

## The Grand River Naval Depot

- John Thornley Docker, D.Min.

In the early months of the War of 1812, British forces had control of Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, and the St. Lawrence River System. That changed on September 10, 1813 when the British fleet of six vessels under the command of Captain Robert Heriot Barclay, Royal Navy, was defeated by the American fleet of nine vessels under Commodore Oliver H. Perry, off Put-in-Bay, South Bass Island, Ohio. From that time on Lake Erie was in American hands.

The Treaty of Ghent, signed by Great Britain and the United States in Ghent, Belgium on December 24, 1814, concluded the hostilities between the two powers. But the threat of an American invasion still remained. There was fear that another contest with the United States might result in the loss of all Canada west of Montreal.<sup>1</sup> During the war, settlements on the north shore of Lake Erie between Niagara and Detroit had been raided by the Americans.<sup>2</sup> For these reasons the British naval administration, headquartered at Kingston decided that secure military and naval bases were needed, including one on the north shore of Lake Erie.

Two sites were under consideration, one at the mouth of the Grand River, and the other at the abandoned naval depot at Turkey Point, some 45 miles to the west. This depot guarding Long Point Bay had been active during the War of 1812.

In 1809 Major John Norton wrote that the sand hills at the mouth of the Grand River would make a good location for a fort.<sup>3</sup> At the time of Norton's visit, the land at the mouth of the Grand River was part of the Haldimand Grant awarded to the Six Nations in 1784.<sup>4</sup> However, in November of that year, 4000 acres were given to Niagara-based lawyer William Dickson in return for his professional services.<sup>5</sup>

Sir Edward Campbell Rich Owen became commodore and commander-in-chief of the Royal Navy forces on the Great Lakes in March 1815.<sup>6</sup> On April 4, he wrote to Lieutenant General Gordon Drummond, commander of the forces of Quebec, expressing his intention to build some vessels for transport on Lake Erie. These, Owen explained, would be convertible to armed vessels should the need arise. In addition, Owen intended to find a place for a naval establishment somewhere on the upper lakes.<sup>7</sup>

A survey of the Grand River and Turkey Point sites in June 1815 affirmed that at the entrance to the Grand River "there is a bar that is shallow and shifting frequently backing up with southerly winds so as to impede materially the passage." They found Turkey Point "a most excellent anchorage...perfectly secure from any attack and easily defended." However they were not able to discover any place there suitable for shipbuilding.<sup>8</sup>

Owen sent the report to Drummond with a letter stating that the findings on the mouth of the Grand were "unfavorable as regards the depth of water at its entrance" but commending the site for its advantage for communication purposes.<sup>9</sup> Negotiations to obtain the land for the depot then began with the Six Nations and with Dickson, whose property also encroached on the site. That August the Honourable Colonel William Claus, deputy superintendent of Indian Affairs met with the 17 principal chiefs of the Six Nations. They expressed a willingness to surrender four square miles at the mouth of the Grand River for not less than \$10 per acre.<sup>10</sup> It is still open to question whether the

Indians were actually paid for the land. However, at this point the government claimed three reserves comprising 295 acres. The smallest one, containing 30 acres, was on Mohawk Bay, on the eastern side of Mohawk Point. The second, at Barbet Point, contained 33 acres.<sup>11</sup> The largest property, containing 232 acres, lay on both sides of the mouth of the Grand River but most of the land was on the east side in Sherbrooke Township.

In August, 1815, Commodore Owen ordered Captain William Bouchier, former commander of the naval establishment at Turkey Point to search for the best site for a naval establishment at the mouth of the Grand River. Late in that summer, a crew of officers and craftsmen, lent from the Kingston yard, arrived at the mouth of the Grand under the command of Captain Bouchier. Among them were Edward Law, naval storekeeper; Edmond Burton, deputy naval storekeeper; William Goodwin and William Mellanby, shipwrights; Pierre Richards, sawyer; and John W. Jewell, quartermaster.<sup>12</sup> If it proved to be an adequate site for a base, Bouchier was ordered to take his vessels over the sandbar, with full and explicit instructions on how to go about it, and to prepare to stay there for the winter.

Owen enclosed a sketch showing where five log huts were to be constructed behind the sand hills on the east side of the river: one for the captain, one for the purser and lieutenant of marines, one for the gunner, midshipmen, and captain's servant, one for the seamen and marines who were not attached to particular vessels, and one for the quartermaster, shipwrights and sawyers.<sup>13</sup> At the end of the year Commodore Owen returned to England, entrusting the acting command of the naval forces on the Great Lakes to his brother.

They survived the winter at the mouth of the Grand River with few problems. However the following March Captain Bouchier wrote to Captain William FitzWilliam Owen, new Senior Officer of the Lakes in Canada telling him that the settlers in the area "can be of no use to any Establishment; the Grand River having been a rendezvous for vagabonds and the further they are removed the less temptation for the Men."<sup>14</sup>

No explicit statement ordering the setting up of a permanent station at the Grand River has been found, but it seems the base grew from this beginning. Because it was located in Sherbrooke Township, the depot was sometimes known as the Sherbrooke Naval Depot. Some maps refer to it as the Lynn Owen Depot,<sup>15</sup> but the base was most commonly known as the Grand River Naval Establishment on Lake Erie, or the Grand River Naval Depot.

By May 1816, the number of enlisted men stationed at the Grand River Naval Establishment had grown to 187. In addition there were eight men in the civil establishment who served as storekeepers, clerks, quartermaster of shipwrights and other artificers. William Bouchier was commander reporting to Captain William FitzWilliam Owen in Kingston. In 1816 the British force on the lake consisted of four vessels: *H.M.S. Tecumseth* and *H.M.S. Newash*, with four guns each; and *H.M.S. Huron* and *H. M. S. Sauk*, with one gun each. There were also at least four smaller gunboats classed as Durham boats. These vessels made their home at the new naval base and were used primarily for transporting men and stores from port to port.<sup>16</sup>

The *Tecumseth* and *Newash* ran aground on the sandbar in 1816, which led to their being replaced by smaller vessels from Lake Huron, the *Confiance* and *Surprize*. These sister ships, formerly *Tigress* and *Scorpion*, had been captured from the Americans

in September 1814.<sup>17</sup> (The *Tecumseth* and *Newash* were sent to Penetanguishene. The remains of the *Tecumseth* are preserved there as well as a replica of the vessel which sails from its harbour.)

Lieutenant Colonel Dunford was ordered to find a solution to the problem of the sandbar. However nothing was done to implement this recommendations and the sandbar continued to be a problem.

The men at the depot were to be prepared at all times to defend the Canadian border in the event of an American invasion. Most of the time they were occupied with erecting buildings and constructing wharves. The buildings were made from logs and several were shingled. There were officers' quarters, barracks and log huts for military guards, seamen, shipwrights and sawyers, a kitchen, a slop room, and sanitary facilities, log buildings and sheds for provisions and stores, a smith's shop, a mould loft for ship building, stables, and a bell post.<sup>18</sup>

Meals at the depot were generally poor and monotonous. The diet probably consisted of potatoes, salt beef, peas, rice, beans, butter, and cheese and, until an oven was built for baking bread, ship's biscuits or hard tack made from flour and water. Supplying the men with food and drink in such a remote area took a lot of effort. Each day British sailors were issued one half pint of grog, consisting of half rum and half water. The officers fared better.

Daniel Pring became the captain of the *Confiance* and commander of the depot after January 1817. The following account of an "entertainment" given by the Officers of the Naval Establishment at the Grand River, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of February that year appeared in *The Kingston Gazette*.

A very numerous assemblage of visitors had reached the naval depot by four o'clock P.M., and were received by the Commandant, Captain Pring, and his Lady, in the most affable and hospitable manner. A sumptuous dinner was prepared in the officers' mess room, to which the company, upwards of sixty in number, sat down, and where they remained till the play was announced as ready to commence. The ladies were conveyed to the Theatre in sledges, which those good humoured lads, the sailors, insisted on drawing themselves, a distance of a quarter of a mile. The Mould Loft had been fitted up for the occasion. The entrance was through an avenue of evergreens, illuminated with lamps. The scenery and decorations of the Theatre, painted by the joint efforts of the officers were executed in a very superior style. An appropriate prologue was spoken in a masterly manner and the celebrated comedy, *She Stoops to Conquer* was performed by the Naval Amateurs in a style far above mediocrity. Between the acts a comic song was given with much humour and stage effect, which was encored by the audience. The comedy over at 10 PM, the company returned, much delighted with the performance, to the mess room and partook of refreshments.

An agreeable summons was now received that the Ballroom was ready, and on returning to the Mould Loft, all were surprised to find the Theatre vanished—the boxes, pit, scenery and all had disappeared, and like some pantomimic trick, changed into a ball room seventy feet in length, well illuminated, and decorated with flags. Twenty-five and thirty couples at times occupied the floor til 5 in the morning, when the company again retired to Captain Pring's quarters, where an elegant repast was prepared for them, and where mirth and good humour prevailed until daylight gave its intrusive warning.

If the visitors were well pleased with the cordial reception they met with, both from Captain Pring, his amiable lady and all the officers, they no doubt must have been equally gratified in seeing so numerous an assemblage of all parts of the country visiting them— from York, from Long Point and from the Niagara frontier. Upwards of thirty Ladies were present.

The following morning the company set out on their return home, pleased with the amusements and highly gratified with the affability and politeness with which they had been received and entertained by the officers at the Naval Establishment.<sup>19</sup>

Naval officers tended to be extremely brief in their remarks in their logs. On February 17, 1817, Captain Pring wrote only this:

Fresh Breezes in cloudy weather. People employed getting stakes for the establishment. Shipwright employed in Sauk and Durham Boats.<sup>20</sup>

Limiting his notes to naval business, Pring makes no mention of being host at a party that day or the next, in his log. No other visitors describe the complex and comfortable buildings depicted in this article. In 1817, the area surrounding the depot was unsettled and roads did not exist. It is difficult to conceive of 30 couples, traveling for several days on sleighs, in the dead of winter, to attend such an elaborate affair. Perhaps the newspaper reporter embellished the account of a simpler gathering. In any case, the height of activity at the Grand River depot was parties like that entertainment hosted by Captain Pring and his wife, never a naval engagement with the United States.

Negotiations between the British government and Washington resulted in the Rush-Bagot agreement, which was to influence policy with respect to the future defense of the Canadas. The new convention became effective April 28, 1817 and was formally endorsed by the participating governments October 20, 1818. The agreement demilitarized the lakes and limited British presence to four armed vessels not exceeding 100 tons, each with one 18-pounder cannon. One vessel was deployed on Lake Champlain, one on Lake Ontario, and two on the Upper Lakes.<sup>21</sup>

From then on there was a steady reduction in personnel at the Grand River Depot. The *Confiance*, *Surprize*, *Huron*, and *Sauk* were placed in the state of ordinary, which meant their armaments, rigging, and masts were removed into stores, but their hulls were maintained in a state of readiness should hostilities with the Americans resurface. The establishment became a home for ships in “ordinary” and it was thereafter sometimes referred to by the officials at Kingston as “The Grand River Ordinary”. Many of the men were paid off by June 13, 1817, but the depot continued as a naval and military presence on Lake Erie to monitor American sailing activities.

In 1820 a survey of ships, buildings and wharves at the naval establishment at the Grand River on Lake Erie was ordered by Captain Robert Barrie, Commissioner in charge of naval operations on the Great Lakes. The survey of buildings and wharves lists a blacksmith’s shop, a steam kiln, a temporary shed with the mould loft over it, several log huts, a shipwrights’ barracks, a quartermen’s dwelling house, a log hut, a naval store, a surgeon’s quarters and dispensary, an armoury, military barracks, a stable, a storehouse, the captain’s dwelling house, naval mess-room, military officer’s quarters, and a

vegetable store. Most of the buildings were found to be in a bad state. However the wharf was found to be in good condition. The survey also showed an unfinished log storehouse and dwelling house 18 miles up the river.<sup>22</sup>

In March 1825 Captain MacKenzie was sent to England and Lieutenant John Power Tweed became the new Superintendent over eight men.<sup>23</sup> Joseph Pickering, an English farmer, took shelter from a shower at the depot that year. He wrote that it consisted of "one well-furnished, low, but rather large, house for the officers and twelve or fourteen small log huts as barracks for about eighteen or twenty soldiers and sailors."<sup>24</sup>

In 1827, there were seven men stationed at the depot under Lieutenant-superintendent John Power Tweed.<sup>25</sup> On June 22, a huge storm washed away the wharf and four buildings at the Grand River Naval Depot. It was reported that the *Surprize* was badly damaged that day when her master, two hands and a boy were washed overboard.<sup>26</sup> The next month, Captain Basil Hall and his party "dropped into the quiet little naval establishment at the mouth of the Grand River. Hall, a retired naval officer who later published an account of his travels wrote:

The flag-staff was struck, the works gone to decay, the storehouses nearly empty. Everything we saw, in short, bespoke the stillness and neglect of peace, as contradistinguished from the rattling activity of iron war.

A small military party were stationed here, under the command of an officer, whose unhappiness at this moment interested our feelings not a little. All things, it is said, are judged of by comparison; but surely it required some elasticity in the imagination to understand how such a wretched abode as the Grand River station could be deemed a desirable residence. Yet so it seemed to this worthy officer, and his poor family, who were in great distress at the necessity of leaving it.

In the meantime, he showed us to his log-house not a dozen feet high, half buried in the sand, within twenty paces of a stagnant marsh, and blessed with not more than ten yards of prospect in any direction, besides being placed in a sort of eddy or cove, which tempted whole armies of industrious mosquitoes to carry on their operation against himself, his wife, and his six children.

In addition to the mosquitoes, the men stationed at the depot were plagued with long and continued sickness with flu-like symptoms and dysentery caused by drinking lake water, unsanitary conditions, and eating spoiled food. Although there was no military combat at the depot there were casualties. Several men drowned and there were letters to Kingston requesting a surgeon to care for the sick and wounded. Those who died were buried in a cemetery on the reserve.

By 1828 the vessels and buildings at the Grand River depot were in such a ruinous state that Barrie, now Commodore, considered rendering the buildings habitable for a year or two, and then, depending on the state of the naval establishments in Canada, move the depot from the mouth to a site "much higher up the River under the protection of the projected Fort."<sup>27</sup> This was near the place mentioned in the 1820 survey as being 18 miles up the river near present-day Cayuga.

The Welland Canal played an important role in the final years of the Grand River Naval Depot. It had long been a dream of its builder, William Hamilton Merritt, to unite Lakes Ontario and Erie with a marine stairway that by-passed Niagara Falls. A sufficient

flow of water to lift ships over the Niagara Escarpment was needed. The original plan was for the Welland Canal to be supplied with water from the Welland River, [Chippawa Creek]. In 1828 when workers attempted to dig the canal down to the level of the Welland River, the excavation had to be halted due to slippages in the “Deep Cut” caused by heavy rains and quicksand. This complication resulted in a recommendation from canal engineer James Geddes that the water for the locks come from the Grand River by raising the level of the Grand by a dam to be constructed near its mouth.<sup>28</sup> The water would travel from the Grand to the main canal through a canal feeder. The decision to dam the Grand River was made on January 1, 1829 and tenders for the dam and canal feeder were called for and approved on January 31.<sup>29</sup> Then the Canal Company ran into military objections.

The plan to move the naval establishment from the mouth of the Grand to a point 18 miles up the river was still under consideration. Lieutenant George Phillpotts who had surveyed the river to see what effect the dam might have, argued that the dam would cut off access between Lake Erie and that future naval establishment.

The Welland Canal Company offered to build locks around the dam so that naval vessels could reach the proposed naval base and to make any other accommodation required by the navy. Phillpotts responded:

As a remedy however, Mr. Merritt offers to Construct a Lock of any size that Commodore Barrie may require to enable Vessels of War to pass round this Dam, and if the Navy merely requires a Water Communication as Merchants do during peace, I imagine that this remedy would be so far sufficient that the Company might be allowed, on account of the great saving of expense, to do this: but it must be remembered, that a number of small vessels running to a Harbour before a superior force, would not have [time] to pass through such a lock before those in the rear, would be overtaken or destroyed by the Enemy.<sup>30</sup>

Commodore Barrie was strongly opposed to the construction of a dam across any part of the Grand River below the site that had been proposed for the new naval establishment. 18 miles up the river.<sup>31</sup> When the Welland Canal Company objected that a dam 18 miles up the river would involve lengthening an already lengthy feeder and adding greatly to its cost, Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Colborne of Upper Canada offered a compromise by insisting that the dam should be built at least two miles upstream.<sup>32</sup> On May 8, 1829, it was recorded that:

The president and directors on the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> instant inspected the Grand River in order to determine upon a proper site for a dam, having found it necessary from objections advanced by the Naval Department to abandon the further prosecution of the dam near the mouth of the river. After an examination of the banks it appeared to the directors that it is expedient to construct the dam nearly opposite the limit between Moulton and the Indian lands and about 4 ½ miles from the mouth of the river.<sup>33</sup>

The tiny settlement where the dam and the entrance to the canal feeder were located was named Dunnville after John Henry Dunn, a director and president of the Welland Canal Company. Also around this time the village that was growing up at the

mouth of the Grand River was named Port Maitland after Sir Peregrine Maitland who was lieutenant governor of Upper Canada 1818-1828.

Due to hasty construction, the dam developed leaks in 1831 and the feeder became obstructed by grass in 1832. Repairs were made and the feeder was made deeper and wider so that canal barges could run on it. By 1842 the feeder was converted to function as a regular branch of the Welland Canal. The Feeder Canal helped bring about Dunnville's expansion into a prosperous trading and shipping centre with its own customs office.<sup>34</sup>

It was the directors of the Welland Canal Company who finally addressed the problem of the sandbar. After the first season of operation, the board was aware that the canal route from Lake Erie down the Niagara River to Chippawa, then up to the canal at Port Robinson and on to Lake Ontario, was difficult, slow, and circuitous. Ships traveling in the opposite direction to Lake Erie had to navigate the dangerous and treacherous currents of the Niagara River between Chippawa and Lake Erie. They concluded that the route of the Welland Canal needed to be changed. The question was whether it would be better to enlarge the Feeder Canal and make Port Maitland the Lake Erie entrance to the canal, or extend it southward from Port Robinson making Gravelly Bay, [Port Colborne] the entrance. Since they believed the Grand River was likely to be open earlier in the spring than Gravelly Bay, they decided to build a harbour at Port Maitland.

At their meeting on May 2, 1831, the board resolved to erect a pier at the mouth of the Grand River, "so long as it did not exceed £3000" and called for proposals. The next month they concluded that Gravelly Bay was the best termination for the Welland Canal because it was a shorter route to the lake.<sup>35</sup> In spite of that decision, the pier was finally built at Port Maitland. The next year the board noted the importance of extending the pier and deepening the channel. A second pier must have been constructed shortly after the first one, for in June 1834 the board realized the *piers* were in poor shape.

The rerouting of the Welland Canal to Gravelly Bay in 1833 dealt the death blow to the Grand River Depot. Port Colborne was now a more important harbour strategically and the centre of Lake Erie naval operations was shifted to there.<sup>36</sup> In June 1834, the inland naval establishment in Canada was officially closed down and Commodore Barrie went home.<sup>37</sup> However in a report to Sir Francis Bond Head, now lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, it was recommended that seven military and naval reserves located in the province be sold, and seven others, including the "naval and military reserve on the Grand River...be let serviceable in case of war".<sup>38</sup> When the British navy withdrew from the depot, the buildings and blockhouses were manned by enlisted men and volunteers from Upper Canada.

Three steam vessels, the *Minos*, the *Toronto*, and the *Despatch* were stationed in the harbour during the following years. On May 6, 1850 the worst disaster on Lake Erie up to that time occurred just outside the Port Maitland harbour. The *Despatch*, stationed at the naval depot, rammed the steamer *Commerce*, which was damaged so badly that it sank in a very short time. The *Commerce* had been en route to London with 125 officers and men of the 23rd regiment of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, their wives and children. Those saved were put on board the *Minos* and taken to the naval establishment. The actual number of those who perished that night has never been definitely established. Twenty-five bodies recovered from the wreck were interred in a long grave in Christ's

Church cemetery. A monument placed over the grave by the regiment remains as a reminder of the tragedy.<sup>39</sup>

By 1900, the old buildings of the naval depot had disappeared but the government still held the land on both sides of the river as naval and military reserves. Cannonballs a sword, some old English coins and wood were retrieved probably from the wrecks of vessels which were ordered to be broken up in 1830. Drifting sand and inroads made by the lake brought to light military buttons and remains of men buried on the reserve while the depot was in operation.

For many years the land on which the naval depot was located remained government property. The naval reserves were formally relinquished by the Crown in 1915. The largest reserve on the east side of the river was sold to the Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo Railway. When the T. H. & B had no further use for the land, it was subdivided and rented to summer residents, mostly from Hamilton, who built cottages on the site. This land was sold by the T. H. & B. on October 29, 1990, to the Beckley Beach Cottagers' Corporation.<sup>40</sup>

The naval reserves at Mohawk Bay and at Barbet Point were sold to the farmers whose farms adjoined them.<sup>41</sup> In 1957 the outer point of the former Barbet Point reserve was purchased by the Department of Lands and Forests. On these 17 hectares of land, Rock Point Provincial Park was established.<sup>42</sup>

Today the land once set aside to defend the Canadian border from the threat of invading American forces is used for farming, camping, or for summer cottages (many of whose occupants come over from the United States!) Where a British naval depot existed, people of all ages come each summer to relax and enjoy swimming, boating, fishing, and hiking.

In the village of Port Maitland, the municipality retains a 66 foot strip along the river's edge and a small triangle at the end of the west pier. This public land, Esplanade Park, is now a children's playground, a picnic area, and a boat launching ramp. Here, on the west bank of the mouth of the Grand River, a plaque erected by the Archeological and Historical Sites Board, Department of Public Records and Archives of Ontario was dedicated July 13, 1969. It outlines the history of the Grand River Naval Depot. If it were not for this plaque, few would ever know that in this area there once was a naval installation, since nothing of it remains.

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<sup>1</sup> John W. Spurr, "The Royal Navy's Presence in Kingston", Vol. 25, Part I, (Kingston: *Historic Kingston*, 1977), p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Fred Landon, *Western Ontario and the American Frontier*, Carleton Edition, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1967), p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Carl F. Klinck and James J. Talman eds., *The Journal of Major John Norton*, 1816, (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1970) p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Charles M. Johnston, ed, *The Valley of the Six Nations*, (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1964), p. xxxiv.

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- <sup>5</sup> Indian Affairs, 1809, RG10, Ontario Provincial Archives, [PAO], pp.174-179.
- <sup>6</sup> Spurr, p. 70.
- <sup>7</sup> Owen to Drummond, 4 April 1815, British Military Records, RG8 C Series I Vol. 734, National Archives of Canada [NAC] p. 66.
- <sup>8</sup> Aldersley and Harris report to Comm. Owen, 10 June 1815, RG8, C Series, Vol. 370, NAC, p. 24.
- <sup>9</sup> Owen to Drummond, 30 June 1815, RG8 C. Series, Vol. 1228, NAC, p. 27.
- <sup>10</sup> List of 17 Principal Chiefs, 7 August 1815, RG10, Vol. 31, p. 18281, Givins to Claus, 10 August 1815, RG10, Vol. 31, NAC, p. 18302.
- <sup>11</sup> Some maps called it “Barb Point” because of its barbed shape. That is probably how it got its name but “Barbet” may also come from the French word *barbette* denoting a form of fortification where cannons are fired over a parapet.
- <sup>12</sup> Grand River Depot, Pay List June-September 1815, ADM 42-2167, Public Records Office, Kew Richmond, England [PRO].
- <sup>13</sup> Commodore Owen, to Bouchier, 15 August 1815.
- <sup>14</sup> Bouchier to W.F.W. Owen, 2 March, 1816, ADM 1/2266, p. 407, PRO.
- <sup>15</sup> King’s Lynn is a seaport on the estuary of the Ouse River in Norfolk, England. Owen, is the name of the two men closely associated with the establishment of the Naval Station: Commodore Sir Edward Campbell Rich Owen, K.C.B., Officer Commanding the Royal Navy on the Great Lakes who recommended the site and his younger brother Captain William FitzWilliam Owen, who surveyed the location with Harris. Perhaps Harris, who seems to have been a close friend of Captain Owen, gave that name to the site, to honour the family.
- <sup>16</sup> “A Statement of H. M.’s Naval Forces and Civil Establishment on the Lakes of Canada”, 1 May 1816, RG8, Vol. 737, NAC, p. 115.  
“A Statement of H. M.’s Naval Forces and Civil Establishment on the Lakes of Canada”, 1 September 1816, RG8 Vol. 739, NAC, p. 139.  
W. Buscombe, *Naval and Military Establishment Manual*, Penetanguishene, 1976, pp. 85-88.
- <sup>17</sup> Morris Zaslow, Ed., *The Defended Border*, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1964) pp. 150-153.
- <sup>18</sup> Site Map, ADM 106, vol. 2002 Microfilm B1005 NAC.
- <sup>19</sup> From an article in *The Kingston Gazette*, published Saturday 15 March, 1817, copied in *The Quebec Mercury*, Tuesday 25 March 1817.
- <sup>20</sup> Ship’s Log, *Confiance*, Grand River, February 1817, ADM 51-6170, PRO.
- <sup>21</sup> Spurr, p. 71.
- <sup>22</sup> Report signed by T. L. Hawkes, Robert Moore, William Morgan, 9 September 1820, ADM 106 Vol. 1999, No. 46, PRO.
- <sup>23</sup> Pay List Grand River Depot, 1825, ADM 42-2188, PRO.
- <sup>24</sup> Joseph Pickering, *Emigration, or No Emigration*, (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1830) p. 40.
- <sup>25</sup> Pay List Grand River Depot, 1827, ADM 42-2188 PRO.
- <sup>26</sup> *The Niagara Gleaner*, 27 June 1827.

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- <sup>27</sup> Barrie to Principal Officers and Commissioners, 2 August 1828, ADM 106-2002 No. 5, PRO.
- <sup>28</sup> James Geddes, "Report to the President and Director's of the Welland Canal Company, 27 December 1828, Welland Canal Company Minute Book, MS 191, R3, Sect. B, PAO.
- <sup>29</sup> Welland Canal Company Minute Book.
- <sup>30</sup> Phillpotts' Report 27 March 1829, RG8, C Series Vol. 48, NAC, pp. 64-70.
- <sup>31</sup> Lieutenant Colonel J. R. Wright to Colonel Dunford, 24 April 1829, RG8 Vol. 48, NAC, p. 230.
- <sup>32</sup> Hugh G. J. Aitken, *The Welland Canal Company: A Study in Canadian Enterprise*, Canadian Canal Society, St. Catharines, Ontario, 1997 pp. 52-64.
- <sup>33</sup> DeWitt Carter, *The Welland Canal: A History*, (Port Colborne, Privately printed) p. 23.
- <sup>34</sup> Joan Ellsworth, "History", *A Feasibility Study on the Welland Feeder Canal*, (Wainfleet: Rehabilitate the Old Feeder Canal Association, Inc., 1979), pp. 3-5.
- <sup>35</sup> Welland Canal Company Minute Book, 2 May 1831, MS191, R3, Sect. B, PAO.
- <sup>36</sup> Johnston, p. lxvi.
- <sup>37</sup> "Canada memo showing state of each Post or Fort mentioned in abstract of Military Commission upon the Defense of the Canadas," 26 May 1834. The memorandum indicates no post or fort at the "mouth of the Ouse". MG13, WO44, File 504, NAC.
- <sup>38</sup> Report to Head, 27 May 1837, MG13, WO55, Vol. 873, NAC.
- <sup>39</sup> "100 Years Since 'Commerce' was Rammed at Port Maitland", *Haldimand County Centennial*, 30 July 1950, Haldimand-Norfolk Museum and Archives, Cayuga.
- <sup>40</sup> William Arthur Warnick, *The Grand Dispatch*, 30 April 1998, Hamilton, private publication..
- <sup>41</sup> Link, MacAlonan, Jena, Schwanz, "Early History of Sherbrooke" 1955, Paper, DDHA.
- <sup>42</sup> *Dunnville Chronicle*, 6 July 1988. Further land was purchased in 1965, 1971, and 1977 to enlarge the park to approximately 177 hectares.