 1, c. 4.

48 McKegney, *Kaiser's Bust*, 175. The committee rejected names that were already in use, including Brock and Brockton. See *Berlin News Record*, 30 May 1916, p. 1, c. 1.

49 McKegney, *Kaiser's Bust*, 177.

50 *Berlin News Record*, 22 June 1916, p. 1, c. 3.

51 Ibid., 23 June 1916, p. 4, c. 2.

52 Of the 892 ballots cast, 163 were spoiled. Kitchener received 346 votes and Brock 335. See ibid., 29 June 1916, p. 1, c. 4.

53 McKegney, *Kaiser's Bust*, 178–80.

54 *Fernie (BC) Free Press*, 31 May 1902, p. 7, c. 2. Like the unidentified Canadian scholar, George T. Denison expressed a similar frustration. As he related, "Few, even of the well-educated people in England, have ever heard the name of Brock, and if his name is mentioned, the question is generally asked,—'Who was General Brock?' I have often tried the experiment of mentioning his name to English people, and unless they had been in Canada, have always been saluted with the question as to who Brock was." See George T. Denison, *Soldiering in Canada: Recollections and Experiences*, 2nd ed. (George N. Morang and Company, 1901), 9.

55 *Morning Herald* (Lexington, KY), 9 Aug. 1896, p. 2, c. 1. The American journalist was William E. Curtis, a well-known travelling newspaper correspondent.

56 *Globe*, 30 June 1917, p. 8, c. 3.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid., 11 Oct. 1918, p. 1, c. 5. Of course, the tenuous comparison between Currie and Brock was made for patriotic purposes. While Currie might have been inspired by Brock's capture of Detroit, he was certainly capable of formulating his own ruses.

60 As Canadian legal historian Robert J. Sharpe concluded, "Although Currie was revered by his friends and comrades he was disliked by many others, and he was denied formal public recognition until after his death." See Robert J. Sharpe, *The Last Day, the Last Hour: The Currie Libel Trial*, rev. ed., with a new preface by the author (University of Toronto Press, 2009), 246.

61 *Canadian Grocer* (Toronto), 23 Mar. 1900, p. 11.

62 Wolthausen Hat Corporation, "The 'Brock' the New Wolthausen Hat," *Men's Wear Review* 8, no. 10 (Oct. 1918): 34.

63 Wolthausen Hat Corporation, "The Brock Hat," *Men's Wear Review* 9, no. 5 (May 1919): 16.

64 Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (University of British Columbia Press, 1997), 155. James Wolfe was the major general in command of the British expedition to Quebec in 1759.

65 B[arnet] M. Greene, ed., *Who's Who in Canada, 1930–1931* (International Press, 1930), 1218.

66 *Globe*, 30 Aug. 1928, p. 5, cc. 5–8.

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.

69 For one of several such advertisements, see Wolthausen Hat Corporation, "The Brock Hat, a Canadian Achievement," *Men's Wear Review* 11, no. 3 (Mar. 1921): 5.

70 Desmond H. Brown, "The Craftsmanship of Bias: Sedition and the Winnipeg General Strike Trial 1919," *Manitoba Law Journal* 14, no. 1 (1984): 1.

71 Brown, 6. Metcalfe paraphrased the excerpt from Scott's poem.

72 Brown, 6.

73 Brown, 6.

74 Brown, 32.

75 Brown, 32.

76 Brown, 6.

77 It was well into the 1960s, according to José E. Igartua, a professor of history at the Universitié du Québec à Montreal, that "English-speaking Canadian pupils from coast to coast were subjected to an Ontario-centred view of Canadian history, as Canadian textbook publishers, all established in Ontario, shaped their publications to meet the requirements of the Ontario Department of Education." See José E. Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945–1971* (University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 12. Other Anglo-Canadian educational markets were simply too small to warrant their own province-specific textbooks, and so those authorized in Ontario served the purpose. See Igartua, 64.

78 Dollard's small band of French and Huron engaged with superior numbers of Iroquois who threatened New France in May of 1660. By the end of the First World War, French Canadian nationalists encouraged the celebration of Fête de Dollard in place of Empire Day. See Joel Belliveau and Marcel Martel, "'One Flag, One Throne, One Empire'? Espousing and Replacing Empire Day in French Canada, 1899–1952," in *Celebrating Canada*, 2 vols., ed. Matthew Hayday and Raymond B. Blake (University of Toronto Press, 2016), 1:132–3.

79 Philippe[-Joseph] A[ubert] de Gaspé, *Mémoires* (Ottawa, 1866), 209. The French quotation as given by de Gaspé is "le sang français ne coule-t-il pas dans leurs veines?"

80 The old gentleman gave himself credit for having an outstanding memory and a propensity for telling the truth. His biographer, Luc Lacourcière, tended to agree with de Gaspé's self-assessment: "Indeed, these are two qualities in which he is rarely found wanting." See Luc Lacourcière, "Aubert de Gaspé, Philippe-Joseph," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 10:22.

81 After providing his readers with Brock's retort ("does not French blood flow in their veins?"), de Gaspé added, "(et il aurait pu dire: ainsi que dans les miennes)," which translates into English as "(and he could have said: as in mine)." See De Gaspé, *Mémoires*, 209. Presuming, however, that Brock was restrained from making any such boast about his own Gallic ancestry, it might have been occasioned by his long service in the British Army and the ongoing war with Napoleonic France.

82 The original quotation by Roy reads, "Le général Brock avait du sang français dans les veines et il en était fier." See Pierre-Georges Roy, *Les petites choses de notre histoire*, 7 vols. (n.p., 1919), 2:190.

83 Perhaps the best example of this phenomenon appears in the various editions of David M. Duncan's *The Story of the Canadian People*: "unlike many British officers, he [Brock] knew and valued the local militia as well as the regular troops. Brave, kind, and judicious, he won the confidence and love of his men. Under the inspiration of Brock's leadership, the prospects grew brighter. Loyalist volunteers, remembering how they and their fathers had been treated by the government of the United States, pressed forward on all sides, more than could be supplied with arms." See David M. Duncan, *The Story of the Canadian People* (Morang and Company, 1904), 261–2.

84 Keith Walden, "Isaac Brock: Man and Myth. A Study of the Militia Myth of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada, 1812–1912" (master's thesis, Queen's University, 1971), 5.

85 According to geographer J. David Wood, "Ontario became a huge migrant exchange, bringing overseas immigrants in from the east and shunting Ontarians and earlier immigrants out to the West." See J. David Wood, "The Population of Ontario: A Study of the Foundation of a Social Geography," in *A Social Geography of Canada*, rev. ed., ed. Guy M. Robinson (Dundurn Press, 1991), 97. With respect

to subsequent arrivals in the West of non-British immigrant families, their children would have been subjected to the same Brock indoctrination as the children of earlier Ontarian migrants.

86 Phillip Buckner, "The Long Goodbye: English Canadians and the British World," in *Rediscovering the British World*, ed. Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis (University of Calgary Press, 2005), 191.

87 Buckner, 193.

88 For accounts of the Empire Day celebrations held in Toronto between 1914 and 1919, see *Globe*, 16 May 1914, p. 9, c. 6; ibid., 20 May 1915, p. 6, c. 2; ibid., 24 May 1916, p. 8, c. 1; ibid., 24 May 1917, p. 9, c. 4; ibid., 24 May 1918, p. 9, c. 1; ibid., 24 May 1919, p. 9, c. 5.

89 *London (ON) Evening Free Press*, 7 June 1921, p. 6, c. 7.

90 Jonathan F. Vance, *Maple Leaf Empire: Canada, Britain, and Two World Wars* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 141.

91 Walter R. Nursey, *The Story of Isaac Brock: Hero, Defender and Saviour of Upper Canada, 1812*, new ed. (McClelland and Stewart, 1923). Although Nursey considered this edition the fourth, it was actually the second given that two so-called editions in 1909 were reprints. For Lowrey's book, see Harold C. [Lowrey], *Young Canada Boys with the S.O.S. on the Frontier* (Thomas Allen, 1918). It appears that the publisher misspelled the author's last name.

92 Patrick A. Dunae, "Boys' Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870–1914," *Victorian Studies* 24, no. 1 (Autumn 1980): 118–20.

93 Fisher, *Boys and Girls in No Man's Land*, 176.

94 For the review, see *Globe*, 8 Mar. 1919, p. 21, c. 2. As Susan R. Fisher recognized, Lowrey's *Young Canada Boys* was the only "truly Canadian boys' adventure novel about the war—that is, a book written by a Canadian, set in Canada, and published by a Canadian firm." See Fisher, *Boys and Girls in No Man's Land*, 175.

95 *Globe*, 6 Nov. 1916, p. 8, c. 6.

96 The Daughters of Canada was organized in December of 1919. See ibid., 15 Dec. 1919, p. 10, c. 1.

97 Ibid., 14 Jan. 1920, p. 7, c. 2.

98 Ibid., 2 Mar. 1920, p. 7, c. 7.

99 Ibid., 24 May 1917, p. 9, c. 4. The officer in question was Major General William A. Logie.

100 Ibid., 24 May 1918, p. 9, c. 1.

101 Ibid., 24 May 1919, p. 9, c. 5.

102 Ibid.

103 According to Thomas Richardson, a former British member of Parliament who witnessed the cadet parade of 1922, it was "a display of militarism which would not be seen even in the metropolis of London." See ibid., 5 June 1922, p. 15, c. 2.

104 Ibid., 22 Sept. 1922, p. 4, c. 6.

105 Ibid., 9 Feb. 1924, p. 16, c. 1.

106 Ibid., 31 Jan. 1930, p. 13, c. 8. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

107 Ibid.

108 Ibid., 27 Oct. 1930, p. 14, c. 7.

109 Ibid., 23 June 1931, p. 1, c. 2.

110 Ibid., 7 Aug. 1931, p. 9 c. 5.

111 Ibid., 20 May 1931, p. 12, c. 3.

112 Ibid., 19 Dec. 1935, p. 8, c. 2.

113 As Susan R. Fisher determined, "The militarist tone of Canadian textbooks was so pronounced that, after the war, pacifist groups such as the Society of Friends and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom campaigned for revision of all textbooks to ensure that children would no longer read of the glory of war." See Fisher, *Boys and Girls in No Man's Land*, 53–4.

114 *Globe*, 25 Aug. 1920, p. 6, cc. 5–6. Béland's exact words were, "The standard reading-books in all the schools were full of stories recounting valiant and successful exploits of the German soldiers—cavalry charges, the taking of cities by storm, epic encounters with swords, all leading up to the exultant conclusion that the glory of German arms had dazzled the world. The intellects of the youth were thus impregnated, saturated, with principles of militarism from the first days at school." See Henri Beland, *My Three Years in a German Prison* (William Briggs, 1919), 270–1.

115 *Globe*, 25 Aug. 1920, p. 6, c. 6.

116 Ibid., 25 Jan. 1926, p. 11, c. 8.

117 Ibid.

118 There were also innumerable newspaper and magazine articles featuring Brock's heroic story, as well as biographical sketches—particularly those in patriotic readers such as Adrian Macdonald's *Canadian Portraits* (Ryerson Press, 1925) and Mabel Burns McKinley's *Canadian Heroes of Pioneer Days* (Longmans, Green and Company, 1930).

119 For notable examples, see [John] Richardson, *The Canadian Brothers; or, The Prophecy Fulfilled: A Tale of the Late American War*, 2 vols. (Montreal, 1840); [Agnes M. Machar], *For King and Country: A Story of 1812* (Toronto, 1874); [William] H. Withrow, *Neville Trueman, the Pioneer Preacher: A Tale of the War of 1812* (Toronto, 1880); Wilfred Campbell, *A Beautiful Rebel: A Romance of Upper Canada in Eighteen Hundred and Twelve* (Westminster Company, 1909).

120 These novels include John M. Elson, *The Scarlet Sash: A Romance of the Old Niagara Frontier* (J. M. Dent and Sons, 1925); C. Holmes MacGillivray, *The Shadow of Tradition: A Tale of Old Glengarry* (Graphic Publishers, 1927); [Jean] N. McIlwraith, *Kinsmen at War* (Graphic Publishers, 1927); E. A. Taylor, *Beatrice of Old York* (Musson Book Company, 1929).

121 *Globe*, 25 Jan. 1930, p. 17, c. 1. Compelling evidence of Gordon's popularity with children was found by Susan R. Fisher: "A thirteen-year-old reader of a Canadian Sunday-school paper explained why Connor [Gordon] was his favourite author: 'I like the books because they are full of adventure. The heroes in his books are strong, broadminded men who are not afraid of hardships.'" See Fisher, *Boys and Girls in No Man's Land*, 17.

122 *Globe*, 25 Jan. 1930, p. 17, c. 1.

123 Ralph Connor [Charles William Gordon], *The Runner: A Romance of the Niagaras* (Doubleday, Doran and Gundy, 1929), 389.

124 Major John B. Glegg, who was Brock's military aide-de-camp and therefore a reliable source, claimed that the American minute guns were fired after the funeral. The British guns were fired earlier, during the funeral procession. See Archives of Ontario, Ferdinand Brock Tupper Papers (F 1081), Glegg to [William Brock], 25 Oct. 1812; Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Upper Canada Militia General Orders (RG 9, IB3), vol. 2, 16 Oct. 1812.

125 *Globe*, 29 Jan. 1930, p. 4, c. 7.

126 Regarding the effects of the Great Depression on Canadian publishing, see Panofsky, *Literary Legacy of the Macmillan Company of Canada*, 110–11. As to the abolition of cadet training and the attendant parades, which anti-militarist forces achieved through budget cuts, see Cynthia Comacchio, "Challenging Strathcona: The Cadet Training Controversy in English Canada, 1920–1950," in *Worth Fighting For: Canada's Tradition of War Resistance from 1812 to the War on Terror*, ed. Lara Campbell, Michael Dawson, and Catherine Gidney (Between the Lines, 2015), 85, 87.

127 *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 7 Apr. 1937, p. 13, c. 5.

128 Ibid., 28 May 1937, p. 15, c. 6; ibid., 12 July 1937, p. 27, c. 5. Howell-Jones used Arabella Stuart as her pen name.

129 *Globe*, 9 Apr. 1929, p. 1, c. 5; ibid., 12 July 1929, p. 13, c. 6. The loss of Brock's arm led to a complete restoration of the monument. See ibid., 9 May 1930, p. 1, c. 2.

130 *Globe and Mail*, 28 May 1937, p. 15, c. 6; ibid., 26 June 1937, p. 12, c. 7.

131 As Phillip Buckner described it, the motivation of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire was "to preach the gospel of Canadian imperialism." See Buckner, "The Long Good-Bye," 197.

132 *Globe and Mail*, 18 June 1937, p. 13, c. 2; ibid., 21 June 1937, p. 15, c. 1.

133 Howell-Jones's book, *No More Tears: A Mother's Psychic Experiences with Her Loved Ones After Their Death*, was first published in 1935. A second edition was released in 1937, while she was on tour in Canada. For the first edition, see A. Stuart [Arabella Stuart Howell-Jones], *No More Tears: A Mother's Psychic Experiences with Her Loved Ones After Their Death* (Francis Mott Company, 1935).

134 *Globe and Mail*, 21 June 1937, p. 15, c. 1.

135 Ibid., cc. 1–2.

136 Ibid.

137 Ibid., c. 2.

138 For the obituary of Elliott Moses, see ibid., 25 Feb. 1978, p. 61, c. 9.

139 *Globe and Mail*, 17 Sept. 1937, p. 11, c. 3. For Howell-Jones's letter of appreciation for the hospitality she was shown, see ibid., 16 July 1937, p. 6, c. 6.

140 For the fleeting nature of the royal visit to Brock's Monument, see *St. Catharines (ON) Standard*, 8 June 1939, p. 1, c. 3; *Globe and Mail*, 8 June 1939, p. 1, c. 1; *Windsor (ON) Daily Star*, 8 June 1939, p. 6, c. 3. Nearly twelve hundred school children from both the Canadian and American sides of the Niagara River cheered the royal couple upon their arrival and departure. See *St. Catharines Standard*, 8 June 1939, p. 12, c. 1.

141 For additional insights into the royal visit, see: Benjamin D. Rhodes, "The British Royal Visit of 1939 and the 'Psychological Approach' to the United States," *Diplomatic History* 2, no. 2 (Apr. 1978): 197–211;

Peter Bell, "The Foreign Office and the 1939 Royal Visit to America: Courting the USA in an Era of Isolationism," *Journal of Contemporary History* 37, no. 4 (2002): 599–616.

142 *Globe and Mail*, 8 June 1939, p. 5, c. 1; ibid., p. 1, c. 7.

143 During the Second World War, Canadian publishers struggled with rising production costs as well as shortages of personnel; however, there were also unprecedented sales and a new appreciation for the nation's writers. See Panofsky, *Literary Legacy of the Macmillan Company of Canada*, 8, 134.

144 For Sophia Shaw's date of baptism (10 May 1792), as extracted from the Nashwaak, New Brunswick, mission baptismal register, see LAC, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries (RG 5, A1), vol. 31, Shaw to Gore, 18 Feb. 1817, 14526. For a biography of her father, see S[tanley] R. Mealing, "Shaw, Aeneas," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 5:752–4.

145 For the source of the family tradition, see Nursey, *Story of Isaac Brock*, 1st ed. (1908), 136–7. In the same source, see also 79.

146 Emma A. Currie, *The Story of Laura Secord and Canadian Reminiscences* (William Briggs, 1900), 190–1.

147 For biographical information about McAree, see *Globe and Mail*, 24 Mar. 1958, p. 4, c. 4.

148 Ibid., 2 Oct. 1941, p. 6, c. 4.

149 Ibid. There had also been speculation that Brock's fiancée was a Denison or a Givins. See *Globe*, 15 June 1923, p. 5, c. 1; ibid., 4 Apr. 1930, p. 15, c. 7.

150 *Globe and Mail*, 2 Oct. 1941, p. 6, c. 4. The "contemporary records" and "family correspondence," both of which McAree referenced, probably meant either the 1845 or 1847 edition of Ferdinand Brock Tupper's *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*

151 *Globe and Mail*, 10 Oct. 1941, p. 21, c. 1. McAree's column was known as "The Fourth Column."

152 Ibid. For the article cited by White, see M[ary] Agnes FitzGibbon, "Lady Colborne's Bazaar," Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto *Transaction* 9 (1909): 13. For additional information on Lady Colborne's Bazaar, see Elizabeth Jane Errington, *School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790–1840* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 180–1.

153 *Globe and Mail*, 11 Oct. 1941, p. 6, c. 4.

154 As McAree would have discovered had he pursued the matter, the *History of the Clan Shaw* failed to provide the necessary documentation. Rather, Shaw's book merely mentions the engagement without providing any evidence of it. See Norman Shaw, *History of the Clan Shaw* (n.p., n.d.), 36. Based on the author's research into Sophia Shaw, there was likely no such engagement.

155 *Globe and Mail*, 17 July 1941, p. 6, c. 7.

156 Ibid.

157 Ibid., 19 Aug. 1943, p. 6, c. 4.

158 Ibid.

159 Ibid., 29 July 1941, p. 6, c. 7.

160 Ibid.

161 Ibid., 13 Aug. 1943, p. 1, c. 4. The daughter was Mary Churchill.

162 *Winnipeg Free Press*, 12 Aug. 1943, p. 1, c. 7. The marker referenced was likely the one that commemorates Sheaffe's route to the top of the escarpment, which is located approximately three kilometres to the west of the Queenston Heights Restaurant.

163 *Globe and Mail*, 19 Aug. 1943, p. 6, c. 4.

164 This inaction continued until 1959, when Sheaffe was honoured with a plaque erected by the Ontario Archaeological and Historic Sites Board. See ibid., 14 Oct. 1959, p. 12, c. 5.

165 *Winnipeg Free Press*, 17 Aug. 1943, p. 11, c. 5. The *Winnipeg Free Press* was a national paper in terms of its scope and readership.

166 Ibid.

167 Ibid., c. 8.

168 Ibid.

169 Ibid.

170 Ibid.

171 Jack Granatstein described most of Canada's senior officers as "pallid, colourless figures." See J[ack] L. Granatstein, *The Generals: The Canadian Army's Senior Commanders in the Second World War* (University of Calgary Press, 2005), 3.

172 *Globe and Mail*, 17 Nov. 1942, p. 4, c. 6; ibid., 23 Nov. 1942, p. 24, c. 3.

173 George W. Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation* (J. M. Dent and Sons, 1942), 186.

174 Brown, 187.

175 *Globe and Mail*, 6 Mar. 1943, p. 8, c. 4.

176 Ibid.

177 Brown's co-authors were Eleanor Harman, associate editor and production manager at the University of Toronto Press, and Marsh Jeanneret, editor of textbooks for Canadian educational publisher Copp Clark.

178 *Globe and Mail*, 15 Oct. 1949, p. 12, c. 5; ibid., 8 Nov. 1952, p. 9, c. 3. For the French-language version of *The Story of Canada*, see George W. Brown, Eleanor Harman, and Marsh Jeanneret, *Notre histoire* (Compagnie Copp Clark, 1952). According to José E. Igartua, it was said that *The Story of Canada* sold over a million copies and that Brown's high school text—*Building the Canadian Nation*—accounted for over six hundred thousand sales. See Igartua, *Other Quiet Revolution*, 12. *The Story of Canada* was later republished as *Canada in North America, 1800–1901*.

179 George W. Brown, Eleanor Harman, and Marsh Jeanneret, *The Story of Canada* (Copp Clark Company, 1949), 1.

180 Brown et al., 1.

181 *Globe and Mail*, 21 Dec. 1946, p. 10, c. 5.

182 According to Hugo McPherson, an English professor at McGill University, Canadian novelists explored diverse subjects during the period in question, but the saga of the Loyalists was one of the most popular. See Hugo McPherson, "Fiction, 1940–1960," in *Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English*, 2nd ed., 4 vols., ed. Carl F. Klinck (University of Toronto Press, 1976), 2:207.

183 Maida Parlow French, *Boughs Bend Over* (McClelland and Stewart, 1943); Maida Parlow French, *All This to Keep* (William Collins and Sons, 1947).

184 For French's success, see *Globe and Mail*, 6 Nov. 1943, p. 8, c. 2; ibid., 12 July 1947, p. 11, c. 3.

185 Ibid., 12 Nov. 1949, p. 10, c. 3.

186 John F. Hayes, *Treason at York* (Copp Clark Publishing Company, [1949]), 34–8.

187 For "adventurize," see John F. Hayes, "Writing for Boys," *Canadian Author and Bookman* 28, no. 2 (Summer 1952): 22. For the review, see *Globe and Mail*, 12 Nov. 1949, p. 10, c. 3. A similar children's novel, published several years later by John M. Bassett, proved far less popular, despite having had all the right ingredients—namely, two boy heroes engaged in carrying dispatches and spying for the British during the War of 1812. See John M. Bassett, *The Couriers for General Brock* (Thomas Allen and Son, 1967). As a reviewer for the *Globe and Mail* complained, "The history is dull and poorly handled, the writing is neither smooth nor lively enough to be worth even a lazy afternoon's reading." See *Globe and Mail*, *Globe Magazine*, 29 June 1968, p. 15, c. 4.

188 Hayes won his first Governor General's Award for *A Land Divided* in 1951, and his second for *Rebels Ride at Night* in 1953.

189 Hayes, "Writing for Boys," 22.

190 Hayes, 26.

191 Brock also figured prominently in another Canadian boys' novel of the immediate postwar period. Published in 1955, Lyn Cook's *Jady and the General* recounts the experiences of a Niagara peach farmer's son and the horse he named General. See Lyn Cook, *Jady and the General* (Macmillan, 1955).

192 This was the book by Eayrs, originally published in 1918. See Hugh S. Eayrs, *Sir Isaac Brock* (Macmillan Company of Canada, 1927).

193 Samuel V. Kennedy III, *Samuel Hopkins Adams and the Business of Writing* (Syracuse University Press, 1999), 276. According to Raymond F. Yates, who reviewed the book for the Buffalo Historical Society, a copy of his own pictorial guide to Niagara Falls (*The Niagara Story*) was Cerf's inspiration for a biography of Brock. See Raymond F. Yates, review of *General Brock and Niagara Falls*, by Samuel Hopkins Adams, in *Niagara Frontier* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1958): 26.

194 Kennedy, *Samuel Hopkins Adams and the Business of Writing*, 276.

195 Kennedy, 277.

196 Samuel Hopkins Adams, *General Brock and Niagara Falls* (Random House, 1957).

197 According to one of Canada's leading newspapers, "no better book for young people has been written about the facts leading up to the War of 1812 and of the events which took place during that war." See *Globe and Mail*, 16 Nov. 1957, p. 18, c. 7.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1 For Lamb's book, see W. Kaye Lamb, *The Hero of Upper Canada* (Rous and Mann Press, 1962).

2 *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 29 Sept. 1962, p. 15, cc. 4–5.

3 As Fred Mann himself admitted, "we only print a few hundred copies and, as a matter of policy, none are for sale." See Library and Archives Canada (LAC), W. Kaye Lamb Papers (MG 31, D8), vol. 14, file 4a, Mann to Lamb, 28 Dec. 1960. See also Joyce Sowby and Randall Speller, "Quality Printing: A History of Rous and Mann Limited, 1909–1954," *DA [Devil's Artisan]: A Journal of the Printing Arts* 51 (Fall–Winter

2002): 17, 19. Additional information concerning Rous and Mann's souvenir booklets was provided by the late Stephen Otto.

4 While Fred Mann stressed that "the book must have popular appeal," he also hoped it "would not be completely frowned on by Canadian historians." See LAC, W. Kaye Lamb Papers (MG 31, D8), vol. 14, file 4a, Mann to Lamb, 28 Dec. 1960.

5 Lamb, *Hero of Upper Canada*, 5.

6 Lamb, 5. Lamb also wrote an article about Brock. See W. Kaye Lamb, "Sir Isaac Brock: The Hero of Queenston Heights," in *After Tippecanoe: Some Aspects of the War of 1812*, ed. Philip P. Mason (Michigan State University Press, 1963), 17–27.

7 Lamb's booklet was limited to 775 copies. See Lamb, *Hero of Upper Canada*, 30.

8 LAC, W. Kaye Lamb Papers (MG 31, D8), vol. 14, file 4a, Mann to Lamb, 28 Dec. 1960; ibid., 6 Mar. 1961.

9 *Globe and Mail*, 17 July 1976, p. 38, c. 1. Kritzwiser's opinion was similar to that of *Toronto Star* editorial writer Stuart J. Shaw, who a few months earlier had published an article titled "The War of 1812: Why Do Canadians Turn Their Backs on Their Own History?" See *Toronto Daily Star*, 31 May 1962, p. 7, cc. 1–7.

10 *Globe and Mail*, *Globe Magazine*, 28 July 1962, p. 3, c. 1.

11 Ibid., p. 4, c. 1.

12 Ibid., p. 4, c. 3. Jeanette MacDonald and Nelson Eddy were a popular singing and screen couple in the 1930s and '40s. The ticket taker was Hugh Leith.

13 Ibid., p. 14, c. 1.

14 Ibid., p. 4, c. 3.

15 Ibid., 11 Jan. 1964, p. 19, c. 2.

16 Ibid., c. 1.

17 Ibid., c. 2.

18 Ibid., c. 3.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 As Canadian historian Daniel Francis recalled of his childhood growing up with a television in 1950s Vancouver, all of his heroic references were American. "In the universe I inhabited as a boy, there were no Canadian stars. There was no room; the skies were filled with the super novas of American history, politics, and popular culture." See Daniel Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History* (Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997), 112.

23 *Globe and Mail*, *Globe Magazine*, 11 Jan. 1964, p. 19, c. 3.

24 [Alfred Birnie] Hodgetts, *What Culture? What Heritage? A Study of Civic Education in Canada* (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1968), 1.

25 Hodgetts, 78.

26 Hodgetts, 76.

27 Hodgetts, 76.

28 Hodgetts, 21–2.

29 Hodgetts, 115.

30 Hodgetts, 116.

31 Hodgetts, 26.

32 Hodgetts, 26.

33 Hodgetts, 57.

34 Hodgetts, 57.

35 As Hodgetts explained, "The courses of study in Canadian history are based on the interests and concerns that preoccupied academic historians of the 1920s. These courses lack any contemporary meaning. They continue to be narrowly confined to constitutional and political history." See Hodgetts, 115.

36 Hodgetts, 81.

37 Hodgetts, 81.

38 Ken Osborne estimated that "As early as the 1920s, and certainly by the 1930s, critics were complaining that the nation-building grand narrative of school history failed to grip students." See Ken Osborne, "'If I'm Going to Be a Cop, Why Do I Have to Learn Religion and History?': Schools, Citizenship, and the Teaching of Canadian History," in *Settling and Unsettling Memories: Essays in Canadian Public History*, ed. Nicole Neatby and Peter Hodgins (University of Toronto Press, 2012), 142.

39 *Globe and Mail*, *Globe Magazine*, 28 July 1962, p. 3, c. 1.

40 Ibid., p. 14, c. 2.

41 Ibid., p. 4, c. 3. The lad from St. Williams was Carl Pell.

42 Ibid., p. 14, c. 3. The interrogated boy was Jim Zabek.

43 Ibid.

44 *Globe and Mail*, 15 Sept. 1962, p. 9, c. 7.

45 Ibid., 20 Nov. 1952, p. 13, c. 2.

46 Ibid., *Globe Magazine*, 9 July 1960, p. 8, cc. 1–2.

47 Ibid., p. 26, cc. 1–2.

48 Bruce Hutchison, *The Unknown Country: Canada and Her People* (Coward-McCann, 1942), 158.

49 Hutchison, 158.

50 While the sesquicentenary celebrations included the Battle of Queenston Heights, most of the emphasis was on Brock's death.

51 For accounts of the events, see *Globe and Mail*, 12 Oct. 1962, p. 36, c. 4; ibid., 15 Oct. 1962, p. 16, c. 1; *Buffalo (NY) Courier-Express*, 14 Oct. 1962, p. 3A, c. 1; *St. Catharines (ON) Standard*, 15 Oct. 1962, p. 9, c. 5.

52 *Buffalo Courier-Express*, 15 Oct. 1962, p. 7, c. 5. See also *St. Catharines Standard*, 15 Oct. 1962, p. 9, c. 1.

53 *Niagara Falls (NY) Gazette*, 15 Oct. 1962, p. 14, c. 6.

54 Ken Osborne, "Teaching History in Schools: A Canadian Debate," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 35, no. 5 (2003): 590.

55 Osborne, 590.

56 Osborne, 598.

57 *Globe and Mail*, *Globe Magazine*, 11 Jan. 1964, p. 19, c. 3.

58 Ibid.

59 In May of 1963, Macmillan editor James W. Bacque proposed on behalf of the company that Goodspeed write a biography of Sir Isaac Brock for the Great Stories of Canada series. See McMaster University, Mills Memorial Library, William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections (MUA), Macmillan Company of Canada Papers (RC0071), Author Correspondence, box 97, file 6, [Bacque] to Goodspeed, 27 May 1963.

60 Ruth Panofsky, *The Literary Legacy of the Macmillan Company of Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 2012), 198–9.

61 For Gray, historical accuracy was an important, but secondary, consideration. See Panofsky, 199.

62 Goodspeed used a pen name when writing his novels. See, for example, John Redmayne, *Redcoat Spy* (Macmillan of Canada, 1964); Dougal McLeish, *The Traitor Game* (Macmillan of Canada, 1968); Dougal McLeish, *The Valentine Victim* (Macmillan of Canada, 1969).

63 Gray believed that patriotism could be nurtured in young readers, but only if Canadian history was written in a way that captured their imagination. See Panofsky, *Literary Legacy of the Macmillan Company*, 198.

64 D[onald] J. Goodspeed, *The Good Soldier: The Story of Isaac Brock* (Macmillan of Canada, 1964).

65 Gray made this prediction in late 1963, based on an early reading of Goodspeed's manuscript. Despite some fairly severe criticisms, he thought the submission held great potential. See MUA, Macmillan Company of Canada Papers, Author Correspondence, box 97, file 6, internal report by Gray, 10 Oct. 1963.

66 *Edmonton Journal*, 13 Nov. 1964, p. 52, c. 6.

67 Brock University was incorporated at the end of October 1962. See Paul Axelrod, *Scholars and Dollars: Politics, Economics, and the Universities of Ontario, 1945–1980* (University of Toronto Press, 1982), 58.

68 *Globe and Mail*, 20 Oct. 1964, p. 4, c. 4.

69 Ibid. See also George Cowley and Michel Vanier, eds, *Only to Serve: Selections from Addresses of Governor-General Georges P. Vanier* (University of Toronto Press, 1970), 48–9.

70 Cowley and Vanier, *Only to Serve*, 46.

71 *Globe and Mail*, 20 Oct. 1964, p. 4, cc. 4–5. While it might come as a surprise to some readers, Vanier was actually correct regarding Brock's postings to the Canadas.

72 Ibid., c. 5.

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid.

75 Brock University, James A. Gibson Library, Archives and Special Collections (BUA), Brock University Founding and Early History Collection (UA 11), Founders' Committee Papers, Naming Committee, Meeting Number One, Minutes, 8 Aug. 1962. Examples of these unsuitable names include the University of St. Catharines and the University of Simcoe (presumably in reference to the first provincial lieutenant-governor, John Graves Simcoe). See ibid., Meeting Number Two, Minutes, 11 Sept. 1962.

76 *St. Catharines Standard*, 12 Oct. 1962, p. 1, c. 9.

77 BUA, Brock University Founding and Early History Collection (UA 11), Archives and Special Collections, Founders' Committee Papers, Naming Committee, Meeting Number Two, Minutes, 11 Sept. 1962; *St. Catharines Standard*, 12 Oct. 1962, p. 1, c. 8.

78 BUA, Brock University Founding and Early History Collection (UA 11), Founders' Committee Papers, Naming Committee, Meeting Number Two, Minutes, 11 Sept. 1962.

79 BUA, Brock University Founding and Early History Collection (UA 11), Founders' Committee Papers, Naming Committee, Meeting Number Three, Minutes, 9 Oct. 1962; *St. Catharines Standard*, 12 Oct. 1962, p. 1, c. 8.

80 *St. Catharines Standard*, 12 Oct. 1962, p. 1, c. 9.

81 An elder from the Six Nations, for example, and a woman delegate attending on behalf of the Allanburg Tweedsmuir Institute (whose members were early, vocal proponents of the university) might conceivably have spoken up on behalf of either Joseph Brant or Laura Secord.

82 As the university's first president, Dr. James A. Gibson, later elaborated, Brock played an important part in a "legacy of Canadian identity," and it "was he who set a personal example of devotion to duty and of cheerfulness in the face of adversity." See *St. Catharines Standard*, 7 Oct. 1969, p. 11, c. 2.

83 BUA, Guy St-Denis Papers (RG 77), Captain Michael H. T. Mellish Correspondence, Lee to Mellish, 12 Mar. 1965.

84 Ibid., Mellish to Lee, 23 Mar. 1965. Lee was well aware that the war club was one of Mellish's "most treasured possessions, but certainly there could be no harm in at least broaching the subject." See ibid., Lee to Mellish, 12 Mar. 1965.

85 Ibid., Lee to Mellish, 26 Mar. 1965.

86 Ibid., Mellish to Lee, 2 Apr. 1965.

87 Ibid.

88 Lamb, *Hero of Upper Canada*, 11.

89 For Irving Brock's accounts of the event, see Ferdinand Brock Tupper, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, 2nd ed. (London, 1847), Brock to Tupper, 12 Apr. 1825, 402–7; National Archives of the United Kingdom, Colonial Office (CO 42), Canada: Original Correspondence, Secretary of State, Lower Canada, vol. 206, Brock to Butterworth, 8 Apr. 1825, ff. 48–50. The extent to which family traditions can morph over time is demonstrated by another heirloom long associated with Brock. Emblazoned with what appears to be his armorial bearings, a garniture of covered porcelain urns by Chamberlain's Worcester was widely accepted as having belonged to the famous general. However, based on a mark of cadency, in this instance a martlet (the mythical heraldic bird signifying the fourth son), these decorative accessories were likely presented to Daniel de Lisle Brock in recognition of his public service to Guernsey.

90 It would appear that the offer of a free trip was made by means of a long-distance telephone call on or about 3 June 1965. See BUA, Guy St-Denis Papers (RG 77), Captain Michael H. T. Mellish Correspondence, Lee to Mellish, 4 June 1965; ibid., "Speech by Captain Mellish . . . ," [24 June 1965].

91 Ibid., "Speech by Captain Mellish . . . ," [24 June 1965]. At the end of his speech, Mellish, acting on behalf of Royal Trust, presented Edward E. Mitchelson, secretary treasurer of Brock University, with an album of photographs featuring Brock-related scenes of Guernsey and the Niagara Peninsula—in lieu of the war club.

92 Specifically, the sites visited by Mellish on 23 June 1962 included the following: At Niagara-on-the-Lake: St. Mark's Church; the Niagara Historical Society Museum; and Fort George. At Queenston: St. Saviour, the Brock Memorial Church; the obelisk (inaccurately) commemorating the site of Brock's death; and Brock's Monument on Queenston Heights. See *St. Catharines Standard*, 24 June 1965, p. 9, c. 1.

93 Ibid. The reporter was Tom Nevens of the *St. Catharines Standard*.

94 Ibid., c. 3.

95 Ibid.

96 BUA, Guy St-Denis Papers (RG 77), Captain Michael H. T. Mellish Correspondence, "Speech by Captain Mellish . . . ," [24 June 1965]. See also *St. Catharines Standard*, 26 June 1965, p. 9, c. 1.

97 Toronto-Dominion Bank, "This Is a Man," *Maclean's* 76, no. 6 (23 Mar. 1963): 31. *Maclean's* ran the same advertisement in May and September of 1964.

98 "The Story Behind the 'Ad,'" *Bank Notes* 21, no. 5 (Sept. 1963): 3. *Bank Notes* was the Toronto-Dominion Bank's employee newsletter.

99 "Story Behind the 'Ad,'" 3.

100 "Story Behind the 'Ad,'" 3. The photographer was Peter Croydon, one of Canada's leading commercial photographers at the time.

101 Toronto-Dominion Bank, "This Is a Man," 31.

102 "Story Behind the 'Ad,'" 3.

103 "Story Behind the 'Ad,'" 3.

104 It should be noted, however, that in June of 1969 an Ontario provincial plaque commemorating Brock's life was unveiled in Guernsey. While the event attracted considerable interest in Guernsey, it went largely unnoticed in Canada. For a detailed account of the ceremony, see *Guernsey Evening Press and Star* (St. Peter Port, Guernsey), 14 June 1969, p. 1, c. 5.

105 In mid-July of 1969, Gibson acknowledged that the idea of a stamp to commemorate the bicentenary of Brock's birth had originated with the Niagara Historical Society—although the evidence for such a claim appears to be lacking. See BUA, James A. Gibson Papers (UA 14), "Brock Celebrations," box 2, file 36, Gibson to McNulty, 14 July 1969. Gibson's other commemorative plans included a lecture series, the conferring of honorary degrees on the governor general of Canada and the bailiff of Guernsey, a plaque unveiling, and various entertainments. See *Brock Campus News* (Brock University, St. Catharines, ON), 14 Aug. 1969, pp. 2–3.

106 This someone other than Brock was Lieutenant George Dunn, 23rd Regiment of Foot (the Royal Welch Fusiliers). For an in-depth study of how Dunn came to be mistaken for Brock, see Guy St-Denis, *The True Face of Sir Isaac Brock* (University of Calgary Press, 2018).

107 *St. Catharines Standard*, 12 Sept. 1969, p. 13, c. 1.

108 Gibson made inquiries about the possibility of a stamp commemorating Brock in March of 1969. Requests for such a stamp had been made as early as 1960. See BUA, James A. Gibson Papers (UA 14), "Brock Celebrations," box 2, file 36, Lambert to Gibson, 13 Mar. 1969; Martha Catchpole, "Designing the 1969 Isaac Brock stamp," *BNA Topics* 67, no. 1 (Jan.–Mar. 2010): 8.

109 *Brock Campus News*, 9 Oct. 1969, p. 2.

110 *St. Catharines Standard*, 7 Oct. 1969, p. 9, c. 1.

111 BUA, Office of the President Papers (UA 11), James A. Gibson, "10 Year History of Brock [University]," box 3, file 28, p. 256. See also *Globe and Mail*, 7 Oct. 1969, p. 2, c. 5.

112 Phillip Buckner, ed., *Canada and the End of Empire* (University of British Columbia Press, 2005), 5.

113 Phillip Buckner, "The Long Goodbye: English Canadians and the British World," in *Rediscovering the British World*, ed. Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis (University of Calgary Press, 2005), 202; Lester B. Pearson, *Mike: The Memoirs of the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson*, ed. John A. Munro and Alex I. Inglis, 3 vols. (University of Toronto Press, 1975), 3:270.

114 Pearson, *Mike*, 3:270. But as Christian P. Champion points out, "Tory ministers were aware as early as 1957 that some action regarding 'a new flag' would be necessary 'before too long.'" See C[hristian] P. Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada: The Liberals and Canadian Nationalism, 1964–1968* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 178.

115 Buckner, "Long Goodbye," 202

116 In 1912, an estimated 1,500 people assembled at Brock's Monument. While there were only about 400 in 1962, some 10,000 tourists descended upon Niagara-on-the-Lake, where they partook of the various entertainments associated with the sesquicentenary of the Battle of Queenston Heights and Brock's death. See *Globe* (Toronto), 14 Oct. 1912, p. 1, c. 4; *St. Catharines Standard*, 15 Oct. 1962, p. 9, c. 1.

117 "Notes and Comments: The War of 1812," *Canadian Historical Review* 42, no. 4 (Dec. 1961): 370.

118 Lamb, "Sir Isaac Brock," 27.

119 A notable exception was Gerald M. Craig's *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784–1841*. Published as the premier volume in McClelland and Stewart's Canadian Centenary Series, a commemoration of the centennial of Canadian Confederation, Craig's contribution prominently featured Brock's role in the civil administration and military command of Upper Canada. See Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784–1841* (McClelland and Stewart, 1963), 68–74.

120 The heroes included Jacques Cartier, Samuel de Champlain, Louis-Joseph de Montcalm, James Wolfe, Tecumseh, and Brock. While Tecumseh's portrait was grouped with those of the British contingent, the celebrated war chief was actually their Shawnee ally. All of the portraits were painted by Canadian artist Tom McNeely. The prints were produced by the Rolph-Clark-Stone Company of Toronto.

121 *Globe and Mail*, 23 Feb. 1965, p. B1, c. 5.

122 Lamb, "Sir Isaac Brock," 26.

123 C[harles] P. Stacey, "The Defence of Upper Canada, 1812," in *The Defended Border: Upper Canada and the War of 1812*, ed. Morris Zaslow (Macmillan Company of Canada, 1964), 20. Stacey's suggestion of a military audience in this passage can be explained by its origin, having been excerpted from the booklet he edited as director of the Canadian Army's Historical Section. See C[harles] P. Stacey, ed., *Introduction to the Study of Military History for Canadian Students*, 5th ed., 2nd rev. (Queen's Printer, 1960), 73–4.

124 J. Mackay Hitsman, *The Incredible War of 1812: A Military History* (University of Toronto Press, 1965), vii. Hitsman's doctoral research was subsequently published. See J. Mackay Hitsman, *Safeguarding Canada, 1763–1871* (University of Toronto Press, 1968), viii.

125 J. Mackay Hitsman, "Sir George Prevost's Conduct of the Canadian War of 1812," *Report of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association* 41, no. 1 (1962): 34.

126 J. Mackay Hitsman, *The Incredible War of 1812: A Military History*, updated by Donald E. Graves (University of Toronto Press, 1965; repr. ed., Robin Brass Studio, 1999), xx.

127 As education historian Ken Osborne has written, a "steady stream of criticism throughout the 20th century suggested that Canadian history, at least as described in textbooks and taught in schools, was hopelessly boring." See Osborne, "Teaching History in Schools," 596.

128 *Globe and Mail*, *Globe Magazine*, 27 Nov. 1965, p. 21, c. 3.

129 Hitsman, *Incredible War of 1812*, repr. ed., xxiii.

130 Hitsman, xxiv.

131 Hitsman, xxii.

132 Hitsman, *Incredible War of 1812*, 1st ed., 16, 72.

133 Hitsman, 37–8.

134 Hitsman, 90. This view was reiterated in 1973, when Catherine Hitsman emphasized that Sheaffe was the real hero of the Battle of Queenston Heights. See *Globe and Mail*, 4 July 1973, p. 6, c. 3. What she failed to mention, however, was her late husband's view that "Sheaffe was no Brock." See Hitsman, *Incredible War of 1812*, 1st ed., 126.

135 A. M. J[ohn] Hyatt, "Defence of Upper Canada in 1812" (master's thesis, Carleton University, 1961), abstract.

136 Hyatt, 12.

137 Hitsman, *Incredible War of 1812*, 1st ed., vii, 256. Hitsman benefited from another master's thesis as well, that of Ira Maxwell Sutherland, whose groundbreaking work on Prevost's civil administration in Lower Canada was defended at Queen's University in 1959. See Ira Maxwell Sutherland, "The Civil Administration of Sir George Prevost, 1811–1815; a Study in Conciliation" (master's thesis, Queen's University, 1959).

138 Wesley B. Turner, "The Career of Isaac Brock in Canada, 1802–1812" (master's thesis, University of Toronto, 1961), 6.

139 Turner, 9.

140 Turner, 274–80, 292–6.

141 One of the leading Canadian historians who held Brock in unquestioningly high regard, while also promoting both the Militia Myth and Loyalist tradition, was J. M. S. (Maurice) Careless. See Morris Zaslow, ed., *The Defended Border: Upper Canada and the War of 1812* (Macmillan Company of Canada, 1964), 2; J[ames] M[aurice] S[tockford] Careless, *Canada: A Story of Challenge*, rev. ed. (Macmillan of Canada, 1963), 133.

142 Reginald Arthur Bowler, "Propaganda in Upper Canada: A Study of the Propaganda Directed at the People of Upper Canada During the War of 1812" (master's thesis, Queen's University, 1964); Keith Walden, "Isaac Brock: Man and Myth. A Study of the Militia Myth of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada, 1812–1912" (master's thesis, Queen's University, 1971).

143 Bowler, "Propaganda in Upper Canada," 37.

144 Bowler, 38.

145 Bowler, 39.

146 Bowler, 53. And when Brock died, "the vigorous campaign which had characterized most of 1812 faded to a mere shadow of its former self" (53).

147 Walden, "Isaac Brock:," ii.

148 Walden, ii–iii. Walden also touched upon the social engineering aspect of the Militia Myth, but without recognizing it as such. As he noted, it seemed likely "that the myth of the war [or the Militia Myth] became mainly a conservative symbol and was used to advantage by the Family Compact" (78).

149 M. G[wynne] Dyer, "Military History and War Studies in Canadian Universities," *Military Affairs* 33, no. 3 (Dec. 1969): 389.

150 Dyer, 389.

151 Dyer, 389.

152 Dyer, 390.

153 Dyer, 390.

154 Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing: 1900–1970* (Oxford University Press, 1976), 169.

155 Berger, 61.

156 Berger, 169.

157 Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing Since 1900*, 2nd ed. (University of Toronto Press, 1986), 271.

158 Berger, 271.

159 Berger, 270.

160 Berger, 219.

161 Berger, 219.

162 Adam Dollard des Ormeaux was the soldier/colonist who died defending New France from an Iroquois attack in 1660.

163 Berger, *Writing of Canadian History*, 2nd ed., 219. In 1782 and 1783, Carleton was commander-in-chief at New York City, where he delayed the evacuation of British troops until Loyalist refugees could be safely embarked for asylum elsewhere. Much of his subsequent admiration among Anglo-Canadians stemmed from this event.

164 Berger, 219–20.

165 Donald A. Wright, *The Professionalization of History in English Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 2005), 167.

166 Berger, *Writing of Canadian History*, 2nd ed., 220.

167 Berger, 220.

168 This was the observation of Arthur R. M. Lower, the prominent Canadian nationalistic economics history professor. See Donald Wright, *Donald Creighton: A Life in History* (University of Toronto Press, 2015), 113.

169 Dyer, "Military History and War Studies in Canadian Universities," 385.

170 As one amateur historian complained in 1938, "professional historians are apt to look down upon the efforts of those who have not got their equipment or their scientific knowledge." And the professionals had a motive for their condescending behaviour. Donald A. Wright concluded that professional historians "deliberately, consistently, and favourably drew boundaries between what they did and what amateur historians did, and in doing so, they raised their status and authority." See Wright, *Professionalization of History in English Canada*, 83, 172.

171 Alan Gordon, a Canadian historian of historiography and collective memory, makes a similar claim for Ernest A. Cruikshank, another amateur historian with a military bent. According to Gordon, the documents Cruikshank researched "led him to assert that British regulars, not the Upper Canadian militia, bore the brunt of Canada's defence." See Alan Gordon, "Marshalling Memory: A Historiographical Biography of Ernest Alexander Cruikshank," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 49, no. 3 (Fall 2015): 47.

172 William Wood, "War—the Neglected Factor in Canadian Problems for a Hundred Years," in *Addresses Delivered Before the Canadian Club of Toronto: Season of 1914–1915* (Warwick Brothers and Rutter, 1915), 114.

173 Wood, 115.

174 Wood, 115.

175 Wood, 117.

176 William Wood, ed., *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812*, 3 vols. (Champlain Society, 1920–8), 1:86.

177 Wood, 1:10.

178 C. [James] Taylor, *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Canada's National Historic Parks and Sites* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 39.

179 This was the finding of Alan Gordon. See Gordon, "Marshalling Memory," 32.

180 Gordon, 37.

181 Parks Canada, Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Minutes of Full Board Meetings, 21 May 1921, 8.

182 According to a letter from James B. Harkin, commissioner of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board, Coyne and Cruikshank inspected the various sites along the route of Brock's expedition in August of 1921. See LAC, Parks Canada, Central Registry Series (RG 84, A-2-a), vol. 1345, file HS9-12-4, pt. 1, [Harkin] to Sulte, 21 Dec. 1921, 858.

183 Ibid., Cruikshank to Harkin, 3 Jan. 1922, 855–7. Plaques were proposed for Port Dover, Port Stanley, Port Talbot, Brock's Creek (Aldborough Township near Eagle), Brock's Tree (Rondeau Park), Point Pelee, and Sandwich (Windsor). The plaques commemorating Brock's Creek and Brock's Tree were subsequently deferred, although local initiative resulted in an unofficial tablet at the Brock's Creek site.

184 As Coyne observed in 1924, "It has been found, that the memorials erected throughout the dominion have had the effect of attracting tourists and others to the places marked, and thus benefitting the community in a business way, as well as preserving the memory of historical events of national importance." See ibid., vol. 1346, file HS9-12-5, pt. 1, Coyne to McNab, 8 Oct. 1924, 16.

185 Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, 47.

186 As the deputy minister of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development explained, it was "the obligation of the historian and the archaeologist to make known the results of their work and it is to discharge this obligation that the present series of occasional papers has been inaugurated." See J[ohn] A. MacDonald, "Foreword," *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History* 1 (1970): 8.

187 For the report, see Carol Whitfield, "The Battle of Queenston Heights," *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History* 11 (1974).

188 Whitfield described the course as a "seminar class—where each week one of the students had to make a presentation on a research paper they had written. As I recall the papers covered military history from earliest times to the mid 20th century." See email, Carol Whitfield to St-Denis, 4 Apr. 2022.

189 It was Whitfield's belief that she secured the research contract with the National Historic Sites Service by having taken Hyatt's military history course. See email, Carol Whitfield to St-Denis, 4 Apr. 2022.

190 Whitfield's research on the Battle of Queenston Heights was done in preparation for new exhibits at Fort George and interpretative signage in Queenston and elsewhere. See email, Carol Whitfield to St-Denis, 4 Apr. 2022.

191 Whitfield described the challenge of her assignment in the following terms: "'The Hero of Upper Canada' has so seldom been looked at through eyes which were not misted with nationalistic tears that an accurate judgment of his career is difficult to ascertain. This report is an attempt to examine his faults as well as his genius." See Whitfield, "Battle of Queenston Heights," 19.

192 Whitfield, 30.

193 *Winnipeg Free Press*, 29 Jan. 1972, p. 3, c. 3. Brock's coatee was transferred to the Canadian War Museum in 1967.

194 *St. Catharines Standard*, 29 June 1973, p. 44, c. 4.

195 *Globe and Mail*, 29 June 1973, p. 1, c. 1.

196 Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, 132.

197 Canada, Privy Council, *Report: Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, 1949–1951* (Edmond Cloutier, 1951), xvii.

198 *Globe and Mail*, 10 May 1969, p. 10, c. 1.

199 *Globe and Mail*, *Globe Magazine*, 28 July 1962, p. 3, cc. 1–3.

200 *Niagara Falls (NY) Gazette*, 9 Jan. 1972, p. 3-C, c. 2.

201 Ibid.

202 Ibid.

203 Parks Canada, "Media Plan for Brock's Monument and Queenston Heights" (draft), Jan. 1984, 8. Five problems were enumerated: the walking tour was too long and strenuous; the plaques produced glare and were difficult to read; the accompanying artwork was too abstract and modern for the nature of the site; there was no obvious trail to follow and some modules were difficult to locate; and there was at least one case of contradictory information between the walking tour plaques and those found elsewhere on the site.

204 Each of the five new plaques included a bilingual text, a map showing the visitor's location on the walking tour, and a panoramic view of the Battle of Queenston Heights. Numbered according to the tour, this synoptic narrative (based on a drawing by Major James Dennis) was intended as a visual aid in conceptualizing the battle's various stages. Suzanne Plousos, formerly an archaeologist and material culture researcher with Parks Canada, offered the following observation in 2015 regarding the Redan Battery stop on the tour: "In 1975, Parks Canada proposed an upgrade to replace the then-current abstract marker with a more historically accurate one [meaning a design more in keeping with the historical nature of the site]. With consent of the Niagara Parks Commission, which owned the property, Parks [Canada] conducted research on the position and acquired an 18-pounder cannon for [the] Redan Battery." See Suzanne Plousos, "Redan Battery and the Battle of Queenston Heights," *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 44 (2015): 67. The replacement plans included all the modules of the earlier walking tour, with the exception of four that were eliminated.

205 *Globe and Mail*, 17 July 1976, p. 38, c. 3. Kritzwiser's interest in Alfred the horse coincided with plans for a monument in Queenston to Brock's trusty steed, which came to fruition with a statue by the equestrian sculptor Ralph Sketch.

206 Patricia E. Roy, "The National Perspective: Survey Texts of Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review* 57, no. 2 (June 1976): 180.

207 [Ilario Larry] Martinello, *Call Us Canadians* (McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), preface. Martinello's documentary approach to history was not quite the "new kind of history text" he trumpeted in his preface. A similar document-laden textbook preceded *Call Us Canadians* by the better part of a decade. See H[arvey] H. Herstein, L[aurie] J. Hughes, and R[onald] C. Kirbyson, *Challenge and Survival: The History of Canada* (Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1970).

208 A[lexander] B[rian] McKillop, ed., *Contexts of Canada's Past: Selected Essays of W. L. Morton* (Macmillan Company of Canada, 1980), 257.

209 Osborne, "Teaching History in Schools," 598.

210 For an example, see Desmond Morton's *The Canadian General Sir William Otter* (A. M. Hakkert, 1974), and Reginald H. Roy's *For Most Conspicuous Bravery: A Biography of Major-General George R. Pearkes, V.C., Through Two World Wars* (University of British Columbia Press, 1977). While both Otter and Pearkes were prominent military figures in their respective times, they were far from household names by the 1970s.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1 A[lexander] B[rian] McKillop, *Pierre Berton: A Biography* (McClelland and Stewart, 2008), 555. For McClelland's attitude toward the project, see the same source at 556–7.

2 McKillop, 555.

3 McKillop, 554.

4 While Berton hoped his book would be a contribution to military history, he thought of it mainly as a story about the beginning of Canada's national identity. See McKillop, 555.

5 McKillop, 554.

6 *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 12 May 1980, p. 17, c. 5. Counting royalties, book club and paperback sales, television and film rights, translations, serialization and anthology fees, Berton stood to make close to $300,000 per volume. See McKillop, *Pierre Berton*, 570.

7 McKillop, *Pierre Berton*, 558.

8 *Globe and Mail*, 6 Sept. 1980, p. D14, c. 6. As French revealed, Berton "uses an episodic construction, with dramatic little set-pieces keeping the action going. The battle scenes are particularly graphic, and we see them almost as the participants must have experienced them." Moreover, he "displays ability to draw compelling character sketches of both major and minor figures, with little details that humanize them." See ibid., c. 5.

9 Ibid., c. 5.

10 Pierre Berton, *The Joy of Writing: A Guide for Writers, Disguised as a Literary Memoir* (Doubleday Canada), 170.

11 McKillop, *Pierre Berton*, 557–8.

12 McKillop, 558.

13 Pierre Berton, *The Invasion of Canada, 1812–1813* (McClelland and Stewart, 1980), 254.

14 According to Berton's description, the British military commander in Upper Canada was "that impulsive but consummate professional, Major-General Isaac Brock." See Berton, *The Invasion of Canada*, 100.

15 Berton, 250.

16 Berton, 253.

17 Berton, 253.

18 Berton, 29.

19 Berton, 313.

20 Berton, 314.

21 Berton, 254.

22 Berton, 254.

23 C[harles] P. Stacey, "Brock's Muniments," review of *The Invasion of Canada, 1812–1813*, by Pierre Berton, in *Books in Canada* 9 (Aug.–Sept. 1980): 7.

24 Stacey, 7–8. The author came to the same conclusion as Berton. See Guy St-Denis, "A Final Utterance: The Last Words of Sir Isaac Brock," *Ontario History* 110, no. 1 (Spring 2018): 3.

25 Stacey, "Brock's Muniments," 8. If the research Berton used lacked rigour, it was only because he paid someone else to conduct it (namely, Barbara Sears). As for the letter Berton supposedly missed, it was actually an extract penned by Archibald McLean, a lieutenant in the 3rd Regiment of the York Militia. As he wrote to an unidentified correspondent from Brown's Point near Queenston on 15 October 1812: "Gen. Brock, to whom no language is capable of giving the merited praise, fell in the beginning of the action, having received a shot in his breast. The York volunteers to whom he was particularly partial, have the honor of claiming his last words, immediately before he received his death wound he cried out, to some person near him to push on the York volunteers, which were the last words he uttered." See *Quebec Mercury*, 27 Oct. 1812, p. 342, c. 2. Although a contemporary source, McLean's description is second-hand and not credible on this point. Furthermore, as a York Volunteer himself, McLean might have been too willing to accept that Brock's last words referenced his militia comrades.

26 Keith Walden, review of *The Invasion of Canada, 1812–1813*, by Pierre Berton, in *Canadian Historical Review* 62, no. 3 (Sept. 1981): 332.

27 Walden, 332.

28 Walden, 332.

29 Walden, 332–3.

30 Walden, 333.

31 Walden, 332.

32 McKillop, *Pierre Berton*, 561–2.

33 McKillop, 561.

34 McKillop, 562.

35 C[harles] P. Stacey, "Soldiering On," review of *Flames Across the Border: The Canadian-American Tragedy, 1813–1814*, by Pierre Berton, in *Saturday Night* 96 (Oct. 1981): 59.

36 C[harles] P. Stacey, "Brock, Sir Isaac," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 5:115.

37 George F. G. Stanley, *The War of 1812: Land Operations* (Macmillan of Canada, 1983), xviii.

38 *Globe and Mail*, 30 June 1984, p. E17, c. 1.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid. Martin apparently did not consider conflicts predating the War of 1812 as being sufficiently Canadian.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., 6. Curiously, while Martin questioned the publication of ever more books on the War of 1812, he also pointed out the need for a history of the same conflict encompassing "every campaign by land and sea, readable prose and adult analysis—all in a single volume." See ibid.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid., 13 Oct. 1984, p. T5, c. 1. Brock was killed in a field adjacent to Queenston, and not on the slopes below the heights. See Guy St-Denis, "Not Oblique Enough: The Fall of Sir Isaac Brock," *Canadian Army Journal* 18, no. 2 (2020): 115–39.

47 Stanley, *War of 1812*, 403.

48 Stanley, 128–9.

49 Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada* (Hurtig Publishers, 1985), 54–6, 58–9.

50 George F. G. Stanley, *Canada's Soldiers, 1604–1954: The Military History of an Unmilitary People* (Macmillan Company of Canada, 1954).

51 C[harles] P. Stacey, ed., *Introduction to the Study of Military History for Canadian Students*, 5th ed., 2nd rev. (Queen's Printer, 1960), iii.

52 Stacey, 73.

53 Stacey, "Brock, Sir Isaac," 5:114.

54 Stacey, 114.

55 Stacey, 114.

56 Stacey, 114.

57 Stacey, 114.

58 D[onald] J. Goodspeed, "General Sir Isaac Brock—Authentic Canadian Hero," *Niagara Advance Historical Issue* (Spring, 1980): 2. This issue was devoted to the military history of the Niagara Peninsula.

59 Goodspeed, 2.

60 Goodspeed, 2.

61 Goodspeed, 2.

62 The three battles were Egmont-op-Zee, 1799; Detroit, 1812; and Queenston Heights, 1812. Although Brock was also at the Battle of Copenhagen in 1801, his participation was limited to that of an observer.

63 Goodspeed, "General Sir Isaac Brock," 3.

64 Goodspeed, 3.

65 Goodspeed, 3.

66 In 1982, for example, Turner published a textbook on the War of 1812, from which he later derived a compact history for a general readership. See Wesley B. Turner, *The War of 1812: The War for Canada* (Grolier, 1982); Wesley B. Turner, *The War of 1812: The War that Both Sides Won* (Dundurn Press, 1990).

67 Wesley B. Turner, *British Generals in the War of 1812: High Command in the Canadas* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), xi. As Turner informed the author, "I have never considered myself a military historian. My interests in history are numerous and varied." See email, Wesley B. Turner to St-Denis, 27 Feb. 2022.

68 Turner, *British Generals in the War of 1812*, xii

69 Besides Prevost and Brock, the other senior officers were Roger Hale Sheaffe, Francis de Rottenburg, and Gordon Drummond.

70 Turner, *British Generals in the War of 1812*, 79.

71 Turner, 77–8.

72 Turner, 153.

73 Turner, 82–3.

74 Turner, 90.

75 Malcomson's book was preceded by several earlier works he published on the Battle of Queenston Heights, as well as Brock's death and burial, including "Upper Canada Preserved," *Beaver* 73, no. 1 (Feb.–Mar. 1993): 4–15; *The Battle of Queenston Heights* (Friends of Fort George, 1995); *Burying General Brock: A History of Brock's Monuments* (Friends of Fort George, 1996); "They Blew Up Brock's Monument," *Beaver* 78, no. 6 (Dec. 1998–Jan. 1999): 39–43; "'It Remains Only to Fight': The Battle of Queenston Heights, 13 October 1812," in *Fighting for Canada: Seven Battles, 1758–1945*, ed. Donald E. Graves (Robin Brass Studio, 2000), 90–130. Malcomson was also intensely interested in the history of the War of 1812 on the Great Lakes.

76 Robert Malcomson, *A Very Brilliant Affair: The Battle of Queenston Heights, 1812* (Robin Brass Studio, 2003), xii.

77 Malcomson, xiii.

78 Malcomson, xiv.

79 Malcomson, 143.

80 Malcomson, 152.

81 Malcomson, 213.

82 Malcomson, 178.

83 Robert Malcomson, "Clubbed Victory at Queenston Heights," *MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History* 19, no. 3 (Spring 2007): 64.

84 Malcomson, 64.

85 Malcomson, 67.

86 For the reference to "botched," see Malcomson, "Clubbed Victory at Queenston Heights," 66. For the quote, see Malcomson, *Very Brilliant Affair*, 183.

87 Malcomson, *Very Brilliant Affair*, 183.

88 [Steven] Nolan, review of *A Very Brilliant Affair: The Battle of Queenston Heights, 1812*, by Robert Malcomson, in *Canadian Army Journal* 7, nos. 3–4 (Fall–Winter 2004): 129. At the time, Nolan was associate editor of the *Canadian Army Journal*.

89 Nolan, 129.

90 Nolan, 129.

91 Nolan, 130.

92 A perfect example of this *de rigueur* gesture toward multiculturalism can be found in a recent curriculum guide for grade 7 students in Ontario, wherein Brock is given equal status with lesser-known but diverse and inclusive figures. Although perhaps well-intentioned, the inclusion of Grace Marks—a murderess from Canada West of the early 1840s—was a dubious choice. See Ontario, Ministry of Education, *The Ontario Curriculum: Social Studies, Grades 1–6; History and Geography, Grades 7 and 8*, rev. ed. (Queen's Printer for Ontario, 2018), 154.

93 Notable among these children's books were Ven Begamudré's *Isaac Brock: Larger than Life* (2000); Mary Beacock Fryer's *Bold, Brave, and Born to Lead: Major General Isaac Brock and the Canadas* (2004); and Cheryl MacDonald's *Isaac Brock: Canada's Hero in the War of 1812* (2012).

94 As Riley admitted, "I loved that book and because of it I became one of only a handful of British officers who even knew Brock's name, so much was it eclipsed by events in the Peninsular War at the same time." See Jonathon Riley, *A Matter of Honour: The Life, Campaigns and Generalship of Isaac Brock* (Robin Brass Studio, 2011), xi.

95 Riley, vii; *London Gazette*, 4 Aug. 2009, suppl. 1, p. 13373.

96 Riley, *Matter of Honour*, xi.

97 Riley, xii.

98 Riley, vii.

99 Riley, viii.

100 Riley, xii.

101 Riley, xii.

102 Riley, 271.

103 Riley, xi.

104 Riley, xii.

105 Riley, xii, 34.

106 Wesley B. Turner, "Isaac Brock: Remembering and Mis-Remembering a Canadian Hero," review of *A Matter of Honour: The Life, Campaigns and Generalship of Isaac Brock*, by Jonathon Riley, in *Journal of the War of 1812* 15, no. 1 (Summer 2012): 116.

107 Turner, 116.

108 Wesley B. Turner, *The Astonishing General: The Life and Legacy of Sir Isaac Brock* (Dundurn Press, 2011).

109 Turner, 9.

110 Turner, 240.

111 Turner, 236.

112 Phillip Buckner, review of *A Matter of Honour: The Life, Campaigns and Generalship of Isaac Brock*, by Jonathon Riley, and *The Astonishing General: The Life and Legacy of Sir Isaac Brock*, by Wesley B. Turner, in *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 25, no. 2 (2012): 288.

113 Buckner, 288.

114 John R. [Tanya] Grodzinski, review of *A Matter of Honour: The Life, Campaigns and Generalship of Isaac Brock*, by Jonathon Riley, and *The Astonishing General: The Life and Legacy of Sir Isaac Brock*, by Wesley B. Turner, in *Canadian Military Journal* 12, no. 2 (Spring 2012): 86.

115 Grodzinski, 86.

116 Grodzinski, 85–6.

117 Roger Hall, review of *Tecumseh and Brock: The War of 1812*, by James Laxer, in *Globe and Mail*, 23 June 2012, p. R18, c. 1. For Laxer's book, see James Laxer, *Tecumseh and Brock: The War of 1812* (House of Anansi Press, 2012).

118 John R. [Tanya] Grodzinski, review of *Tecumseh and Brock: The War of 1812*, by James Laxer, in *Ontario History* 105, no. 2 (Autumn 2013): 233.

119 Grodzinski, 234.

120 John R. [Tanya] Grodzinski, *Defender of Canada: Sir George Prevost and the War of 1812* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), xv.

121 Grodzinski, 241.

122 J. Mackay Hitsman, "Sir George Prevost's Conduct of the Canadian War of 1812," *Report of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association* 41, no. 1 (1962): 34. Hitsman, of course, was influenced by the graduate work of Jack Hyatt and Ira Maxwell Sutherland.

123 Grodzinski, *Defender of Canada*, 79.

124 For "turn the tables," see Grodzinski, Defender of Canada, 79; for "any written order or instruction," see the same source at 6. See also [Veritas, pseud.], *The Letters of Veritas, Re-Published from the Montreal Herald* (Montreal, 1815), 17. Although Veritas was eventually identified as the Montreal merchant John Richardson, it is by no means a certainty. See Henry Scadding, "Some Canadian Noms-De-Plume Identified," *Canadian Journal of Science, Literature, and History* 15, no. 2 (July 1876): 338; F. Murray Greenwood, "Richardson, John," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 6:643–4.

125 John R. [Tanya] Grodzinski, "'They Really Conducted Themselves Remarkably Well': Canadian Soldiers and the Great War, 1783–1815," in *The Canadian Way of War: Serving the National Interest*, ed. Bernd Horn (Dundurn Press, 2006), 71.

126 Grodzinski, *Defender of Canada*, 76.

127 Grodzinski, 76.

128 Grodzinski, 76.

129 Grodzinski, 76.

130 Grodzinski, 76. Prevost penned his advice to Brock on 31 March 1812.

131 Grodzinski, 79.

132 Grodzinski, 87.

133 Grodzinski, 87.

134 Grodzinski, 237–8.

135 Jack Hyatt recognized that "Brock was wholely [*sic*] responsible for the decision to attack Detroit," and this as long ago as 1961. See A. M. J[ohn] Hyatt, "Defence of Upper Canada in 1812" (master's thesis, Carleton University, 1961), 114.

136 Grodzinski, *Defender of Canada*, 92.

137 Grodzinski, 92.

138 Riley, *Matter of Honour*, 302.

139 Riley, 302.

140 Michael Glover, *Wellington as Military Commander* (B. T. Batsford, 1968), 210.

141 Ferdinand Brock Tupper, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.*, 2nd ed. (London, 1847), 281.

142 [John] Gurwood, *The Dispatches of Field Marshall the Duke of Wellington . . . from 1799–1818*, new ed., 8 vols. (London, 1838), 7:560–1.

143 Arthur Richard Wellesley, 2nd Duke of Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington, K.G.*, 15 vols. (London, 1860), 7:442. The Spanish general in question, who happened to be of Irish extraction, was Joseph O'Donnell. At the Battle of Castalla, which was fought in Spain during the Peninsular Campaign (21 July 1812), O'Donell ignored Wellington's advice to conduct a holding operation against the French and suffered the consequences of a poorly conducted offensive.

144 Wellesley, 442. Bathurst's letter was written a week prior to Brock's death, although the news of it brought no sudden disenchantment with the dead British general.

145 *Globe and Mail*, 1 July 1999, p. A5, c. 2.

146 "Angus Reid Group Discovers 86% of Canadians Think Too Little Done to Honour Heroes," Ipsos, 30 June 1999, https://www.ipsos.com/en-ca/angus-reid-group-discovers-86-canadians-think-too-little-done-honour-heroes.

147 This survey, dating to May of 1999, was also conducted on behalf of the Dominion Institute and the Council for Canadian Unity. See Ipsos, "Angus Reid Group Discovers."

148 Ipsos, "Angus Reid Group Discovers."

149 J[ack] L. Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?* (A Phyllis Bruce Book; HarperCollins, 1998), 58–9.

150 These more germane historical figures came to include a healthy mix of men and women of varying backgrounds. See, for example, Ontario, Ministry of Education, *Ontario Curriculum* (2018), 154.

151 McKillop, *Pierre Berton*, 613.

152 McKillop, 613.

153 Pierre Berton, *The Death of Isaac Brock* (McClelland and Stewart, 1991), back cover.

154 *Globe and Mail*, 22 Aug. 1992, p. C15, c. 1.

155 Ibid.

156 Ibid., cc. 2–3.

157 Ibid., c. 3.

158 Ibid., cc. 3–4. MacCallum referred to Bliss's *Confederation: A New Nationality*, published by Grolier of Toronto in 1981.

159 Berton, *Death of Isaac Brock*, 5.

160 *Globe and Mail*, 28 Nov. 1992, p. E7, c. 3.

161 *Toronto Star*, 12 Dec. 1992, p. H18, c. 4.

162 They included Sydney F. Wise of Carleton University, Wesley B. Turner of Brock University, and Paul G. Cornell of the University of Waterloo. See John Ibbitson, *1812: Jeremy and the General* (Maxwell Macmillan Canada, 1991), 174.

163 Ven Begamudré, *Isaac Brock: Larger than Life* (XYZ Publishing, 2000), ii.

164 Begamudré, xi.

165 Begamudré, xi.

166 Mary Beacock Fryer, *Bold, Brave, and Born to Lead: Major General Isaac Brock and the Canadas* (A Boardwalk Book; Dundurn Press, 2004).

167 Fryer, 14.

168 Fryer, 14.

169 Fryer, 13.

170 Fryer, 222.

171 Fryer, 222.

172 Fryer, 13.

173 Ian Stewart, review of *Bold, Brave, and Born to Lead: Major General Isaac Brock and the Canadas*, by Mary Beacock Fryer, in *CM: Canadian Review of Materials* 10, no. 21 (2004), https://www.cmreviews.ca/outreach/cm/vol10/no21/boldbraveandborntolead.html.

174 Cheryl MacDonald, *Isaac Brock: Canada's Hero in the War of 1812* (James Lorimer and Company, 2012), 120.

175 MacDonald, 120.

176 MacDonald, 120.

177 This despite the fact that Brock was not technically a Canadian. See *Globe and Mail*, 18 Oct. 2004, p. A7, c. 5.

178 Ibid., 15 May 2004, p. R13, cc. 2–3.

179 Ibid., c. 2.

180 Ibid., 16 Oct. 2004, p. R6, c. 3. More to the point, the show was designed to attract viewers and boost ratings.

181 Ibid., c. 4.

182 Ibid.

183 Berton's brusque comment was aired on the CBC's premier broadcast of *The Greatest Canadian* series, 17 October 2004.

184 *Globe and Mail*, 30 Nov. 2004, p. A8, cc. 1–4. Blatchford viewed the contest as "arguably rigged by the NDP's campaign for the ultimate winner, Mr. Douglas, and the whole shebang reeking from top to bottom of nothing but artifice and fakery." See ibid., 4 Dec. 2004, p. A29, c. 5.

185 Curiously, while Brock received a minute's worth of airtime on *The Greatest Canadian*, he has never been the subject of a Heritage Minute—one of the sixty-second short films produced by Historica Canada, a charitable organization dedicated to raising an awareness of Canadian history. While a segment on the Battle of Queenston Heights was filmed in 2013, it highlighted the participation of Mohawk chief John Norton and his warriors.

186 Monica MacDonald, *Recasting History: How CBC Television Has Shaped Canada's Past* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 57.

187 MacDonald, 11.

188 MacDonald, 57.

189 MacDonald, 51.

190 MacDonald, 57.

191 MacDonald, 62.

192 MacDonald, 62.

193 MacDonald, 62.

194 MacDonald, 63. Stacey used a similar statement in a paper he presented before the Ontario Historical Society in June of 1958. See C[harles] P. Stacey, "The War of 1812 in Canadian History," *Ontario History* 50, no. 3 (Summer 1958): 156.

195 MacDonald, *Recasting History*, 63.

196 MacDonald, 10–11.

197 MacDonald, 4, 11.

198 MacDonald, 3.

199 Arthur R. M. Lower, *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada* (Longman's Canada, 1964), 182. This title was first published in 1946.

200 For the National Film Board documentary, see Ronald Dick, dir., *Struggle for a Border: Canada's Relations with the United States*, 9 pts. (National Film Board, 1967), pt. 3, *The War of 1812: Causes and Consequences, 1783–1818*. In 1988, TVOntario aired the multi-part series, *Origins: A History of Canada*. One episode featured the War of 1812, and as was the case with Dick's *Struggle for a Border*, Brock was treated in a favourable—if cursory—fashion. See David Stansfield and Denise Boiteau, dirs., *Origins: A History of Canada*, 16 pts. (TVOntario, 1986), pt. 13, *Struggle for Survival*.

201 MacDonald, *Recasting History*, 123.

202 *Globe and Mail*, 5 Apr. 1999, p. C2, c. 6.

203 Ibid., *Broadcast Week*, 3 Apr. 1999, p. 19, c. 1. Brian and Terence McKenna co-wrote the script.

204 For a detailed look into this journalistic mindset, the reader would do well to consult Monica MacDonald's investigation into the fiasco surrounding *The Valour and the Horror*. See MacDonald, *Recasting History*, 125–59.

205 MacDonald, 155.

206 MacDonald, 155.

207 While the McKennas made good use of the expertise of Canadian military historian Donald E. Graves, it was limited to behind-the-scenes consultation.

208 Wesley B. Turner, another equally qualified historian, gave the following assessment: "Hyatt, the most vigorous supporter of Sir George, praises his defensive strategy, claims that he was a brave man who would choose to fight when the time was right, and sees his failure at Plattsburgh as arising from tactical errors rather than strategic misjudgment or cowardice." See Turner, *British Generals in the War of 1812*, 24.

209 Some readers might assume that John R. Grodzinski would have been another good choice; however, his efforts to rehabilitate Prevost's reputation only began several years after the McKennas had completed their project. Charles P. Stacey was also an advocate for Prevost, but one who died in 1989—well before the McKenna brothers began work on *The War of 1812*.

210 *Globe and Mail*, *Broadcast Week*, 3 Apr. 1999, p. 19, c. 2.

211 Brian McKenna was especially pleased with Anne Prevost's emotional reaction to the War of 1812, and how "you get a real sense of what real people were going through during this war." See ibid.

212 *Globe and Mail*, 5 Apr. 1999, p. C2, c. 6.

213 Victor Suthren, *The War of 1812* (McClelland and Stewart, 1999), 259.

214 Suthren, 259.

215 Roger Hall, review of *The War of 1812*, by Victor Suthren, in *Globe and Mail*, 22 Jan. 2000, p. D12, c. 3.

216 Ibid., *Broadcast Week*, 3 Apr. 1999, p. 4, c. 2.

217 MacDonald, *Recasting History*, 14.

218 According to Monica MacDonald, the project undertaken at CBC was intended as a patriotic counter to the divisive effects of the 1995 referendum on Quebec sovereignty and the docudrama under contemplation was expected to boost morale by injecting the Canadian psyche with a sense of national pride. See MacDonald, *Recasting History*, 160.

219 Along with the docudrama, there was also a two-volume companion book in both official languages, an extensive website, and other educational resources as well. See MacDonald, 173.

220 MacDonald, 182. The historians were David J. Bercuson, Jack L. Granatstein, and Jonathan F. Vance.

221 Monica MacDonald found that outlines from Ramsay Cook and Jean-Claude Robert were considered valuable as general guides in deciding content choices, but neither was adopted "in detail." See MacDonald, *Recasting History*, 167.

222 MacDonald, 167.

223 *Globe and Mail*, 20 Oct. 2000, p. R2, c. 4.

224 Ibid., 15 Nov. 2000, p. A15, c. 1.

225 Ibid., 4 Jan. 2001, p. R2, cc. 1–2.

226 Ibid., c. 2.

227 Susan Teskey, dir., *The War of 1812: Been There, Won That* (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2012), 00:37.

228 Teskey, 00:28.

229 *Globe and Mail*, 1 Oct. 2012, p. L3, c. 3; ibid., 4 Oct. 2012, p. L3, c. 5.

230 Teskey, *War of 1812*, 32:53.

231 Teskey, 32:13.

232 Teskey, 32:10.

233 Teskey, 02:15. There was considerable tension between the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the Harper government, which reacted to a perceived left-wing bias at the CBC by reducing its funding to the amount of $115 million over three years. See *Globe and Mail*, 17 Sept. 2012, p. L4, cc. 3–4.

234 *Toronto Star*, 12 Oct. 2011, p. A5, c. 1; *Globe and Mail*, 12 Oct. 2011, p. A4, c. 1.

235 *Globe and Mail*, 29 Sept. 2011, p. A4, c. 5.

236 Ibid., 6 Oct. 2011, p. A4, c. 5.

237 Ibid.

238 Ibid.

239 Ibid.

240 Ibid., 20 Aug. 2011, p. A3, c. 1.

241 Canada was and remains a constitutional monarchy, a parliamentary democracy, and a federal state.

242 To McKay and Swift, "Harper and his new warrior supporters among historians, journalists, and sundry militarists are attempting to establish war as the pith and essence of Canadian history." See Jamie Swift and Ian McKay, "False Memories of the War of 1812 or Glorifying War . . . Then and Now," *Peace Magazine* 29, no. 1 (Jan.–Mar. 2013): 16–17. For an expanded discussion from the McKay and Swift point of view, see Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, *Warrior Nation: Rebranding Canada in an Age of Anxiety* (Between the Lines, 2012); Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, *The Vimy Trap: Or, How We Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Great War* (Between the Lines, 2016).

243 *Globe and Mail*, 4 May 2012, p. A13, cc. 1–2.

244 Ibid., 12 June 2012, p. A19, c. 4. Granatstein was convinced that the poor treatment of Library and Archives Canada would "hurt research and scholarship now and forever." See ibid.

245 Ibid.

246 Ibid., 9 May 2013, p. A26, c. 1.

247 Ibid., 13 Aug. 2012, p. A11, c. 1.

248 Ibid., cc. 3–4.

249 Ibid., 10 Mar. 2012, p. F6, c. 2.

250 *Times* (London), 9 May 1934, p. 9, c. 4.

251 *Globe and Mail*, 11 Oct. 2011, p. A4, c. 2.

252 *Lockport (NY) Union-Sun and Journal*, 15 Oct. 1962, p. 9, c. 5. As Miller commented, "Gen. Sir Isaac Brock was to Canada [what] Gen. George Washington was to the United States." See ibid. Miller was a Republican representative from New York State.

253 Royal Canadian Mint, "War of 1812 Hero Major-General Sir Isaac Brock Commemorated on Royal Canadian Mint 25-Cent Circulation Coin," Canada Newswire, 12 Oct. 2012, https://www.newswire.ca/news-releases/war-of-1812-hero-major-general-sir-isaac-brock-commemorated-on-royal-canadian-mint-25-cent-circulation-coin-510929251.html.

254 Royal Canadian Mint, "War of 1812 Hero."

255 Royal Canadian Mint, "War of 1812 Hero." The Loyalist tradition was no longer sufficiently relevant to warrant mention, and as Canadian historian James P. Carley remarked thirty years earlier, "In our own time the Loyalist tradition seems to have fragmented." See *Globe and Mail*, 3 Apr. 1982, p. E17, c. 2.

256 There was also a selection of other collectible War of 1812–themed coins, in both silver and gold. Canada Post likewise marked the bicentenary with a series of commemorative stamps honouring Brock, Tecumseh, Secord, and de Salaberry.

257 C[hristian] P. Champion, "1812 and the Fathers of Confederation," *Dorchester Review* 3, no. 1 (Spring–Summer 2013): 4.

258 *Globe and Mail*, 10 Mar. 2012, F6, c. 1. The early form of nationalism envisioned by Grodzinski ran counter to that of another War of 1812 scholar. To George Sheppard, the "war eventually contributed to the 'knitting together' of Canadians, but that did not occur until the 1840s when the detrimental aspects of the conflict were less apparent." While the point is debatable, Sheppard's time frame seems to emphasize divisive factors in Upper Canadian society as indicators of a delayed nationalism. See George Sheppard, *Plunder, Profit, and Paroles: A Social History of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 9.

259 *Globe and Mail*, 21 Feb. 2013, A4, c. 4.

260 Ibid., c. 5.

261 Ibid., 1 Feb. 2013, p. A12, c. 1.

262 Email, Robert Malcomson to St-Denis, 15 July 2007; *Globe and Mail*, 11 July 2007, p. A3, c. 1.

263 *Globe and Mail*, 11 July 2007, p. A3, c. 1.

264 Ibid.

265 Ibid., c. 3.

266 Ibid.

267 Ibid. The budget for conserving heritage resources was reduced from $215.6 million in 2006–7 to $199.1 million in 2007–8, a reduction of 8 per cent. See ibid.

268 Ibid.

269 Ibid. The journalist who reported on efforts to have Brock's Monument restored was James Adams, formerly the *Globe and Mail*'s national arts correspondent.

270 Ibid.

271 According to Chris Zoetewey of Parks Canada, the restoration of Brock's Monument began in June of 2008. Unfortunately for Malcomson, he died soon after Brock's Monument reopened, having succumbed to a long battle with brain cancer on 21 July 2009.

272 *Globe and Mail*, 6 Nov. 2006, p. A4, cc. 1–4.

273 *General Brock Parkway Act*, SO 2006.

274 *Major-General Sir Isaac Brock Day Act*, SO 2012, c. 2.

275 The bicentenary commemoration on Queenston Heights was organized by Parks Canada, the Niagara Parks Commission, the cross-border Niagara 1812 Legacy Council, the Niagara-on-the-Lake 1812 Bicentennial Committee, and various other community partners.

276 Adam Shoalts, "A Report on the Battle of Queenston Heights, War of 1812 Re-Enactment, Queenston, Ontario, October 13, 1812," National Council on Public History, 23 April 2013, https://ncph.org/phc/prototype-library/queenston-heights-bicentennial-battle-re-enactment/.

277 Shoalts.

278 Shoalts.

279 Stephen Sheaffe, a Brisbane barrister, was accompanied by his cousin Paul Sheaffe on a lecture tour of southwestern Ontario to raise awareness of their ancestor's wartime services. During their sojourn, they donated several heirlooms to the province.

280 *Standard* (St. Catharines, ON), 10 Oct. 2012, p. A2, c. 1. The plaque in Sheaffe's honour was erected by the Ontario Archaeological and Historic Sites Board in 1959. It might have served Stephen Sheaffe's purpose in promoting his ancestor, had he known that a Niagara Falls, Ontario, lawyer and member of the Niagara Historical Society, Brian Doherty, participated in the plaque unveiling and created quite a stir by insinuating that Brock was not so much heroic as he was handsome. See *Toronto Daily Star*, 14 Oct. 1959, p. 1, cc. 6–9.

281 *Standard*, 10 Oct. 2012, p. A2, c. 1.

282 Shoalts, "A Report on the Battle of Queenston Heights."

283 Shoalts. In an article published two years earlier, a retired Canadian civil servant made the same observation about there having been two battles. See Robert Vineberg, "The Forgotten Man Who Saved Canada at Queenston Heights," *Canadian Military Journal* 10, no. 3 (Summer 2010): 49.

284 Letter, Stephen Sheaffe to St-Denis, 17 May 2020.

285 *Standard*, 10 Oct. 2012, p. A2, c. 1. Or, as Jonathan F. Vance observed, "Sheaffe may have won the battle but it was Brock whose blood was spilled on the battlefield and it was Brock who emerged as the hero of Queenston." See Jonathan F. Vance, *Building Canada: People and Projects That Shaped the Nation* (Penguin Canada, 2006), 259.

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

1 *British Colonist* (Toronto), 12 Aug. 1840, p. 1, c. 2.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 *Toronto Patriot*, 2 June 1840, p. 2, c. 2.

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GUY ST-DENIS holds a doctorate in history from the University of Western Ontario, where he devoted his dissertation to Sir Isaac Brock. Having previously written at length on the subject, he is now engaged in further investigations to better understand Brock's life, military career, and battlefield behaviour.

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