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.

5 Ibid.

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Index

Abella, Irving, 321
academic attitudes
  toward Brock, 6-7, 187, 216, 230, 253, 256, 263-64, 274, 282, 284-85, 293-94, 306, 343
  and military history, 7, 260-61, 263-64, 267-68
academics, 6-7, 216, 230, 253, 256, 260-61, 263-65, 267-68, 274, 278, 280, 282-84, 294, 306, 309, 321, 343, 389n35
  See also professional historians
Adams, James, 403
Adams, Samuel Hopkins, 226-67, 242-43
address to the Prince of Wales
  from militia veterans, 75, 77-81, 83, 85, 364n32, 365n47, 365n52
  and Laura Secord, 79-80, 83, 365nn52-53, 366n76
Adler, Felix, 138, 375n104
Algonquin Club, 252
Allan, William, 353n67, 361n231, 361n233
Allanburg Tweedsmuir Institute, 391n81
Allemang, John, 317-19, 321, 327
American annexation threat, 94, 100, 108-9, 116, 126-27, 135, 371n8, 371n198, 380n217
American Army, 68-69, 289, 296, 365
  13th Regiment U.S. Infantry, 355n111
American Civil War, 86, 89-94, 126, 367n115, 369n156
American Continental Army, 367n96
American Revolution, 5, 14, 104-5, 107-8, 121, 149, 224, 367n96
  See also Revolutionary War
Americanization, 251, 342
Amherstburg, 4, 18
Andrews, Bob, 331-33
Angus Reid Group, 306-7
anti-militarism, 207-11, 214, 261
  anti-militarists, 206-10, 342, 386n126
  See also militarism
antiquarianism, 263, 265
  antiquarians, 6, 11, 260-61, 264-65
archives, Canadian national, 156
  Dominion Archives, 380n221
  Public Archives of Canada, 248, 262
  Library and Archives Canada, 326, 402n244
Archives of Ontario, 359n182
Arnold, William, 250
Arthur, George, 1st Baronet, 53-57, 359n198, 360n201, 360n206
Arthur's obelisk (1840)
  plans for, 56-57, 59, 360n206
  not pursued, 60-61, 361n233, 362n235

Bacon, John Jr., 353n57
Bacque, James W., 390n59
Ball, Helen, 191-92
Ballard, William H., 138
Barber, George Anthony, 58
Barber, John, 318
Barrett, Richard, 355n113
Bassett, John M., 388n187
Bathurst, Henry, 3rd Earl, 305, 400n144
battlefields, War of 1812, 38-39, 232, 238, 284
  scheme to commemorate, 71, 364n36
Beaver Dams, Battle of, 14, 79, 328, 365n51
Beer, Donald R., 363n4
Begamudré, Ven, 310-11
Béland, Henri, 209-10, 385n114
Bellringer, Mr., 366n79
Bennett, Ian E., 329
Bennett, James Gordon, 360n207
Bercuson, David J., 402n220
Berczy, William, 379n195
Berger, Carl, 47, 261-63, 357n153, 368n146, 369n153, 369n169, 371n4, 373n66, 374n89
Berlin, Ontario
  anti-German renaming, 192-94, 199, 383n41

Berlin Board of Trade, 193
Berlin City Council, 193
Berton, Pierre, 275-83, 307-10, 313-14, 317, 320, 396n4, 396n6, 396n8, 396nn24-25
Bibaud, François-Maximilien, 379n191
biography
  as history, 6, 140-41, 158, 234, 261-63, 265, 297, 341, 379n188
  and references to Brock's, 7, 11, 71, 145-46, 152, 155, 157-58, 185-89, 211, 226-27, 229, 241-42, 254, 263, 286, 293-95, 310-11, 341, 349n3, 376n145, 377n151, 377n159, 379n189, 380n207, 380n217, 380n222, 381n4, 388n193, 390n59
Bishop, George J., 124-25
Blatchford, Christie, 313, 401n184
Bliss, Michael, 308, 400n158
Boer War, 135-36, 374n96
Boerstler, Charles, 365n51
Bold Canadian, The (ballad), 351n28
Bonaparte, Napoleon. *See* Napoleon I, Emperor
Bowler, Reginald Arthur, 46, 258-60
Boy Scout movement, 375n103
Boy Scouts, 137, 208, 212
Boyd, David, 358n169, 358n177, 359n186
Boyd, Theresa, 50, 53, 358n178, 359n186
Brant, Joseph, 107, 391n81
Bride Broder. *See* White, Mary
Briggs, William, 130, 185-86
  See also William Briggs (Methodist Book and Publishing House)
British Army
  8th Regiment of Foot, 3, 19
  23rd Regiment of Foot, 371n200, 392n106
  41st Regiment of Foot, 20, 152, 379n187
  49th Regiment of Foot, 3, 19, 42, 309, 378n182
  76th Regiment of Foot, 36
  104th Regiment of Foot, 368n140
British Empire, 2, 5, 10, 15, 41, 45, 48-49, 61, 98, 101, 103, 105, 108, 112-13, 115, 122, 134, 136-37, 155, 186-87, 190-91, 195, 199-200, 202, 204-5, 223, 229, 251-53, 278, 330, 341, 346, 363n10, 370n190, 373n64
British League (Berlin, Ontario), 193
Brock, Daniel de Lisle, 377n162, 391n89
Brock, Elizabeth (de Lisle), 377n162
Brock, Elizabeth. *See* Tupper, Elizabeth (Brock)
Brock, Eugene, 377n162
Brock, Irving, 247, 391n89
Brock, Isaac
  military career, 2-3
  generalship, 9, 11, 287, 289, 291, 293, 343, 345
  military genius, 12, 14, 20, 68, 212, 252, 254, 256, 259, 281, 291-92, 302, 306, 318, 336, 340, 343, 345
  expedition to Amherstburg/Detroit, 4, 18, 22, 40, 48, 266-67, 271, 352n40, 378n175, 394n182
  capture of Detroit, 3-4, 5, 12, 17-19, 22, 28, 47-49, 68-69, 102, 104, 119, 187, 196-97, 247, 249, 257, 266, 277, 295-6, 301, 305, 339-40, 344, 346, 349n9, 350n24, 351n26, 351n28, 358n173, 374n87, 378n167, 383n59
  hero of Upper Canada, 5, 19, 25-26, 32, 61, 68, 85, 122, 150, 152, 187, 199, 205, 229, 257-58, 286, 306, 334, 344, 380n216
  at Battle of Queenston Heights, 4-5, 24, 233, 277, 284, 289, 309, 335, 358n165
  battlefield errors, 291-92, 302
  last words, 46, 279-80, 323, 396n25
  death, 1, 5
  place of death, 363n1
  dead house, 77, 196
  funeral and burial (1812), 34-35, 385n124
  grave in Fort George, 17, 26, 33-35, 352n45
  exhumation and reinterment (1824), 32-36, 45, 62-63, 99, 355n94
  exhumation and reinterment (1853), 61-62, 71
  corpse, 10, 17, 26, 34-35, 51, 61-62, 67-68, 76-77, 100, 196, 362n243, 362n246, 364n32
  martyr and secular saint, 40, 68, 284, 295, 304, 339, 340-41
  saviour, 10, 19, 21, 26, 68, 154, 268, 304, 312, 341
  heroism, 5, 9, 14, 20, 22-23, 40, 47, 50, 68, 85, 146, 189, 191, 194-95, 197, 201-3, 205, 216, 221, 236-37, 242, 249, 259, 278, 291, 304, 310, 340-41, 343-44
  self-sacrifice, 2, 20, 27, 135-6, 147, 191, 195, 197, 204, 221, 278, 340, 345, 363n3, 376n135
  role model, 7, 10-11, 138, 154, 189, 194, 202, 205, 223, 229, 240, 244, 273, 275, 282, 285, 307, 336, 341-42, 376n135
  enduring popularity, 2, 6-13, 40, 212, 222-23, 230, 233, 249, 258-59, 274, 281, 296, 306, 334, 337, 340, 342-43, 345, 347
  as a supposed Freemason, 32-33, 354n81
  with French blood, 202-3, 384n79, 384n81
  his coatee, 248-49, 268, 323
  cocked hat, 112
  horse (Alfred), 272, 395n205

Brock, Isaac (*continued*)
porcelain urns, 391n89
portrait, 112, 132, 153-54, 250, 253, 329, 371n200, 377n162, 379n195, 392n120
sword stories, 24, 352nn36-8
trunk, 223
and War Office/English ignorance of, 195, 383n54
Brock, James, 223
Brock, Lucy (Short), 221
Brock, Oliver, 323
Brock, Savery, 21, 25, 149-50, 353n57, 357n140, 377n160, 377n162, 378n178
Brock, William, 27-29, 31, 353n57, 353n60, 377n160, 378n183
Brock Centenary, 129, 132-33, 137, 188, 376n135
Brock Centenary Committee, 118
Brock commemorations
1824, 32-33, 35-37, 45, 62-63, 99, 354n89
1840, 54-56, 63, 339, 359n198, 360nn201-2, 360n207, 360n211, 377n157
1853, 62, 71
1859, 63-67, 76, 79, 379n193
1860, 81-84
1912, 117-24, 129, 132, 134-37, 392n116
1962, 11, 229, 238-41, 252-53, 270, 314, 317, 328, 392n116
2012, 1, 6-7, 11, 293, 306, 324, 333-37
Brock Coppers. *See* Brock Tokens
Brock Day, Major-General Sir Isaac, 333
Brock Hats, 198-99
Brock Monument Building Committee, 56, 60, 64, 68, 76
Brock Quarters. *See* 1812 Commemorative Quarters
Brock Radical Students Movement, 251
Brock Tokens
revealed as counterfeits, 25-26, 187
Brock University, 243-46, 248-50, 335, 390n67, 391n91
Founders' Committee, 244-45
Brock's Creek, 394n183
Brock's Monument (1824-1853)
lack of, 26
plans for, 27-30, 352n47
funding, 30-31
location, 31-32
construction, 32, 357n163
Masonic ceremony, 32-34
reinterment ceremonies, 32-37, 45, 62-63, 99, 354n89, 355n104
epitaph, 358n173
aesthetics, 49, 60
Brock's Monument (1824-1853) (*continued*)
negativity toward, 50-52, 358n164, 358n167, 358n174, 358n179, 359n184
telescope, 51, 358n178
bombing, 52-53, 351n18, 359nn184-5, 359n187
ruins, 361nn223-24, 361n229
daredevilry of Matthew Murphy, 360n207
Brock's Monument (1853-present)
funding, 57-58, 60, 361n231, 362n257
construction, 59-60, 62-63, 362n240, 362n253
and plans for a museum, 362n254
legislation to protect, 360n208
inauguration, 63-65, 67
loss of Brock's arm, 213, 232, 386n129
aesthetics, 60, 63, 239, 247
Brock's Monument (St. Paul's Cathedral, United Kingdom), 28, 214, 350n22
Brock's Obelisk (1860-present)
construction, 77-81, 366n59
inauguration, 81-82, 84
See also Arthur's obelisk (1840)
Brock's Tree, 394n183
Brockville, 23, 26, 58, 134-37, 193, 198, 214, 311, 335, 360n217, 374n91, 383n46
formerly Elizabethtown, 374n87
Brown, Desmond H., 201
Brown, George, 86-87, 90, 109-11, 363n7, 370nn187-88, 370n190
Brown, George W., 223-24, 388nn177-78
Brown, Robert Craig, 261
Brown's Point, 396n25
Bruyeres, Ralph, 352n43
Buckley, John W., 209
Buckner, Phillip, 116, 203, 251, 349n3, 386n131, 368n146
and Brock's enduring popularity, 2, 296
Burt, Alfred L., 262
Burton, Clarence M., 114
Bury, Lord. *See* Keppel, William Coutts, 7th Earl of Albemarle
Butler, Walter, 107
Butler's Rangers, 107

cadet training, 189, 206-9, 386n126
cadets, 129-31, 204, 207, 212, 385n103
Campbell, Wilfred, 386n119
Campbell, William J., 383n39
Canada East (now Quebec), 75
Canada First movement, 100-103, 108, 153, 369nn148-49, 369n153
Canada West (now Ontario), description, 61

Canadian Army
Historical Section, 242, 254, 392n123
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), 234, 313-14, 316-17, 320-22, 324, 401n183, 402n218, 402n233
Canadian Club (Toronto), 264
Canadian Corps, 196-97
Canadian Expeditionary Force, 191, 198
Canadian Historical Association, 255, 298
Canadian Peace Centenary Association, 374n81
Canadian Tourist Association, 238
Canadian War Museum, 269, 282, 319, 323
Canniff, William, 104-5
Careless, J.M.S. (Maurice), 393n141
Carey, John, 35-6, 355n98
Carleton, Guy, 1st Baron Dorchester, 262, 394n163
Carley, James P., 403n255
Carlyle, Thomas, 13-14
Caroline (steamer), 366n70
Caron, Adolphe-Philippe, 129
Cartier, George-Étienne, 90
Cartier, Jacques, 392n120
Castalla, Battle of, 400n143
Cerf, Bennett, 226-27, 388n193
Chadwick, Edward M., 114
Chambers, Thomas A., 357n162
Champion, Christian P., 329, 350n24, 392n114
Champlain, Samuel de, 392n120
Chateauguay, Battle of, 70, 75, 202, 315, 367n87
Chichester, Henry Manners, 380n207
Chippawa/Chippewa, 83, 302, 355n112, 364n27
Chippewa, Battle of, 24, 38
Chrysler's Farm, Battle of, 70
Church, Thomas Langton, 207
Churchill, Mary, 387n161
Churchill, Winston, 220-22, 286
Chute, Arthur Hunt, 358n174
Civil War, American. *See* American Civil War
Clark, Jane, 368n136
Clark, John, 33-34, 72-75, 78, 83, 85, 92, 98, 111, 354n85, 363nn19-20, 364n23, 364n28, 365n42, 366n86
Clark, Thomas, 353n52, 354n90, 357n163, 358n170
Clark, William Mortimer, 112
Claus, Catherine, 21
Claus, William, 21, 34-35
Clausewitz, Carl von. *See* von Clausewitz, Carl
Clement, William Henry Pope, 139-40
Cody, Henry John, 208
coins, Brock. *See* 1812 Commemorative Quarters
Coke, Edward T., 24
Cole, Douglas L., 368n146
commemorations. *See* Brock commemorations
Commonwealth of Nations, 251
Confederacy (Confederate States of America), 91, 93, 369n156
Confederacy (Tecumseh's), 317
Confederation, 14-15, 97, 99, 101, 107-8, 116, 203, 252-53, 283, 316, 327-29, 341, 344-46, 392n119
Connaught, Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught and Stathearn, 131
Connor, Ralph. *See* Gordon, Charles William
Continentalism, 116
Cook, Herman Henry, 372n9
Cook, Lyn, 388n191
Cook, Ramsay, 108, 402n221
Cooper, John A., 139-40, 145, 375n117
Copenhagen, Battle of (1801), 397n62
Copp Clark Company, 225, 388n177
Cornell, Paul G., 400n162
Council for Canadian Unity, 306, 400n147
Coventry, George, 111
Coyne, James H., 266, 394n182, 394n184
Craig, Gerald M., 45-46, 349n17, 356n138, 392n119
Craig, James H., 3, 349n8
Creighton, Donald, 263
Cromwell, Oliver, 14
Croydon, Peter, 391n100
Cruikshank, Ernest A., 265-67, 271, 290, 381n235, 394n171, 394n182
Cummings, James, 74, 83, 364nn27-28, 366n76
Cupples, Allen, 249
Currie, Arthur, 196-67, 204, 383nn59-60
Currie, James George, 96, 360n207, 368n134
Curtis, William E., 383n55
Curzon, Sarah Anne, 46, 379n189

Dafoe, David, 359n184
Dalton, Thomas, 100
Dalton, William, 39, 356n120
Daniels, William Scott, 138, 375n105
Dartnell, George Russell, 358n173
Daughters of Canada, 206, 385n96
Davison, Gideon M., 49-50, 358n173
de Gaspé, Philippe-Joseph Aubert, 202-3, 384nn79-81
de Lisle, Elizabeth. *See* Brock, Elizabeth (de Lisle)

de Rottenburg, Francis, 398n69
de Salaberry, Charles, 202, 328-29, 367n87, 403n256
De Veaux, Samuel, 352n45, 358n179
Deacon, William Arthur, 224
Defence League, 373n65
Dehkanenraneh. *See* Smith, Alexander G.
Denison, George T., 102-7, 115, 120, 122, 126, 369nn148-49, 369n156, 369n160, 369nn164-65, 379n200, 383n54
Dennis, James, 19, 395n204
Dent, John Charles, 153-55, 377n151, 379n198, 379n200
Department of Canadian Heritage, 324, 330
Department of Militia and Defence
  military history section, 266
Detroit, Capture of
  effect on Upper Canadians, 18-19, 104, 107, 278, 295, 346, 349n9
Dickens, Charles, 59, 361n224
Dickson, Thomas, 32, 353n52, 354n77, 354n89
dinners, public
  as patriotic events, 56, 73, 111, 364nn22-23
Disraeli, Benjamin, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield, 89
Doane, Robert W., 125
Doherty, Brian, 404n280
Dollard, Fête de, 384n78
Dollard des Ormeaux, Adam, 202, 262, 384n78, 394n162
Dominion Archives. *See* archives, Canadian national
Dominion Institute, 306, 400n147
Dominion Women's Christian Temperance Union, 374n96
Dougall, John, 379n198
Douglas, Tommy (Thomas Clement), 313, 401n184
Doyle, John, 319, 322
Drummond, Gordon, 266, 398n69
Drury, Ernest C., 207
Duff, Louis Blake, 214
Duffy, Dennis, 40
Duncan, David M., 384n83
Dundurn Press, 311
Dunn, George, 371n200, 392n106
Dunnville Naval Brigade, 96
Dyer, Gwynne, 260-61, 263

Eayrs, Hugh S., 188-89, 211, 242, 293, 382n21, 382n28, 388n192
Eddy, Nelson, 231, 389n12
Edgar, James D., 157
Edgar, Matilda (Ridout), 156-58, 185, 188, 211, 293, 381n234, 382n19
Edgar, Pelham, 158
Educational Museum, 154
  and Normal School (or Teachers' College), 380n204
Edward Albert, Prince of Wales, 75-87, 89, 364n32
Edward VII, King, 75, 135, 361n221
Egmont-op-Zee, Battle of, 397n62
1812 Commemorative Fund, 324
1812 Commemorative Quarters, 329
Eisendrath, Maurice, 208
Elizabeth, Queen, consort of King George VI, 215
Elizabeth II, Queen, 250, 269
Ellen (schooner), 371n6
Empire Club of Canada, 375n102
Empire Day, 129-32, 137, 204-5, 207, 209, 212, 223, 373n73, 384n78
Errington, Jane, 44, 106-7
Evans, Thomas, 19

Fallon, Michael Francis, 196
Family Compact, 45-47, 49, 52, 77, 340, 344, 351n17, 357n153, 393n148
Farrell, Cecil, 271
Farrer, Edward, 126
Fathers of Confederation, 116, 252-53
Faulkner, Christopher, 25
Fenian Raids, 368n127
Fenians, 94-96, 367n115, 368n123
Fessenden, Clementina (Trenholme), 129-30, 373nn72-73
Finlay, Scott, 334
First World War, 11, 188-92, 194, 196-201, 203-7, 209-10, 222, 262, 368n146, 382n22, 382n29, 383n47, 384n78
Fisher, Charles, 99, 368n140
Fisher, Susan R., 189, 205, 385n94, 385n113, 386n121
FitzGibbon, James, 42-45, 151, 378n179
  Brock's favourite and protégé, 357n140, 378n178
FitzGibbon, Mary Agnes, 141, 354n92, 357n140, 371n200, 378n179
Flag Day, 129, 204
Fort Detroit, 4, 18
Fort Erie, 38, 94, 232, 289
Fort Erie, Battle of (1866), 94-95, 368n124
Fort Erie, Siege of (1814), 24
Fort George, 4, 17-18, 22, 26, 33-36, 38, 156, 232, 240, 269-70, 272, 282, 289, 291, 302, 328, 352n45, 355n104, 363n20, 391n92, 395n190
  mutiny (1803), 219, 378n176, 378n182

Fort York, 216, 238
Fortescue, Chichester, 98-9
Foster, William A., 101-2, 369n149, 369n151
Fothergill, Charles, 34, 36-37, 99
Fox, Paul, 315
Fox, Terry, 282, 306
Francis, Daniel, 389n22
French, Maida Parlow, 224-25, 388n184
French, William, 276-77, 396n8
Fryer, Mary Beacock, 311

Galloway, Gloria, 330
Galt, John, 356n116
Garraty, John A., 262
Gaspé, Philippe-Joseph Aubert de. *See* de Gaspé, Philippe-Joseph Aubert
General Brock Hotel, 215
General Brock Parkway, 333
George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales/Prince Regent, 43, 304
George IV, King, 247, 304
George V, King, 135
George VI, King, 215
George N. Morang Company, 157, 186, 381n5
  See also Morang, George N.
Gibson, James A., 248, 250, 391n82, 392n105, 392n108
Gilmour, Norman, 204
Girl Guides, 137, 212, 375n103
Glegg, John Baskerville, 26, 151-52, 352n47, 378nn182-83, 378n185, 386n124
Glover, Michael, 304
Goodspeed, Donald J., 242-43, 254, 288, 293, 390n59, 390n62, 390n65
  as a Brock scholar, 286-87
Gordon, Alan, 394n171, 394n179
Gordon, Charles William (Ralph Connor), 211, 386n121
Gore, Francis, 3, 41-42, 155, 351n16, 376n135
Gourlay, Robert, 42-44, 356n138
Government House (Ontario), 105, 370n171
Governor General's Literary Award, 309
Graham, William, 361n217
Granatstein, Jack, 307, 326, 387n171, 402n220, 402n244
Grant, Robert H., 207
Graves, Donald E., 255-56, 294, 298, 401n207
Gray, John, 242-43, 390n61, 390n63, 390n65
Great Britain (steamer), 359n184
Great Depression, 7, 11, 209, 215, 242, 342
Greatest Canadian (poll), The, 306, 312
Gretzky, Wayne, 306
Grey, Albert Henry George, 4th Earl, 130, 374n76
Grodzinski, John R. [Tanya], 296-302, 329, 402n209, 403n258

Haig, Kennethe M., 221-22
Haliburton, Robert G., 369n149
Hall, Roger, 297, 319
Halpenny, Francess G., 255, 285
Hamilton, Alexander, 350n5
Hamilton, Michelle A., 372n34
Hamilton, Thomas, 49
Hamilton Board of Education, 209
Hamilton Trades and Labour Council, 207
Hampshire, HMS, 195
Harkin, James B., 394n182
Harman, Eleanor, 388n177
Harper, Stephen J., 324-25, 331, 344, 402n242
Harper government, 324-32, 402n233
Harris, Stephen J., 367n100, 374n93
Hayes, John F., 225-26, 388n188
Heard, Mrs. John (Susan), 355n112
Henty, George Alfred, 190-1, 225
heroism, definition, 13
Hinsdale, Burke A., 140
Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, 266-7, 394n182
Historical Society of Upper Canada, 111
historiography, 8, 155, 257, 261, 264-65, 274, 301
  See also history wars (historiography)
history
  military, 7, 9, 103, 210-11, 220, 236, 238, 260-69, 276, 278-79, 282, 285, 294, 311, 325, 343, 395nn188-89, 396n4, 397n58
  new (progressive), 138, 236, 261-63, 307, 319, 326
  political, 9, 143, 236, 241, 252, 274, 285, 292, 307, 316, 389n35
  social, 9, 210, 241, 261, 274, 285, 292, 296, 307, 326
  teaching of, 6, 112, 138-41, 157, 210, 235-7, 241, 272, 276, 293, 306-8, 321, 342, 344, 375n117, 389n38, 393n127
  See also textbooks, Canadian history
history wars (historiography), 326
Hitsman, Catherine, 393n134
Hitsman, J. Mackay, 254-57, 259-60, 298, 392n124, 393n134, 393n137, 399n122
Hodgetts, Alfred Birnie, 235-36, 241, 272, 389n35
Hodgins, George John, 154, 389n38

Holmes, William Henry Muloch (Morleigh), 351n33
honour, definition, 294-95
Howard, Allan McLean, 372n9
Howe, Richard, 1st Earl, 383n47
Howell-Jones, Arabella Stuart, 213-15, 248, 386n128, 386n133, 386n139
Howison, John, 350n3
Hughes, James L., 122-24, 128, 131-34, 373n43, 375n102, 376n147
Hughes, Sam, 128, 134-37, 374n89, 374n93, 375n98, 375n102
Hull, William, 4, 18, 69, 296, 300
Huron-Wendat chiefs, 247
Hutchison, Bruce, 239
Hyatt, A.M.J. (Jack), 261, 267, 318, 395n189, 399n122, 401n208
  as a Brock scholar, 256-57, 260, 399n135

Ibbitson, John, 309
Igartua, José E., 384n77, 388n178
Imperial Federation League
  description, 115
  federalists, 368n146
  as imperial federalism, 186, 373n64
Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE), 137, 206, 208, 212-13, 374n87, 386n131
  General Brock Chapter (Brockville), 134-35
Imperial Press Conference (1920), 204
imperialism, 9, 103, 111, 120, 124, 127, 130, 132, 137, 154, 190, 203-4, 213, 221, 368n146, 370n190
  anti-imperialists, 115, 369n146
  imperialists, 109, 116, 127, 135-37, 142, 153, 368n146
  liberal imperialists, 369n146
Indian Department, 34
Indigenous, 18, 71, 196, 297
  allies, 3, 39, 42, 64, 69, 74, 156, 265, 301
  chiefs, 36
  donations, 57, 360n215
  people, 118, 122, 318
  warriors, 4, 74, 78
Indignation Meeting, 54-56, 359n198, 360nn201-3, 360n207, 360n211
indoctrination, patriotic/educational, 7, 122, 124, 128, 130-31, 138, 140, 146, 189, 216, 222, 307, 341, 344, 374n75, 385n85
Institute for Research on Public Policy, 330
Iroquois, 121, 384n78, 394n162

Jackes, Lyman B., 212
James Lorimer and Company, 312
James Lovick and Company, 249
Jarvis, George S.B., 309, 376n125
Jasen, Patricia, 38-39, 357n161
Jeanneret, Marsh, 225, 388n177
Jenkinson, Robert Banks, 2nd Earl of Liverpool, 299-300
Joan of Arc, 14
Jones, Peter, 326-27
journalists, 46, 188, 195, 202, 218-19, 221, 238-9, 317-18, 320, 324-26, 379n189, 383n55, 401n204

Keefer, George, 364n36
Keenleyside, Thomas C., 140, 375n116
Keleghan, Peter, 322-24
Kennedy, Duncan, 354n90, 357n163
Kent, Prince Edward Augustus, Duke of, 42
Keppel, William Coutts, 7th Earl of Albemarle, 91, 98, 367n108
Kerby, James, 364n28
Killan, Gerald, 111
King, Richard, 96
Kirby, William, 23, 62-3, 79, 83, 100, 362nn248-49, 362n254, 365n51, 367n93
Kitchener, Horatio Herbert, 1st Earl, 194-95, 204
Knowles, Norman, 114, 352n37, 352n39, 363n10, 369n156, 370n170, 370n180, 371n3, 372n18
Konkle, Adam, 73-74, 364n25
Kritzwiser, Kay, 231-32, 236-38, 251, 271-72, 389n9, 395n205

Lacourcière, Luc, 384n80
Lamb, W. Kaye, 230, 246, 249, 252-54, 389nn6-7
Landscape of Nations Memorial, 214
Lauriston, Victor, 219-20
Laut, Agnes C., 142-45, 224, 375n125, 376n126, 376n128, 376n143
Laxer, James, 297-98
Leavitt, Thaddeus W.H., 144-46
Lee, Edward, 368n129
Lee, Thomas R., 245-47, 391n84
Leith, Hugh, 389n12
Lett, Benjamin, 52, 63, 361n227
  bombing of Brock's first monument, 52-54, 61, 351n18, 359nn182-84, 377n157
Lett, Thomas, 359n184
Library and Archives Canada. *See* archives, Canadian national

Lincoln Militia
1st Regiment, 363n19
4th Regiment, 364n25
Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, 111
literature
adult, 6, 11, 230, 275, 279, 293-94
Brock, 6-7, 11, 205, 227, 229-30, 263, 282, 290, 293-94, 297, 310
children's, 6-7, 11, 190, 205, 227, 229-30, 263, 282, 293-94, 310
educational, 210, 229
historical, 187
national, 144, 229
patriotic, 190, 229-30
popular, 6, 227, 230
Liverpool, Lord. *See* Jenkinson, Robert Banks, 2nd Earl of Liverpool
Logie, William A., 385n99
Long Point portage, 352n40
Lossing, Benson J., 81
Lowe, Robert, 98-99
Lower, Arthur R.M., 231, 349n10, 394n168
and myth, 8, 315
Militia Myth, 8-9, 315, 345, 349n15
Confederation, 316
Canadian nationalism, 315-16
Lower, J. Arthur, 231, 270
Lower, Thelma Reid, 231-32, 270
Lower Canada (now Quebec), 75, 111, 202, 296
Lowrey, Howard C., 205-6, 385n94
Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada, 40-42
Loyal Canadian Society (Beamsville), 111, 371n198
Loyalist tradition, 10-12, 15, 40, 47, 104-5, 107, 113, 116, 118, 120-22, 130, 133-34, 137, 149-50, 152, 155, 186, 189, 200-201, 203, 214, 220, 223, 225, 233, 258-59, 293, 330, 340-42, 369n169, 393n141, 403n255
characteristics of, 370n170
Loyalists, 14, 18-19, 23, 39-41, 48-49, 68, 102, 104-7, 113, 118-19, 123, 149, 224, 226, 259, 269, 278, 340-41, 346, 369n156, 369n169, 370n180, 373n63, 384n83, 388n182, 394n163
centennial celebrations (1884), 118-21
See also United Empire Loyalists
Lundy's Lane, Battle of, 24, 38, 128, 355n113

Macaulay, James Buchanan, 339, 346-47
Macaulay, John, 361n234
MacCallum, Elizabeth, 308-9, 400n158
MacCarthy, Hamilton, 374n91
Macdonald, Adrian, 386n118
MacDonald, Allan J., 359n182
MacDonald, Cheryl, 311-12
MacDonald, Jeanette, 231, 389n12
Macdonald, John A., 90, 116, 263, 328
MacDonald, Monica, 314, 316, 318, 320, 402n218, 402n221
MacDonald, Robert H., 190
Macdonald, Rolland, 76, 79, 83, 364n37
Macdonell, Angus Claude, 17
Macdonell, Donald, 364n33
Macdonell, John (Greenfield)
as provincial aide-de-camp, 350n1
and attorney general, 351n16
forgets sword en route to Queenston, 352n36
funeral (1812), 17, 350n2
grave in Fort George, 352n45, 355n104
exhumation (1824), 34-35
reinterment (1824), 35-36, 354n90, 355n94
disrespect shown his remains (1853), 61-2, 100
reinterment (1853), 62-63, 71, 100
surname variants, 354n92
Macdonell, John A., 117, 354n92
MacDougal, Daniel, 57
Machar, Agnes M., 382n7, 386n119
Mackay, J. Keiller, 240
Mackenzie, James, 359n183
Mackenzie, William Lyon, 32-37, 52, 55, 354n82, 354n85, 354n89, 359n183, 366n70
MacLean, Charles W., 374n91
Macmillan Company of Canada, 188, 242, 381n5
MacNab, Allan Napier, 55, 57, 60, 63-65, 68-72, 75-78, 80-81, 85-86, 91-92, 98, 360n201, 361nn230-31, 362n257, 362n260, 363n4, 363n7, 365n39, 365n42, 366n86, 379nn193-94
MacNab, Sophia, 367n108
Macphail, Agnes, 208-10, 342
MacPherson, Katharine Livingstone, 376n127
MacTavish, Newton, 132-33, 374n81
Madison, James, 69
Magill, Max L., 47
Mair, Charles, 369n149
Maitland, Peregrine, 27-33, 35-36, 43, 352n50, 353n55, 358n173
Malcom, Richard, 355n111
Malcomson, Robert, 290-92, 294, 331-32, 398n75, 403n271
Manifest Destiny, 109, 201, 370n190
Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, 268
Mann, Fred, 388n3, 389n4
Marks, Grace, 398n92

Marquis, Thomas Guthrie, 186-88, 380n222, 382n7, 382n17
Marsh, Edith L., 376n127
Martin, Paul, 332
Martin, Robert, 283-84, 397n41, 397n44
Martineau, Harriet, 50-51, 358n178
Martinello, Larry (Ilario), 272-73, 393n207
Mary (schooner), 371n6
Massey, Vincent, 270
Massey Commission. *See* Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences
Maunder, James, 328
McAree, John V., 217-18, 387n147, 387nn150-51, 387n154
McArthur, Glenn, 361n235
McCallum, Frederick, 96
McClelland, Jack (John Gordon), 275, 280, 307
McClelland and Stewart Limited, 275, 307, 392n119
McEwen, John, 34, 355n99
McGee, Thomas D'Arcy, 91, 367n110
McGiverin, William, 97-98, 368n136
McKay, Ian, 326, 402n242
McKenna, Brian, 317-20, 322, 401n203, 401n207, 402n209, 402n211
McKenna, Terence, 317-20, 322, 401n203, 401n207, 402n209
McKenney, Thomas L., 49, 357n163
McKillop, Brian, 275, 277, 280, 308
McKinley, Mabel Burns, 386n118
McKinley Bill, 125-26, 373n58
McLachlan, Robert Wallace, 352n41
McLean, Archibald, 77, 396n25
McLeish, Dougal (Donald J. Goodspeed), 390n62
McLeod, George B., 206
McNairn, Jeffrey L., 351n32
McNeely, Tom, 392n120
McPherson, Hugo, 388n182
Mellish, Michael H.T., 246-49, 391n84, 391nn91-92
Merritt, Susan, 24, 352n38
Merritt, Thomas, 24
Merritt, William Hamilton, 61, 70-72, 75, 85, 92, 109-11, 352n38, 361n230, 361n233, 362n253, 363n10, 363n14, 363n20, 366n86
Merritt, William Hamilton (grandson), 113, 352n38
Metcalfe, Thomas L., 200-201, 384n71
Michener, Roland, 250
Mickle, Sara, 371n200
militarism, 89, 137, 156, 208, 324, 326, 373n65, 374n79, 374n96
  and children, 11, 131, 156, 190-91, 206-10, 375n103, 385n103
  militarists, 374n79, 385n113, 402n242
militarism, German, 385n114
Military General Service Medal, 70
military genius
  definition, 13
  and Tolstoy, 13, 350n20
Militia, Canadian (1841-1867), 42, 64, 67-68, 70, 86-92, 94-96, 98-99, 109-10, 129, 132, 134-37, 209, 266, 362n257, 363n4, 367n89, 367n100, 368n123, 369n164, 372n18, 374n93
Militia, Lower Canadian, 75, 202
Militia Myth
  origins of, 40, 45-48
  as a national creation myth, 5, 7-9, 12, 346
  consequences for Canadian defence, 85-91, 95, 97, 367n95, 374n93
  and Brock's enduring popularity, 9
Militia, Upper Canadian (1791-1841), 3-4, 8-10, 12, 19, 28, 39-44, 46-49, 52, 56-57, 64, 68-74, 76, 78, 91-92, 97-98, 101-5, 107, 111, 120-21, 149, 197, 200, 216, 245, 254, 258-59, 264-65, 280, 291-92, 315, 323, 340, 345, 351n17, 351n28, 356n124, 363n14, 364n23, 366n70, 394n171
  militia veterans, Upper Canadian, 56, 65, 67, 70-81, 83-85, 87-88, 92, 97, 103, 109, 128, 364n32, 365nn52-53
  militiamen, Upper Canadian, 10, 12, 36-37, 39-40, 43-45, 64-65, 68, 70, 72, 79, 85, 107, 149, 197, 200, 258-59, 264, 279, 287, 349n15, 364n30
  See also Lincoln Militia; York Militia
Miller, Ian Hugh Maclean, 191
Miller, William E., 328, 403n252
Milroy, Christopher, 323
Mitchelson, Edward E., 391n91
Montcalm, Louis-Joseph, Marquis de, 139, 375n112, 381n4, 381n6, 392n120
Montgomery, Richard, 115, 367n96
  and capture of Montreal (1775), 371n8
Moodie, Susanna, 361n224
Moore, Charles, 381n234
Moore, James, 324, 327-29
Morang, George N., 157, 185-86, 381n1, 381n4
  See also George N. Morang Company
Morgan, Henry James, 153-54, 369n149, 379n191, 379nn193-94
Morton, Desmond, 285
Morton, William Lewis, 274

Moses, Elliott, 214
Moss, Mark, 190
Mowat, Oliver, 88
Moyer, Lottie, 193
Mulcair, Thomas, 330
multiculturalism, 6, 229, 293, 326, 342, 398n92
Mundie, William, 362n253
Murphy, Matthew, 360n207
Murphy, Rex, 313
Myers, Christopher, 22
myth, as studied by Lower, 8-9

Nanos Research, 330
Napoleon I, Emperor, 3, 14
National Film Board, 234, 317, 401n200
National History Project, 235
national identity, 2, 99, 116, 119, 275, 316, 325, 344, 396n4
nationalism
  definition, 14-15, 350n23
  British/Imperial, 48-49, 99-100, 189
  Canadian, 5, 9, 11-12, 14-15, 47, 100-101, 105-6, 108, 112, 120, 127, 139, 208, 210, 221, 229, 235, 242, 244, 251-52, 269, 275, 278, 293, 307, 314-15, 317, 342-45, 368n146
  cultural, 270
  French Canadian, 202
  nationalists, 142, 369
  Upper Canadian, 2, 48-49, 278, 403n258
Nelson, Horatio, 1st Viscount, 48
Nelson, Larry, 191
Nelsonian spirit, 339-40
Nelson's Column (London, United Kingdom), 239, 336,
Nelson's Column (Montreal, Quebec), 30, 355
Nevens, Tom, 391n93
New Democratic Party (federal), 313, 325, 330
newspapers, and Brock's biography, 22-23, 147, 204, 212, 216, 268, 282
Niagara (now Niagara-on-the-Lake), 4, 17-18, 22, 34, 55, 78, 104, 106, 112, 240, 247, 269-70, 329, 359n185, 361n223, 391n92, 392n116, 403n275
Niagara District Council, 60
Niagara Falls (cataract), 26, 38, 83, 215, 220, 226, 238, 355n112
Niagara Historical Society, 105, 112, 391n92, 404n280
  Memorial Hall/Museum, 112
Niagara Parks Commission, 270, 395n204, 403n275
Niagara Parkway, 237
Nichol, Robert, 27-28, 30, 32-33, 50, 352n46, 352n50, 353nn55-57, 353n60
  death, 33, 354n86
Nicholson, Rob, 328-29, 332
Nicolls, Gustavus, 20
Nolan, Steven, 292, 398n88
North American Regional Consensus, 327
Norton, John, 401
Nursey, Walter R., 144-47, 185-88, 205, 211, 241, 376n143, 376n145, 377nn150-3, 382n16, 382n18, 385n91

Oakes, Garrett, 352n40
Oates, Richard H., 371n199
O'Donnell, Joseph, 400n143
Ontario Department of Education, 143, 145, 201, 376n145, 384n77
Ontario Department of Travel and Publicity, 238
Ontario Historical Society, 47, 111, 214, 366n85, 370n196, 372n34, 401n194
Ontario Legislative Building, 128, 132
Ontario Library Association, 144, 185
Osborne, Ken, 241, 274, 389n38, 393n127
Ospreay Picture Company, 253
Otter, William D., 128-29, 396n210
Otto, Stephen, 389n3
Otway-Page, Sarah, 24, 352n39

pacifists, 10-11, 132, 206, 208, 385n113
  See also anti-militarism; anti-militarism: anti-militarists
Panofsky, Ruth, 382n21
Park, Shubael, 356n120
Parks Canada, 267, 270, 272, 297, 332, 343, 395n204, 403n275
  National Historic Sites Service, 267, 395n189
Patriot Army, 52
patriotism
  British, 9, 205, 278
  Canadian, 63, 112, 116, 118, 120, 122-23, 126-27, 129-30, 132-34, 199-201, 242, 248, 325, 341, 376n135, 376n147, 381n234
  German, 210
  Ontarian, 330, 341-42
  Upper Canadian, 2, 5, 12, 25, 33, 35, 37, 41, 54, 57, 220, 278
  among children, 137, 140, 144, 154, 156, 185, 205, 209, 229, 235, 243, 341, 390n63
Pearkes, George R., 396n210
Pearson, Lester B., 251
Pell, Carl, 390n41

Philip, Prince, consort of Queen Elizabeth II, 269
Plains of Abraham, Battle of the, 375n112, 381n4
Plousos, Suzanne, 395n204
poetry, 23, 310
Port Robinson demonstration, 95-96
Portage Road, 36, 354n86
Powell, Anne, 21
Powell, William Dummer, 19, 21
Prevost, Anne, 20, 319, 402n211
Prevost, George, 20, 150-52, 255-57, 288, 296-302, 318-19, 398n69, 399n130, 402n209
  blamed for Brock's death, 379n186
Procter, Henry, 289
  falsely credited with Detroit's capture, 378n167
professional historians, 1, 6-7, 11, 216, 227, 260-65, 268, 278-81, 286-87, 292, 308-9, 315, 318, 320-21, 394n170
  See also academics
propaganda
  American, 234
  anti-American, 51
  British, 46, 192, 194-95, 234, 258-59
  Brock's, 216, 222, 258-59
Provincial Artillery Drivers, 17
Public Archives of Canada. *See* archives, Canadian national
publishing industry
  Canadian, 146, 154, 185, 189, 201-3, 224, 226, 320, 342, 382n29
  educational, 7, 10-11, 145, 201-3, 216, 224, 226, 242, 341-42
Pyne, Robert A., 122-24, 144-46, 341-42, 376n135, 376n147

Quebec, Battle of (1775), 88, 115, 200, 367n96, 371n8
Quebec referendum (1995), 402n218
Queen's Own Rifles, 208
Queen's Park, 128, 132
Queenston
  relevance to Brock, 1-2, 4-5
Queenston Heights, Battle of
  description, 4-5
  walking tour, 271-2, 395nn203-4
Quiet Revolution, 253

Rae, Arlene Perly, 309
Raible, Chris, 359n183
Random House, 226
Raye, James, 19
Read, David Breakenridge, 155-56, 380n212, 380nn216-17
Rebellions of 1837 and 1838, 52, 55, 68, 82, 93, 366n70
Red Ensign, 125, 130
redan battery (Queenston), 4, 77, 288, 291-92, 302-4, 363n20, 395n204
Redmayne, John (Donald J. Goodspeed), 390n62
re-enactments, military, 1, 324
regionalism, 342
Reid, Howard, 190-91
Revolutionary War, 115, 367n96
  See also American Revolution
Richardson, John (author), 57-58, 352n36, 360n217, 361n221, 386n119
Richardson, John (merchant). *See* Veritas (pseud.)
Richardson, Thomas, 385n103
Ridgeway, Battle of, 94-97, 368n124
Ridout, George, 350n2, 351n27, 387n224
Ridout, John, 381n224
Ridout, Matilda (wife of Thomas Gibbs Ridout), 362n240
Ridout, Samuel Smith, 350n2, 381n224
Ridout, Thomas, 351n27, 381n224
Ridout, Thomas Gibbs, 362n240, 381n224
Riley, Jonathon, 293-96, 303, 398n94
Robert, Jean-Claude, 402n221
Robinson, John Beverley, 77, 81, 148, 357n152, 361n231, 361n233, 377n157, 379n188
Ross, George William, 126-27, 130, 138-39, 373nn63-65, 373n73, 374n75
Rous and Mann Limited, 230
Roy, Patricia E., 272
Roy, Pierre-Georges, 202-3, 384n82
Royal Archives (United Kingdom), 365n52
Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, 5
Royal Engineers, 53-54, 99, 352n43, 359n193
Royal Military College (United Kingdom), 349n7
Royal Military College of Canada, 209, 285
Royal School of Infantry (Toronto), 128
Royal Society of Canada, 379n200
Royal Trust Company, 245, 247-48, 250, 391n91
royal visits
  1860, 75-76, 79, 82, 85, 87
  1939, 215
Russell, Robert Boyd, 200-201
Ryerson, Egerton, 100
Ryerson, George Sterling, 113, 118, 134, 137

Salaberry, Charles de. *See* de Salaberry, Charles
Saywell, John T., 314-15, 317
Schipper, Gerrit, 153-54, 377n162, 379n195
Schmon, Arthur A., 245
schoolchildren. *See* students (including schoolchildren)
Scott, Duncan Campbell, 381n230
Scott, Thomas, 21
Scott, Walter, 200, 384n71
Sears, Barbara, 276, 396n25
Second World War, 5, 7, 11, 215, 221-24, 226, 229, 232, 242, 317, 342, 387n143
Secord, Laura, 14, 50, 79-80, 83-85, 124, 192, 262, 325, 328-29, 358n170, 365n47, 365nn51-53, 366nn76-77, 391n81
sectionalism, 232, 293, 342
Sedgwick, Catharine Maria, 352n45
Sharpe, Agnes, 209
Sharpe, Robert J., 383n60
Sharples, James, 379n195
Shaw, Aeneas, 216
Shaw, Norman, 218, 387n154
Shaw, Sophia, 216-18, 231, 310, 323, 387n144, 387n154, 377n152
Shaw, Stuart J., 389n9
Shaw, Susan, 310
Sheaffe, Paul, 404n279
Sheaffe, Roger Hale
  and Battle of Queenston Heights, 20, 56, 72, 284, 289, 291-92, 302, 363n20
  battlefield error, 291-92
  victor of Queenston Heights, 1, 5, 56, 135, 218, 256, 289, 295, 298, 311, 335
  Brock's equal, 20-21, 311
  alienates Upper Canadian elite, 5, 20-21, 218-20, 301, 351n17
  proposed monument to, 219-21
  provincial plaque honouring, 387n164, 404n280
  battlefield route marker, 220, 387n162
  scholarly attitudes toward, 257, 284-85, 286-87, 290-92, 398n69
  attacks and criticisms against, 152, 219-20, 284, 286-87, 291-92, 311, 377n166, 379n188
  support for, 225, 256, 284, 289-91, 334-35, 393n134
  and descendants, 1, 334-36, 349n2, 404nn279-80
Sheaffe, Stephen, 334-36, 344, 349n2, 404nn279-80
Sheppard, George, 403n258
Shirreff, Patrick, 358n167
Shoalts, Adam, 333, 335, 404n283
Simcoe, John Graves, 155, 269, 390n75
Simpson, Jeffrey, 326
Six Nations, 120-22, 214, 372n35, 391n81
Smith, Alexander G. (Dehkanenraneh), 34-35, 121-2, 372nn34-35
Smith, Allan, 350n24
Smith, Frederick, 99
Smith, Goldwin, 108-9, 127-28, 370n185
Smith, William Loe, 209-10
Snider, Charles H.J., 188-89
social engineering, definition, 12-13
socialism, 200-201, 207
Society of Friends (Quakers), 385n113
Spence, Nellie, 376n127
spiritualism. *See* Howell-Jones, Arabella Stuart
St. Mark's Church, 35, 391n92
St. Paul's Cathedral, 28, 214, 350n22
St. Saviour, Brock Memorial Church
  memorial window, 354n74
  earlier church proposal, 31, 353n74
Stacey, Charles P., 90, 253, 311, 367n115, 368n127, 392n123, 402n209
  as a Brock scholar, 233, 254, 281, 285-7, 366n85, 380n207
  on heroism, 232-34, 241
  nationalism, 242, 357n152
  Militia Myth, 47, 233, 264, 315, 345, 401n194
  and Berton, 278-81
stamps, Brock
  Canadian commemorative issue (1969), 250, 392n105, 392n108, (2012), 403n256
Stanley, George F.G., 282-85, 288
Stanton, Robert, 77, 365n38
Starowicz, Mark, 313, 320-22
Stehelin, Benjamin J., 359n193
Sterne, Laurence, 352n35
storytellers, 310
  and Brock, 23, 25
Strachan, James, 26
Strachan, John, 26, 44-45
  and Militia Myth, 40-41, 46, 48, 315, 364n23
Stuart, Arabella. *See* Howell-Jones, Arabella Stuart
students (including schoolchildren)
  John Strachan's, 44-45
  patriotic indoctrination of, 122, 138, 140, 142, 144, 189
  as disengaged learners, 235-36, 241, 272-73, 307, 389n38
  and Brock, 152, 154, 203, 223-24, 234, 237, 250, 274, 307, 398n92
  See also indoctrination, patriotic/educational

students, graduate, and Brock scholarship, 256, 258, 261, 268, 336
Sutherland, Ira Maxwell, 393n137, 399n122
Suthren, Victor, 319
Swayze, Isaac, 17
Sweetman, John, 380n207
Swift, Jamie, 326, 404n242
Szamosi, Annie, 361n235

Taber, Jane, 325
Talman, James J., 351n31, 356n115
taverns, 23, 77, 351nn31-33, 360n202
  and talk of Brock, 21, 23
Tecumseh, 4, 148, 186, 226, 249, 280, 297-98, 317, 319, 324, 328-29, 392n120, 403n256
  fall of, 370n188
  grave of, 133, 371n199, 374n83
  bones of, 112
  putative war club, 246-47
television, 307-8, 312-13, 316-17, 319, 320-21, 323, 396n6
  negative influence of, 232, 234, 273, 389n22
Temple, Henry John, 3rd Viscount Palmerston, 89
textbooks, American, 361n217
textbooks, Canadian history
  influence of Ontario, 203, 384n77
  patriotism of, 140
  treatment of Brock, 140, 154, 201, 203, 205, 211-12, 216, 223, 234, 341-42
  militarism, 189, 209-11, 385n113
  boring nature of, 138, 140-41, 143-44, 234-36, 241, 273, 308, 342, 375n117, 393n127
  attempts to improve, 139, 142-43, 223-24, 272-73, 341
  and Canadian publishing, 145, 185, 224
Thomas, William, 60, 80, 365n54
Thomas Upton Company, 197
Thompson, Robert T., 209
Thomson, Charles Edward Poulett, 1st Baron Sydenham, 57
Thomson, Edward W., 92-93
Thorburn, David, 53, 359n186, 361n231, 361n233
Tolstoy, Leo, 13, 20
Toronto-Dominion Bank, 248-50, 391n98
Toronto Trades and Labour Council, 209
tourism, history 10, 37-40, 49-50, 232, 238-40, 269-72, 275, 284, 331, 343
  battlefield tours, 26, 37-39, 49, 232, 238, 271-72, 284, 333, 355n113, 395nn203-4
tourism, history (*continued*)
  tourists, 21, 24-26, 38-39, 49-51, 58-59, 195, 231-32, 238-40, 247, 253, 266, 269-72, 282, 331, 333, 353n57, 355nn112-13, 356nn114-15, 356n120, 361n229, 392n116, 394n184, 395n204
Treaty of Ghent, 346, 374n81
Trent Affair, 86-90
Trinity College School, 235
Tupper, Elizabeth (Brock), 151, 378n176
Tupper, Ferdinand Brock Tupper
  as Brock's biographer, 45, 148-53, 377nn158-59, 377n162, 377nn165-66, 378n185, 379nn188-89, 379n193
  biographical sources, 148-51, 377n162, 378nn175-77, 378n182
  influence over Brock's portrait, 153
  contradicted by Merritt, 71
  response to MacNab's speech, 65, 362n260
  attacks against Sheaffe, 152, 377n166
  complaint about Procter, 149, 378n167
  on Brock's disapproval of defensive warfare, 378n174
  blames Prevost for Brock's death, 150, 378n186
  death, 152, 154, 379n190
Tupper, Henrietta, 150
Turner, Wesley B.
  as a Brock scholar, 257, 260-61, 288-89, 295, 397n66
  views on Prevost, 401n208
  Grodzinski's criticism of, 296
  historiographical interests and contributions, 397n67, 400n162
  and Brock's enduring popularity, 2, 296
TVOntario, 317, 401n200
Tyrwhitt, Janice, 277

Union Jack, 37, 96, 121-24, 130, 209, 360n207
United Canadian Association, 111-12, 370n196, 371n199
United Empire Loyalists, 114-17, 126-28, 132-33, 137
  See also Loyalists
United Empire Loyalists' Association, 10, 24, 104, 112-18, 122, 134, 212, 341-42, 344, 352n38, 372n13, 373n63
  and women's rights, 114
United Farmers of Ontario, 207, 209
University of Toronto Press, 255, 388n177
Upper Canada (now Ontario), descriptions, 2, 61, 46
Upper Canada House of Assembly, 27, 29-31, 43, 53, 103

Valiants Memorial, 333
Valleau, Eleanor, 37
Valleau, John, 355n111
Vance, Jonathan F., 198, 402n220, 404n285
Vanier, Georges, 243-44, 390n71
Veritas (pseud.), 299
  identified as John Richardson (merchant), 399n124
Victoria, Queen, 56, 75, 129, 131, 135, 360n210, 361n221, 364n31
Vietnam War, 263, 275
Vimy Ridge Veterans' Reunion, 213
von Clausewitz, Carl, 13
Vronsky, Peter, 368n124
Vrooman's Battery, 237

Wackett, Edgar, 383n47
Wadsworth, William, 363n20
Walden, Keith
  as a Brock scholar, 48, 258-59, 261
  review of Berton, 279-80
  explains Denison's attitude toward Brock and the militia, 369n164
  views on historical memory, social engineering, mythology, 203, 345, 393n148
  and Brock's appeal to Imperial Federalism, 372n12
Wallace, Elisabeth, 370n185
Wallace, William Stewart, 187, 230, 242, 382n13, 382n16
War of 1812, declaration of, 3, 22, 295
War Office (United Kingdom), 92, 195
Ward, William C., 53-54, 359n193
Washington, George, 328, 362n235, 403n252
Washington Monument (Baltimore), 49
Waterloo, Battle of, 48, 128
Watson, Simon Zelotes, 18, 350n4
Watt, Lila, 206
Weaver, Emily P., 376n127
Welland Canal, 70, 95, 205, 352n38
Welland Canal Field Battery, 96
Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of, 48, 128, 305-6, 400n143
Wells, James E., 140-41
Westmacott, Richard, 28-29, 353n61
White, Mary, 217-18
White House (Washington, DC), 115
Whitfield, Carol, 267, 395nn188-90
  as a Brock scholar, 268, 395n191
Whitney, James P., 145
Wilhelm I, Kaiser, 192
Wilhelm II, Kaiser, 136
William Briggs (Methodist Book and Publishing House), 130, 143-46
  See also Briggs, William
Williams, Fred, 218-21
Williams, John, 19
Windmill, Battle of the, 360n200
Windsor, Battle of, 55, 360n200
Winnipeg General Strike, 200
Wise, Frank, 188
Wise, Sydney F., 363n3, 400n162
Withrow, William H., 386n119
Wolfe, James, 82, 139, 198, 262, 366n71, 381n4, 381n6, 384n64, 392n120
Wolthausen, Frederick, 198-99
Wolthausen Hat Corporation, 199
Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto, 112, 238
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 210, 385n106, 385n113
Wood, J. David, 384n85
Wood, James, 356n124, 367n95
Wood, William, 264-66, 381n6
Woodsworth, Lucy L., 208
Wool, John E., 287
Worthington, John, 362n240, 365n54
Wright, Donald A., 394n170
Wright, Edward, 80
Wright, J. Edward, 238
Wrong, George M., 187
XYZ Publishing, 310

Yates, Raymond F., 388n193
Yeo, James, 301
York (Toronto), 5, 40, 217-20, 225, 309, 351n17, 361n217
York, Battle of, 5, 20, 218-20, 301, 351n17
York Militia, 157, 350n2, 396n25
  3rd Regiment, 396n25
  York Volunteers, 46, 142, 218, 277, 279, 383n36, 396n25

York Pioneer and Historical Society, 111
Young, Thomas, 59

Zabek, Jim, 390n42
Zoetewey, Chris, 403n271

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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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