



THE ST. JOHN RIVER SOCIETY
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Mapping the March of the 104th (New Brunswick) Regiment of Foot

Prepared by

W. E. (Gary) Campbell

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Outline.

The purpose of this research project was to establish criteria for the inclusion of material found during a review of information in order to determine the route that the 104th (New Brunswick) Regiment of Foot followed on their march from Fredericton, NB to Kingston, ON during the period 16 February to 10 May 1813, to collate the research into one document and to have this research agreed upon and the route validated by the significant research and history bodies in New Brunswick; namely the New Brunswick Museum and the New Brunswick Military Heritage Project. The results of this will be plotted on a map that can be used to help commemorate this march during the Bicentennial of the War of 1812.

Overview of the March of the 104th (New Brunswick) Regiment of Foot.

The 104th (New Brunswick) Regiment of Foot was raised in 1803 as His Majesty's New Brunswick Regiment of Fencible Infantry. As a fencible unit, it was liable for service anywhere in British North America. It had 10 companies: eight battalion companies and two flank companies, the Grenadier Company and the Light Company. The Grenadiers were the largest men in the regiment and this company stood on the right flank of the regiment when on parade. Their original role had been to throw hand grenades. The Light Company consisted of the most agile men, who were usually the smallest, and they were trained to fight as light infantry or skirmishers. They stood on the left flank of the regiment when on parade. In 1810, at the request of the officers, the regiment was elevated to regiment of the line status and was renamed the 104th Regiment of Foot. As a regular regiment of the line, they were liable for service anywhere in the world. When the War of 1812 started in the summer of 1812, the 104th had eight companies in New Brunswick and one each in Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton.¹

¹ W. Austin Squires. The 104th Regiment of Foot (The New Brunswick Regiment) 1803-1817. Fredericton: Brunswick Press, 1962. pp. 23-26, 81, 113.

Great Britain was at war with Napoleonic France and this had unfortunate consequences for Anglo-American relations. The British trade embargo with France adversely affected the American merchants who loudly complained to their government. The Royal Navy desperately needed sailors and so impressed (forcefully removed) any British sailors, who were presumed to be deserters, which they found aboard American ships. These grievances escalated into a crisis and, when they could not be amicably resolved, the United States declared war against Great Britain on 18 June 1812. The focus of the land war quickly became Ontario (Upper Canada) with Quebec (Lower Canada) coming second. The war in the Maritime Provinces was almost a non-event with the exception of the naval war between the Royal Navy, the United States Navy and privateers on both sides.

The British held their own along the Niagara frontier during the summer of 1812. However, the Americans were planning a major offensive when the campaign season opened in the spring of 1813. The British were aware of this and urgently needed reinforcement to help counter this threat. Reinforcements would normally have come by sea up the St. Lawrence River to Quebec City. But this route was closed by ice during the winter and would not normally open until April. This meant that the only immediate source for reinforcements was the Maritime Provinces. In order to reach Quebec or Ontario, they would have to travel over the line of communications, or Grand Communications Route, that ran from the Bay of Fundy up the St. John and Madawaska Rivers to Lake Temiscouata and over the Grand Portage to the St. Lawrence River and then onwards to Quebec City. Because of the quiet nature of the land war in the Maritimes, it was decided to send the 104th to Quebec City.

Orders for the march were issued on 5 February 1813. The outlying detachments were called in and replaced by embodied militia. Only six of the eight companies in New Brunswick made the march while the other two remained in the province. Any boys (under the age of 15) and men who were not physically fit to make the march were left behind. The two companies that remained in New Brunswick went to Quebec by sea in the spring. The 104th left Fredericton in six divisions as follows:

- a. Headquarters under Colonel Alexander Halkett and Number 9 Grenadier Company, under Captain Richard Leonard.
- b. Numbers 3, 6 and 8 Battalion companies under Captains William E. Bradley, A. George Armstrong and Thomas Hunter. The order of march of these three companies has not been determined.
- c. Number 5 Battalion Company under Captain Edward Holland.
- d. Number 2 Light Company under Captain George Shore.²

² Provincial Archives of New Brunswick (PANB). MC 300 MS 15/1 Unpublished manuscript history titled The New Brunswick Fencibles by Major G. Harold Markham. Markham said that Holland's Company was fifth in the line of march based on the article that appeared in the *Saint John Daily Sun* on 23

According to the Quarterly Pay List for the 1st Quarter of 1813, the 104th left Fredericton with the following numbers: 22 officers, 1 Paymaster Clerk, 1 Sergeant Drum Major, 31 Sergeants, 33 Corporals, 14 Drummers and Buglers, and 452 Privates for a total of 554 all ranks.³ However, when Lieutenant General Sir George Prevost, the Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of British North America, reported their arrival at Quebec City, their numbers were 20 officers, 32 Sergeants, 31 Corporals, 12 Buglers and 469 Privates for a total of 573 all ranks. This does not include one soldier who died en route and one soldier left at Cabano with severe frostbite and the corporal who was his escort.⁴

The Headquarters and Grenadier Company left Fredericton on 16 February. According to the Lieutenant Andrew W. Playfair, they were accompanied by four native guides (most likely Maliseets from Aucpac). This has not been confirmed by any other source. The citizens for York and Sunbury counties turned out and transported them by sleigh for their first day's march. The other five companies left in consecutive days with the Light Company leaving on 21 February. The enthusiasm of the inhabitants may have waned as Lieutenant John Le Couteur, a member of the Light Company, made no mention of any sleighs on the first day of his march.⁵

The first division of the regiment arrived at Quebec City on 13 March and the last one arrived on 16 or 17 March.⁶ There was little or no rest for them as they quickly took up their share of the garrison duties, providing 62 men for the guard and piquet (outlying sentries) duty starting on 17 March. These tasks continued until 29 March. The 104th appears to have suffered some loss in kit during their march from Fredericton as they were issued 25 firelocks and 26 bayonets on 26 March to bring the unit up to its authorized holdings.⁷

The arrival of the 104th, and the promise of three more regiments (the 13th, 98th and 2nd battalion of the 41st coming from overseas) when the navigation season opened in

August 1889 that was ascribed to Charles Rainsford. Squires, p. 128, stated that it was Captain Armstrong's company but did not provide a source for this. However, Markham also indicated that Rainsford was a member of the Light Company. (PANB MC 300 MS 15/3. Biographical accounts of the officers of the 104th). The position of Captain Holland's company in the line of march is questionable.

³ PANB. MC 300, MS15/1. Markham's *The New Brunswick Fencibles*. p. 199.

⁴ Donald E. Graves, ed. *Merry Hearts Make Light Days: The War of 1812 Journal of Lieutenant John Le Couteur, 104th Foot*. Third Edition. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994. Fn 26. pp. 107-108, Squires. pp. 126-127.

⁵ PANB. MC 300 MS 15/37. A. W. Playfair. Letter to the Editor of the *British Standard* dated 20 January 1862. p. 2, Graves. p. 95.

⁶ The arrival dates in Quebec City are a bit confusing. The *Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser* of 15 April 1813 quoted a report from Quebec City that stated the first elements of the 104th had arrived on 13 March and the Grenadier Company on the 14th. Then, on 19 April, it reported that most of the 104th had arrived by 16 March with the rest being not far away.

⁷ LAC. RG 8 -1, vol. 1203 ½ G. Quebec General and Garrison Order Book. pp. 94-145. The issue of weapons is on page 137. These would have been India Pattern muskets. British flintlock muskets were affectionately called a "Brown Bess" in reference to Queen Elizabeth the First during whose reign they were first introduced.

the spring, was a great relief to Lieutenant General Sir George Prevost. He wrote to Earl Bathurst, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, on 19 March 1813, to inform him that this had “enabled me to strengthen the several Posts in Up. Canada”.⁸ He started moving reinforcements to Upper Canada from Quebec City almost immediately. The first to move were the 1st battalion of the 8th Regiment and the 104th Regiment. There was an urgency to this and the Quebec General Order for 27 March 1813 stated “No superfluous Store or heavy Baggage to be carried” and “These Movements to be made with the least possible delay, and every aid that can expedite and facilitate the march is to be afforded by the Officers Commanding Districts and Posts, and by the Officers of the Commissariat without waiting for further Orders”.⁹

And so, after spending upwards of a fortnight in garrison at Quebec City, the Flank companies were ordered to march to Kingston, post haste, on 25 March with the other companies leaving in two divisions on the 29th and 30th. The Flank companies arrived in Kingston on 12 April 1813. The 1st division of the regiment probably arrived about four days later on the 16th. When it reached Montreal, the 2nd division was ordered into garrison at Couteau-du-Lac and probably arrived there about 9 April. When the news of the American capture of York [Toronto] on 27 April was received, there was an urgency to reinforce the garrison at Kingston and so the two companies of the 104th at Couteau-du-Lac were ordered forward. They left there on 2 May and likely arrived in Kingston about 10 May 1813.¹⁰

There was a major American military and naval base at Sackett’s Harbor, in New York State, on the eastern shore of Lake Ontario. It posed a threat to the British at Kingston and along the St. Lawrence. While the American fleet was away transporting forces to the Niagara Peninsula, the British decided to attack it on 29 May 1813. The 104th contributed 300 men to the invasion force. While the attack initially went well, the British could not capture the American fort and so withdrew. The 104th suffered heavy casualties during the attack with 21 killed and 65 wounded. Meanwhile, the Americans had captured Fort George on the Niagara Peninsula and the British were in retreat. Reinforcements were needed urgently and the 104th were among those sent. The British counter-attacks were successful and the situation was stabilized. The 104th spent the summer and fall along the Niagara frontier and assisted in the blockade of Fort George. They returned to Kingston in the fall and spent the winter there.¹¹

The 104th continued to suffer from sickness. In April 1814, only 250 of the 800 men who had arrived the previous year were fit for active field service, an unusually high percentage of illness for the time. Later in June, it was reported that they were “so much afflicted by intermittent fever as to be extremely ineffective”. The six battalion companies were moved to Fort Wellington in the summer of 1814 as it was considered to

⁸ LAC. RG 8 “C”, vol. 1220. p. 221. Prevost to Bathurst dated 19 March 1813.

⁹ LAC. RG 8 – 1, vol. 1203 ½ G. pp. 143, 144.

¹⁰ Squires. pp. 130, 134-135, 143, RG 8 “C” series vol. 165 pp. 171-177. Colonel A. Halkett, the Lieutenant Colonel of the 104th, to Colonel Torrens, the military secretary to the Commander in Chief in London, LAC. RG 8 “C” series vol. 678. pp. 192-193. Major General De Rottenburg to Prevost dated 4 May 1813

¹¹ Squires. pp. 147-148, 149-150, 156-157.

be a healthier location. Besides garrisoning the fort and its outlying posts such as Gananoque, members of the 104th were also employed with the gunboats on the St. Lawrence River. Meanwhile, the flank companies were sent back to the Niagara frontier. They participated in the Battle of Lundy's Lane on the Niagara River (25 July) and in the attack on Fort Erie (15 August). The flank companies suffered 25 killed and 28 wounded in this action; most of the casualties were the result of a magazine explosion.¹²

The flank companies rejoined the rest of the regiment at Fort Wellington (Prescott, ON) in October 1814. The remaining two companies from Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island also joined them in October and November. News of the end of the war arrived in early 1815. Later in the year, the regiment moved to Quebec City and then to Montreal in 1816. Following the Allied defeat of Napoleon at the Battle of Waterloo on 18 June 1815, peace finally descended on Europe. It was time to reduce the war establishment of the British army and the last-raised regiments were the first to be removed from the order of battle. Accordingly, the 104th was disbanded at Montreal on 24 May 1817. The veterans were offered grants of land in British North America and those from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were offered free passage home by ship. There were 578 men in the regiment and 27 of them opted to return to England. As for the rest, about 100 went to New Brunswick, 30 to Nova Scotia, 349 to Lower Canada and 102 to Upper Canada. Of those who returned to New Brunswick, 50 received land grants in the military settlement that was formed between Presqu'île and Grand Falls. Another 15 received land grants along the portage road between St. Andrews and Fredericton. The officers dispersed in a similar manner: some to England, some to the Canadas and some to the Maritimes.¹³

Research challenges.

As far as is known, this project of researching the march of the 104th (New Brunswick) Regiment of Foot has not been undertaken before or, if it has been, then no record of it has been located. There is one very good reason why this might not have been previously attempted and that is because the information relating to the route taken by the 104th is very incomplete. For example, neither the Quarter Master General records nor the Montreal General and Garrison orders for this period are part of the Library and Archives Canada collection in Ottawa. This means that important primary source information about the route taken by the 104th between Quebec City and Kingston is simply not available.

There are three narratives about the march that can be attributed, or partially attributed, to participants of the march. These are:

¹² LAC. RG 8 "C" vol. 1707 p. 139. Undated report from summer of 1814 "Distribution of Forces allotted for the Defence of Upper Canada", Squires. pp. 160-166.

¹³ Squires. pp. 168-169, 177, 179-180, 182, Ernest Clarke. "The Weary, The Famished and The Cold: Military Settlement, Upper St. John River, 1814-1821". Manuscript Collection of the Carleton County Historical Society, Woodstock, N.B., 1981. p. 50, PANB. MC 300 MS15/12. List of Military Settlers on the Fredericton to St. Andrews road. Others may have been settled along the Miramichi portage road.

a. The account by Lieutenant John Le Couteur. He was a member of the Light Company, which was the last company to start the march from Fredericton. His account of the march first appeared in *The Albion*, a New York newspaper on 26 November 1831. This account was later republished in the Canadian Army Quarterly in July 1930 and most recently in Donald E. Graves' edited version of Le Couteur's journal that was first published in 1993 as Merry Hearts Make Light Days. Le Couteur's account described the portion of the march from Fredericton to the St. Lawrence River in considerable detail. However, the rest of the march to Kingston was described only in general terms. In studying Le Couteur's account of the journey, several inconsistencies were noted. During an exchange of emails with Donald Graves, it was learned that Le Couteur's original journal for the period 1812 to 1814 was lost in a boating accident on the St. Lawrence River during the war. The journal that forms the basis for Merry Hearts Make Light Days was reconstructed sometime afterwards. This means that Le Couteur's account of the march is based on memory with the consequent room for errors and omissions to occur.¹⁴

b. The account by Lieutenant Andrew William Playfair. Playfair wrote a letter to the editor of the British Standard on 20 January 1862. He was quite upset that the paper had published an excerpt from the *Army and Navy Gazette* that described the winter march of the 43rd Regiment of Foot from Fredericton to Quebec City in December 1837. Included in the article was a quote attributed to the Duke of Wellington that indicated the march of the 43rd "was the only military achievement performed by a British officer that he really envied". Playfair took great offence at this and proceeded to show how the 104th had endured a much more difficult march than the 43rd did. His account was written in somewhat emotional terms and focused more on the difficulties of the march than on the details of where they stayed along the way. Almost fifty years had passed since the march of the 104th had occurred and Playfair's memory seems to have faded somewhat as he included several inaccuracies in his letter. His position in the march is also a bit confusing. According to Markham, he was in Captain Holland's No. 5 Company but his narrative seems to indicate that he marched with the first group, i.e. the Headquarters and the Grenadier Company. If so, some of his experiences were significantly different from those of Le Couteur and Rainsford who were part of the Light Company.¹⁵

c. The account attributed to Lieutenant Charles Rainsford. This appeared as an article in the *Saint John Daily Sun* on 23 August 1889. While the article was attributed to Rainsford, it was clearly written by someone else as the article included extracts from Playfair's letter, an article that appeared in a British book entitled Tales of Military Life and some personal remarks by Rainsford. It should be noted that Rainsford had died seven years earlier in 1882. The main merit of this account is Rainsford's description of his trip with two companions across Lake Temiscouata and the Grand Portage to find food for the two companies that

¹⁴ Email correspondence with Donald E. Graves, 24 March 2011.

¹⁵ PANB. MC 300, MS 15/3, MS 15/37.

had been storm-stayed at the juncture of Lake Temiscouata and the Madawaska River.¹⁶

Fortunately, there are three other accounts of similar trips between Fredericton, Quebec City and Kingston. Two of these occurred in the winter of 1814. The first group was a party of 217 Royal Navy sailors and Royal Marines under Captain Collier that travelled from Halifax to Kingston. The second was the 2nd Battalion of the 8th (King's) Regiment of Foot that followed the Royal Navy party from Fredericton to Quebec City. Both groups travelled by sleigh from Saint John or Fredericton to the Presqu'Île military post that was located just below Florenceville-Bristol on the St. John River. George Head, who travelled from Halifax to Penetanguishene, ON in the winter of 1815, wrote the third. These accounts describe similar experiences and provide additional details that can be used to recreate the experiences of the 104th. These three accounts can be summarized as follows:

- a. The narrative of Lieutenant Henry Kent, RN. He provided a detailed account of most of his journey from Halifax to Kingston in a letter that he wrote to his father on 20 June 1813. In it, he gave day-by-day descriptions of his journey as far as La Chine on Montreal Island. His identification of the stopping places from the Grand Portage to La Chine makes it possible to infer the details that are missing from the narratives of the members of the 104th.¹⁷
- b. The narrative of Lieutenant Marshall MacDermott. The 2nd Battalion of the 8th (King's) Regiment of Foot replaced the 104th in New Brunswick. They were ordered to march to Quebec City in 1814 and set out immediately after the RN party. MacDermott was an officer in the battalion and he wrote a short description of his experience in his autobiography that was published in 1874. This is based on his diary and expands on the information in it. While his narrative contains several factual errors, it does reinforce the other narratives as these relate to the overnight stops, the weather and the use of toboggans.¹⁸
- c. The narrative of George Head. George Head travelled from Halifax to Penetanguishene, ON during the winter of 1814/1815. He published his experiences as a travelogue in 1829. His narrative provided a great deal of local colour as well as a detailed description of each night's stop. This information reinforces the other narratives plus adds additional details about travel along the

¹⁶ Anonymous. "The Hundred and Fourth: Captain Charles Rainsford's Winter March Across Lake Temiscouata, A Thrilling Incident of the War of 1812". *Saint John Daily Sun* No. 202, 23 August 1889.

¹⁷ Lieutenant Henry Kent. "Letter to his father dated 20 June 1814" Nicholas Tracy, ed. The Naval Chronicle: The Contemporary Record of the Royal Navy at War. Vol. V. London: Stackpole Books, 1999. pp. 203-206.

¹⁸ Marshall MacDermott. A Brief Sketch of the Long and Varied Career of Marshall MacDermott, Esq., J.P. of Adelaide, South Australia. Adelaide, W.K. Thomas, 1874.

line of communications. Head also included a description of his travel between Montreal and Kingston.¹⁹

Other sources.

There are two unpublished Masters theses that describe military travel along the St. Lawrence River during the War of 1812, which are most informative.²⁰ Email correspondence with several Parks Canada historical sites and historical societies along the route has also been very useful. In addition, there are primary and secondary sources available in the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, the New Brunswick Museum and in local histories. All of this information has reinforced the accounts written by the three officers of the 104th and has added details that were not present in their narratives.

Contemporary Maps.

There are two contemporary maps that show the route of the Line of Communications from the Bay of Fundy to the St. Lawrence River. The first is *A Plan of the Route from Halifax to the River du Loup on the St. Lawrence*. This was drawn by Joseph Bouchette, the Surveyor General of Lower Canada, and was published in 1815. It shows the locations where he settled disbanded soldiers, mainly members of the 10th Royal Veterans Battalion, in early 1814. They were located at Salmon River in New Brunswick, in Quebec at Birch River (Rivière des Bouleaux) near Dégelis and at the juncture of the St. Francis River (Rousseau à Castonguay) and the Grand Portage route. The second is an incomplete map of New Brunswick roads dated 1817. It shows military huts at Salmon River, Birch River, near Dégelis and where the St. Francis River crossed the Grand Portage route.²¹

Images.

Lieutenant E.E. Vidal, RN travelled from Halifax, via Saint John, to Kingston in February and March 1815. He accompanied Commodore Sir E. W. C. Rich who was going to Upper Canada to take command of the naval vessels on the Great Lakes. While Vidal did not leave a written account, he made the iconic image of travel along the line of communications that is so frequently seen. The sketch appears to have been done while

¹⁹ George Head. Forest Scenes and Incidents in the Wilds of North America: being a Diary of a Winter's Route from Halifax to the Canadas, and during four months' Residence in the Woods of the Borders of Lakes Huron and Simcoe. London, John Murray, 1829.

²⁰ Major John R. Grodzinski. "The Vigilant Superintendence of the Whole District: The War of 1812 on the Upper St. Lawrence". Unpublished MA Thesis. Royal Military College of Canada, 2002, Glenn A. Stepler. " 'A Duty Troublesome Beyond Measure'; Logistical Considerations in the Canadian War of 1812 ". Unpublished Masters Thesis. McGill University, 1974.

²¹ The Bouchette map was located on the Upper St. John River Valley site (<http://www.upperstjohn.com/>). The original is at the Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec. It was accessed on 17 April 2011. The New Brunswick roads map was provided by Jim Candow of Parks Canada, Halifax. It is part of the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management collection and is catalogued as Drawer 1 Roads, NB. No. 1, 1817.

he was in the Madawaska settlement, between present day St. Leonard and Edmundston.²²

Methodology.

In the absence of a single, comprehensive narrative, it was necessary to study all six narratives, plus other sources, in order to infer the details of the route. Le Couteur's narrative is the most complete account and was used as the baseline. Where Le Couteur was vague, or did not comment on a portion of his journey, it was necessary to turn to the other accounts, especially Kent's, for the missing information.

Le Couteur made little mention of his journey from the end of the Grand Portage at the St. Lawrence River to Kingston whereas Kent provided a more detailed description of the route as far as La Chiene (Lachine). William Anderson was a contractor hired by the Commissariat Department to meet the 104th, the Royal Navy party and the 2nd/8th at the start of the Grand Portage (Cabano, QC) and to convey them to Quebec City.²³ The arrangements for accommodation that he made for Kent's party would have closely paralleled those made for the 104th a year earlier. Both the 104th and Kent's sailors made the journey from Rivière-des-Caps to Quebec City in seven days. They would have likely made their overnight stops in the same villages.

Both Kent's description and Stepler's thesis provide information about the route most likely followed between Quebec City and Montreal. Stepler stated that there were established marching routes on both sides of the St. Lawrence River between Quebec City and Montreal but that the north shore route was the one normally used by units going to Montreal, such as the 104th. Stepler also discussed how transportation was arranged with the Quarter Master General's department tasking the Commissary of Transport with making the arrangement for travel and the provision of sleighs to carry the troops' baggage. The detailed arrangements were the responsibility of the Captains of Militia in the villages along the route. They would call out the *corvée* labour to provide the sleighs between their village and the next one along the route.²⁴ This village-to-village arrangement would account for the relatively short distances that were travelled each day by the RN party.

Le Couteur said nothing about the route he followed between Quebec City and Kingston, other than his last night was spent at Gananoque, while Kent's detailed account stops at La Chine. Fortunately, Grodzinski's thesis fills the gap between La Chine and

²² New Brunswick Museum collection. Travelling on the River St. John, New Brunswick, W6798. Conversation with Béatrice Craig on 5 July 2007. She identified the image as being of an Acadian house in the Madawaska settlement.

²³ LAC. RG 8 "C" vol. 94. pp. 73-74. Petition by Anthony Anderson dated 16 April 1824. Anderson stated that he had been contracted by the Commissariat to convey the 104th, the 2nd/8th and Captain Collier's party from Lake Temiscouata to Quebec City. This included provisions and quarters. Interestingly, he was known as William Anderson but the petition is by Anthony Anderson. There is no explanation for this name change.

²⁴ Stepler. pp. 114 - 116. Fn 16 on page 114 indicates that the route along the north shore was the one normally followed by travellers.

Kingston. Based on this, and information received from Parks Canada, it is possible to reconstruct the route that both groups followed. However, the stopping places are largely based on inference and not primary source information that specifically relates to the 104th.²⁵

Reconstructed details of the route.

The route was reconstructed in six stages. Each stage will be discussed and the rationale for the designation of the stopping places will be explained. The stages are:

- a. Fredericton, via the Presqu'Île Military Post, to Fort Carleton at Grand Falls.
- b. Fort Carleton at Grand Falls to Philip Long's residence at Cabano.
- c. From Long's, across the Grand Portage, to the Rivière-des-Caps on the St. Lawrence River.
- d. Rivière-des-Caps to Quebec City.
- e. Quebec City to Montreal (La Chine).
- f. Montreal to Kingston.

The reconstructed route has colour codes that indicate the degree of certainty that the 104th made each location one of their stopping places. The codes are;

- a. Green. This is used for locations that have been positively identified from primary sources as places where the 104th stopped.
- b. Blue. This is used for locations that, based on primary sources or local/family traditions, have a high probability of having been used by the 104th as a stopping place or as a location that they passed through.
- c. Yellow. This is used for locations that might have been either stopping places or a location that the 104th passed through based on inferences made having considered distances, weather and the experiences of other travellers.

Because the historical accounts use the British system of measurement, all distances will be given in miles. The final table of the route will show the distances in both Imperial and Metric measurement. The three detailed narratives indicate a slow pace of travel. Because of heavy snowfall, each group had to create their own trail, which slowed the pace. They were also carrying personal baggage or towing/pushing toboggans. Playfair said that they started soon after first light and stopped about 2:30 pm to begin building their camp for the night. This would have given them about 7.5 or 8

²⁵ Graves. p. 109, Grodzinski. pp. 131 – 134, 159.

hours of travel time per day. Based on Kent's statement and the distances travelled each day, they seem to have averaged between 2 and 3 miles per hour as they travelled on snowshoes between Fredericton and the St. Lawrence River.²⁶ The pace increased as the roads became better. The distances given in historical accounts and the modern ones will be used to make assumptions about distances travelled between key points and will be useful in reconstructing the journey of the 104th.

Stage 1: Fredericton, via the Presqu'Ile Military Post, to Fort Carleton at Grand Falls (21 February to 1 March 1813).

The distance between Fredericton and Grand Falls was given in one historical source as 124 miles. Le Couteur said the distance was 150 miles. When checked using modern maps to measure along the course of the St. John River, the distance was 138 miles. The current New Brunswick highway map shows it as 129 miles along the Trans-Canada Highway that no longer follows the course of the St. John River. The historical and modern measurements indicate that the distance between Fredericton and the Presqu'Ile military post is 82 miles. From there to Grand Falls, it varies from 42 to 56 to 68 miles with the average being 55 miles.²⁷

Le Couteur's account did not mention any of the stopping places and only said that they found accommodation in houses and barns for the first seven days and then they "huttet" the next day on the 29th. However, there was no 29th day of February as it was not a leap year so he must have meant the 28th. Le Couteur also did not mention stopping at the Presqu'Ile Military Post. He arrived at Grand Falls on 1 March after a journey of 9 days.²⁸

Kent is more exact. His division travelled by sleigh from Fredericton to Presqu'Ile. They left on 3 February 1814 and arrived on the 7th. It was a trip of five days but one of the days does not appear to have been a travel day as they seem to have stopped to bury one of their own, Mr. Mathew Abdy, Master of the *THISTLE*, who died near Woodstock. Kent's party then took four days to reach Grand Falls. They spent the first two nights in huts along the way and the third night in the woods. Head also took four days to travel by sleigh from Fredericton to Presqu'Ile plus one day when he was storm-stayed. It then took him four and a half days to travel to Grand Falls having encountered a snowstorm and bad ice, which forced him and his party to walk along the riverbank. In comparison, Le Couteur said they took two days to reach Grand Falls, where they arrived on 1 April. His account allots too much time for the journey from Fredericton to Presqu'Ile and not enough time for the trip from there to Grand Falls. If they were travelling at a rate of 15 to 22 miles per day as Kent stated, then Le Couteur should have only needed six days to reach Presqu'Ile plus an additional three days to Grand Falls.²⁹

²⁶ Playfair. pp. 2-3, Kent. p. 204.

²⁷ PANB MC300 MS 15/38. Distances taken from the Quebec Almanack of 1815. Graves. p. 97.

²⁸ Graves. pp. 94-97.

²⁹ Kent, p. 204. Graves. pp. 94-97. Head. pp. 77-98. Reference their narratives. Rear Admiral H.F. Pullen. The March of the Seamen. Halifax: Maritime Museum of Canada, 1961. p. 11.

It is difficult to say for certain where the 104th spent the nights as they travelled between Fredericton and Grand Falls. However, four of the nine locations can be identified with some degree of confidence.

When Captain Collier's party and the 2nd/8th made their march the following year, they were transported by sleigh from Fredericton to Presqu'Ile. Major Daniel Morehouse, who lived in Upper Queensbury, wrote that they were using his residence as a rendezvous. As he lived about 29 miles above Fredericton, this would easily have been their first overnight stopping place.³⁰ This would quite likely have been the first stop for the divisions of the 104th that were transported on their first day by sleigh. For those on snowshoes, it would have been their second night's stop. The first night would have been spent at some intermediate location, perhaps in the vicinity of Kingsclear near the Mactaquac dam.

Captain George Bull lived at Bull's Creek, about 28 miles above Morehouse and just below Woodstock. Squires stated that the 104th stayed here. This is reinforced by tradition within the Bull family. Squires also recorded that Private William Lamie or Lammy died at Mr. Rogers. Based on an 1838 map of the Woodstock area, Rogers' property was adjacent to Bull's. Troops moving on snowshoes from Morehouse's would have spent a night en route between the two locations, perhaps in the vicinity of Upper Southampton.³¹

From Bull's to Presqu'Ile is 25 miles. This would have taken the 104th another day and a half to travel which means that they likely stopped for the night in the vicinity of Victoria Corners, just below Hartland.³²

While Le Couteur did not mention stopping at the Presqu'Ile military post, both Kent and Head reported that they had. This was the first of the Upper Posts that were built in 1791. They were designed to accommodate upwards of a hundred officers and soldiers. This would have provided the divisions of the 104th with good accommodation and probably access to the Commissariat stores there if any kit, such as snowshoes, had to be replaced.³³

³⁰ PANB. Microfilm F10343.p. F50. Morehouse to W.F. Odell, Provincial Secretary, dated 4 February 1814. A Loyalist, Morehouse was a major in the New Brunswick militia and had served as the Quartermaster in the Queen's Rangers during the American Revolution.

³¹ Squires. pp. 123, 125-126. Grace Downey. Bulls Creek Farm: The Love Story, 1921-1941. Edmonton: G. Downey, 1999. Introduction. Emma McWhorter. The history and Genealogy of the William Bull and Sarah Wells Family Of Orange County, New York: the First Six Generations in America and Canada. Middletown, NY: T. Emmett Henderson, c. 1974.p 169. Information provided in Emails from Greg Campbell, Woodstock Public Library, on 23 and 24 March 2011. A Loyalist, Bull had served as Lieutenant in General Arnold's American Legion Cavalry during the American Revolution.

³² PANB. MC 300 MS 15/4. Biographical notes about the men of the 104th. Private John Moran, who made the march, is said to have returned to New Brunswick after the war and to have opened a tavern at Victoria Corners. There may be some connection between this and the 104th having stopped there during their march to Quebec.

³³ Ernest Clarke. The Presqu'Ile Military Post in the Old Parish of Wakefield. Manuscript Collection of the Carleton County Historical Society, Woodstock, N.B., Circa 1979. p. 6.

The distance from the Presqu’Ile military post to Fort Carleton at Grand Falls is about 55 miles. Le Couteur probably travelled this distance in three days. Kent covered it in four days while Head, accompanied by two postal couriers, took five days. Both Kent and Head spent the first two nights in small huts or log cabins. The availability of this shelter may account for why Le Couteur only reported that they had “huted” for one night while en route to Grand Falls. Head estimated that the two log houses he stayed in were 10 and 24 miles above Presqu’Ile. After a night in the woods, he spent his fourth night at Salmon River in the house of a veteran soldier who had been settled there to facilitate travel along the line of communications. This was reported as being 22 miles from the second log cabin. It was then another four hours walk to Grand Falls.³⁴

Again, it is not possible to be certain where the 104th spent the two nights during their march from the Presqu’Ile military post to Grand Falls. Simply dividing the distance into thirds would not work because of the great difficulties in travel that they would have experienced. Perhaps it is sufficient to say that they spent two nights en route. However, based on Head’s account and the Bouchette and New Brunswick road maps, it seems very likely that Salmon River was a probable stopping place for some of the divisions of the 104th. Their arrival at Fort Carleton on 1 March would have been cause for celebration. Like the Presqu’Ile military post, Fort Carleton was built in 1791 and could accommodate upwards of a 100 officers and soldiers. They could again spent the night in good quarters, use the cooking facilities and perhaps replace any deficient equipment.

Stage 2: Fort Carleton at Grand Falls to Philip Long’s residence at Cabano (2 March to 6 March 1813).

The historical accounts state this distance as 80 miles and the current highway maps of New Brunswick and Quebec as 71 miles. The key distance in reconstructing the trip is between Edmundston (referred to as the “Forks of the Madawaska” in 1815) and the junction of the Madawaska River and Lake Temiscouata. This is about 22 miles.

All three accounts stated that the first day’s journey from Grand Falls ended at the mouth of the Grande Rivière, not far from St. Leonard. This was described as being at the start of the Madawaska settlement and about 15 miles from Fort Carleton. Based on Le Couteur, they spent the night in the vicinity of Laronciers, who has been identified as Hilarion Cyr. The next day, the local inhabitants turned out and transported Le Couteur’s company 21 miles by sleigh to Edmundston. Le Couteur and a companion spent the night at the residence of Father Raby at Saint-Basile. Unfortunately, Kent’s party had to march the same distance through a snowstorm.³⁵

Leaving Edmundston on 4 March, the 104th followed the Madawaska River north to where it flows out of Lake Temiscouata, just to the north of present day Dégelis. They

³⁴ Graves. pp. 95-96, Kent. p. 204, Head. pp. 108-128.

³⁵ Graves. p. 99. Kent. pp. 204-205, Head p. 133. Béatrice Craig identified “Laronciers” in an email dated 5 January 2011.

arrived at Lake Temiscouata the next day, despite marching through a “north-wester” storm. This is where they overtook either Captain Edward Holland’s or Captain George Armstrong’s company that had been unable to progress across the lake due to the storm. Both companies spent the night there in the huts while Lieutenant Charles Rainsford made his historic trip to secure rations for them. The next morning, they marched the 18 miles across Lake Temiscouata and reached the start of the Grand Portage where Philip Long lived. Long was a retired mail courier who had been settled at the entrance of the portage in order to provide shelter and assistance to the mail couriers and other travellers. The two companies spent the night there. They left Private Reuben Rodgers, who had suffered severe frostbite, behind with Long who oversaw his recovery.³⁶

Stage 3: From Long’s, across the Grand Portage, to the Rivière-des-Caps on the St. Lawrence River (7 and 8 March 1813).

The Grand Portage ran roughly east to west from Cabano to Notre-Dame-du-Portage. The distance was about 36 miles and it took two days to cross. While Le Couteur did not indicate where they stopped for the night, Kent indicated that it was at a location about halfway across. Later in the spring of 1814, Joseph Bouchette, the Surveyor-General for Lower Canada settled two disbanded soldiers of the 10th Royal Veterans Battalion along the portage, at about the halfway point where the St. Francis River crossed the portage trail. Their role was to provide accommodation and other assistance to travellers along the portage. This was a difficult journey as the area was quite mountainous. It was hard walking in the deep snow and controlling the toboggans on the up and down hill slopes was very demanding and tiring.³⁷

There is some uncertainty about where they stopped after exiting the portage. Le Couteur mentions the Parish of St. Andrews’s [St. André] and this has been interpreted to mean the village of St. André that is about seven miles up river from the exit of the portage. However, Kent and Head both said that they stopped in Rivière-des-Caps, which is about three miles up river from the exit. This is where, as Head observed, there was a good tavern. Rainsford also stated that he went to a village a “League and a quarter”, which is about 3.75 miles, from the end of the portage where the regimental headquarters were. Given the transient nature of the 104th it is difficult to conceive that the regimental headquarters was there but it would have been reasonable to have some regimental presence there to monitor the arrival of the six divisions as they completed the most difficult part of the march. There may have also been a military storehouse as

³⁶ Graves. pp. 99-100, Squires. pp. 129-130. The information about Philip Long was found in the electronic book [Finding Philip Long\(1757? – 1832](http://www.beaglz.com/english/JohnLang-FindingPhilipLong(1757-1832)WEB.pdf), at the Long Family website: [http://www.beaglz.com/english/JohnLang-FindingPhilipLong\(1757-1832\)WEB.pdf](http://www.beaglz.com/english/JohnLang-FindingPhilipLong(1757-1832)WEB.pdf). It cites a letter in the LAC RG 8 C Series, vol. 384 from Geo. Heriot, Deputy Minister Postal Service to Sir. George Prevost dated 13 December 1811. This was accessed on 17 April 2011.

³⁷ Graves. pp. 101-102, Kent. p. 205, Head. pp. 140-145. The National Archives, UK. MFQ 1/775, Map #2, land grants for Privates David Gardiner and William Clifton dated 29 June 1814. The same file has the land grant maps for Sergeant William Smith and Private James Simpson who were settled along the Madawaska River. They were located at Birch River, about 6 miles down river from Lake Temiscouata.

Playfair said that after arriving there, “snowshoes and tobagans went into the store”.³⁸ On balance, it would appear that they spent the first night after exiting the Grand Portage at Rivière-des-Caps.

Stage 4: Rivière-des-Caps to Quebec City (9 to 15 March 1813).

Le Couteur made little mention of the march to Quebec City other than to say that they took seven days, they were on a good, beaten snow road and they marched 18 to 20 miles per day. He did not mention if they had sleighs to carry their provisions, baggage, and sick as Kent’s party did the following year. It would make sense if they did as William Anderson, the Commissariat contractor, made the travel arrangements for both parties. Fortunately, Kent left an excellent description of the route he followed. They also spent seven days on the march, stayed the night at Point Levy and crossed to Quebec City on the following day. Again, as Anderson made the arrangements for both groups, it seems reasonable that the 104th would have stopped at the same places. The 104th was quartered in the Jesuit Barracks. These were demolished in the late 1800s and the Quebec City Hall stands on the site today.³⁹

Stage 5: Quebec City to Montreal (25 March to 1 April 1813).

There is some uncertainty as to when the Flank Companies left Quebec City. There were five [known] sets of orders issued for the continuation of their march to Kingston:

- a. General Orders dated 23 March 1813. The Flank Companies of the 104th were to march to Montreal on the 25th.
- b. General Orders dated 24 March 1813. The Flank Companies are to march tomorrow [25th]. Each soldier was to be provided with a blanket and six days field rations. The Quarter Master General was to issue the March Route and provide sleighs for the carriage of provisions.
- c. General Orders dated 27 March 1813. The Flank Companies are to march to Kingston. The rest of the regiment [4 companies] are to follow in two divisions on Monday and Tuesday next [29 and 30 March].

³⁸ Graves. pp 101-102, Kent. p. 205, Head. p. 145, Playfair. p. 5., Rainsford article in *Saint John Daily Sun* No. 202, 23 August 1889.

³⁹ Graves. p. 102, Kent. p. 205. As noted earlier, the arrival dates in Quebec City are a bit confusing. The Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser of 15 April quoted a report from Quebec City that stated the first elements of the 104th had arrived on 13 March and the Grenadier Company on the 14th. Then, on 19 April, it reported that most of the 104th had arrived by 16 March with the rest being not far away. The Jesuit Barracks were demolished and the Quebec City Hall stands on the site today. (<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0006594>. Accessed 12 April 2011.)

d. General Orders dated 28 March 1813. The first division is to march from the Jesuit Barracks on 29 March. Rations, a March Route and sleighs were authorized.

e. General Orders dated 29 March 1813. The second division is to march on 30 March. Rations, a March Route and sleighs were authorized.⁴⁰

Squires suggested that the Flank Companies delayed their departure from 25 to 27 March based on the change in destination from Montreal to Kingston. However, Le Couteur stated that they had been ordered on 25 March to go to Chambly, south of Montreal along the Richelieu River, to join the light brigade there. Le Couteur did not become aware of the change in destination to Kingston until he reported to Major General De Rottenburg in Montreal on 1 April to report the pending arrival of the Flank Companies. Although no documentation had been found that stated Chambly was their destination, it was for this reason that Squires depicted their route as being along the south bank of the St. Lawrence River.⁴¹

Le Couteur's lack of updated information about their final destination suggests that the Flank Companies had left Quebec City before the orders issued on 27 March had been received. Therefore it is possible that they actually left on the 25th in accordance with their initial orders. Stepler stated that the route along the north bank of the St. Lawrence River was the preferred one. Given that the official destination of the 104th was Montreal and later Kingston, it would have made more sense to travel along the north bank. This is what Kent's sailors did the following year. He recounted a series of 11 stages of 15 to 21 miles each. The last day's march must have been a strenuous one. They appear to have marched upwards of 40 miles from when they left Repentigny, passed through Montreal along Notre-Dame Street where they cheered Nelson's monument, and continued on to La Chiene [Lachine], which was 12 miles beyond it. Head also followed the north or left bank of the St. Lawrence as he travelled between Quebec City and Montreal. Le Couteur's account seems to indicate that they were approaching Montreal on 1 April and then, on 2 April, they were en route to Kingston. If so, they would have been eight days on the road to Montreal if they had left on the 25th and six days if they had left on the 27th.⁴²

According to Kent, the distance from Quebec City to Montreal was 191 miles. While an average daily pace of 24 miles for an eight day trip seems possible, a sustained pace of 32 miles per day for a six day trip seems high, even for troops in light marching order with the provisions and baggage being carried in sleighs. The issue of six days field rations may also be significant. If they started consuming these rations on the 26th, the first day of their march, then they would have finished them on the 31st, and entered Montreal the next day. For this reason, it seems probable that the Flank Companies left Quebec City on 25 March as originally ordered. There is no information that says where

⁴⁰ LAC. RG 8-1 vol. 1203 ½ G. pp 123, 126-127, 141-149. Quebec General and Garrison Orders Book.

⁴¹ Squires. pp. 135-136 and map on the inside of the front cover, Graves. pp. 102-103.

⁴² Stepler. Fn 16 on page 114, Kent. p. 206, Head. pp. 164-165.

the 104th was quartered in Montreal. However, the Quebec Gate Barracks were located at the east end of the town, just where Notre-Dame Street entered the Old City. This is as good a location as any for them to have spent the night. The barracks have since been torn down and the former Dalhousie Square Train Station occupies the site (Notre-Dame Est at Barri).⁴³

Stage 6: Montreal to Kingston (2 to 12 April 1813).

Le Couteur first thought that the change in orders that he had received on 1 April were actually an April Fool's joke. However, as they continued on their way to Kingston the next day, it became clear that it was no joke. Le Couteur gave no details about the route from Montreal to Kingston, other than to say that they were in Gananoque the last night of their march and that they arrived in Kingston in 12 April 1813. The Light Company had spent 51 days en route while the Grenadier Company had spent 56. Both Le Couteur and Kent spent 11 days travelling between Montreal and Kingston. Uncharacteristically, Kent also provided no details of this journey. He did say that the distance was 190 miles. Perhaps the journey was so commonplace due to the number of troops being moved forward along it that it did not seem necessary to describe it. Even Head only gave this portion of his trip brief mention.⁴⁴

Other sources help to fill in the missing details. The British army used a system of bateaux convoys to transport supplies and soldiers between Montreal and Kingston during the navigation season. Troops on the march when the St. Lawrence was not open to small boats would have followed a route along the north bank of the river. In Le Couteur's case, the navigation season was just opening and their baggage followed them in bateaux.⁴⁵ This makes sense as in the late winter/early spring, there would not have been enough snow for sleighs and the roads, such as they were, would still have been impassable to wheeled vehicles. To protect the convoys of bateaux, the British were constructing a series of defended positions along the river where the convoys could spend the night. These were usually near the start or end of one of the many series of rapids. In January 1813, Lieutenant Colonel Ralph Bruyeres, a Royal Engineer, made a survey of the defences along the river from Cedars to Kingston.⁴⁶ These were:

Serial	Location	Distance to next Location	Remarks
1	Cedars	9 miles	28 miles from La Chiene and 40 miles from Montreal

⁴³ Website - Montreal's Major Rail Terminals. http://www.railways.incanada.net/Circle_Articles/Article_Grumley02.html. Accessed 14 April 2011.

⁴⁴ Graves. p. 103, Kent. p. 206, Head. pp. 166-171.

⁴⁵ Graves. p. 111.

⁴⁶ Grodzinski. pp. 131-134. Cites LAC RG 8 I Volume 387, p. 5, Bruyeres to Prevost dated 12 January 1813. Richard J. Young. Blockhouses in Canada, 1749-1841; A comparative Report and Catalogue. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1980. p. 62. The blockhouse at Mallorytown, or Bridge Island, was used to defend convoys that stopped there for the night. It was 15 miles from Brockville and 16 from Gananoque. He cites LAC RG 8 "C" series, vol. 388, p. 121. Lieutenant General Drummond to Prevost dated 8 May 1814.

Serial	Location	Distance to next Location	Remarks
2	Couteau-du-Lac, QC	18 miles – modern measure	
3	River Raisin, ON	10 miles	Lower Lancaster
4	Glengarry House	7 miles – modern measure	Glen Walther
5	Cornwall	12 miles	
6	Osnaburg	10 miles	Ingleside
7	Iroquois Point	12 miles	Iroquois
8	Prescott	12 miles	Fort Wellington
9	Brockville	36 miles [Mallorytown – 12 miles]	
10	[Mallorytown]	Likely intermediate location [Gananoque – 18 miles]	This site was later fortified and was a convoy stopping place.
11	Gananoque	24 miles	
12	Kingston		
Distance from Montreal to Kingston		190 miles	Matches Kent's calculations.

The 104th would have passed through these 13 locations and spent the night at or near 11 of them. The troops moving from Montreal to Kingston prior to the opening of the shipping season travelled with their basic equipment while the heavier items were left in Montreal to be forwarded by boat later. Express riders were sent from station to station in advance of a body of troops to announce their pending arrival, to give advance notice for ration and accommodation requirements and to help regulate the movement of the troops.⁴⁷ Fort Wellington at Prescott was the major defensive point between Montreal and Kingston and a major transit point for troops moving along the St. Lawrence River. The 104th had been ordered to send an express to Kingston upon their arrival at Prescott (Fort Wellington) to advise when they would arrive there.⁴⁸

After their arrival in Kingston on 12 April, the Flank Companies were stationed at Point Henry, which later became the site of Fort Henry. The men would have lived in tents or rough huts while the officers found billets for themselves within the town of Kingston.⁴⁹ The 1st division of the regiment probably arrived about four days later on the 16th. As stated earlier, the 2nd division was ordered into garrison at Couteau-du-Lac and probably arrived there about 9 April. It was then ordered to move forward to Kingston on 2 May and likely arrived there 10 May 1813.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Grodzinski. p. 159.

⁴⁸ Robert J. Burns. *Fort Wellington: A Narrative and Structural History, 1812-1838*. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1979. pp. 17, 108. LAC. RG 8 – 1. vol. 1203 ½ G p. 143. Quebec General Order dated 27 March 1813.

⁴⁹ Graves. p. 109, Email correspondence with Major John Grodzinski 6 April 2011.

⁵⁰ Squires. pp. 130, 134-135, 143, RG 8 "C" series vol. 165 pp. 171-177. Colonel A. Halkett, the Lt. Col. of the 104th, to Colonel Torrens, the military secretary to the Commander in Chief in London, LAC. RG 8 "C" series vol. 678. pp. 192-193. Major General De Rottenburg to Prevost dated 4 May 1813. Email correspondence with Karine La Flèche, Coteau-du-Lac National Historic Site, Parks Canada, 4 April 2011.

Summary of the Route followed by the 104th (New Brunswick) Regiment of Foot as they marched from Fredericton, NB to Kingston, ON - 16 February to 12 April 1813.

This table is based on the narrative description in this report. Many of the locations are speculative because the primary sources for the 104th do not appear to have survived the last 198 years. However, the 104th would have passed through these locations and spent the night at many of them.

Table of Distances and Overnight Stopping Locations					
Ratings: Green, Blue & Yellow					
Serial	Distance Miles/Kilometres		Rating	Location	Remarks
	Total	Stage			
1	0/0	0/0	G	Fredericton. Soldiers' Barracks	
2	15/24	15/24	Y	?? Kingsclear??	If no sleighs
3	29/46	14/22	B	Major Daniel Morehouse	Upper Queensbury
4	41/65	12/19	Y	??Upper Southampton??	
5	57/91	16/26	B	Captain George Bull	Bull's Creek
6	71/113	14/22	Y	??Victoria Corner??	
7	82/131	11/18	B	Presqu'Ile Military Post	Florenceville- Bristol
8			Y	??	
9			Y	?? Salmon River??	
10	137/219	55/88	G	Grand Falls. Fort Carleton	
11	156/249	19/30	G	Grande Rivière	
12	177/283	21/34	G	Edmundston, NB./St. Basile	Madawaska
13			Y	?? Birch River??	
14	199/318	22/35	G	Dégelis/Mouth of Madawaska River, QC	
15	217/347	18/29	G	Cabano. Fort Ingall	Phillip Long
16	235/376	18/29	Y	Near Whitworth/portage&hwy?	mid-portage
17	256/410	21/34	B	Rivière de Caps	
18	271/434	15/24	B	Kamouraska	
19	283/453	12/19	B	Rivière Ouelle	
20	295/474	13/21	B	St. Roch des Autnaies	St. Rocques
21	308/498	15/24	B	La Forte	L'Islet-sur-mer
22	326/527	18/29	B	St. Thomas	Montmagny
23	336/543	10/16	B	Berthier	
24	356/575	20/32	B	Levis – cross St. Lawrence River	Point Levy
25	356/607	-	G	Quebec. Jesuit Barracks	Hotel de Ville
26	371/631	15/24	B	St. Augustin	St. Augustine
27	386/655	15/24	B	Cap Santé	Cape Sante
28	404/684	18/29	B	Grondines	
29	420/710	16/26	B	Baptiscan	Baptisca

Table of Distances and Overnight Stopping Locations					
Ratings: Green, Blue & Yellow					
Serial	Distance Miles/Kilometres		Rating	Location	Remarks
	Total	Stage			
30	441/744	21/34	B	Trois Rivières	
31	456/768	15/24	B	Yamachiche	
32	471/792	15/24	B	Maskinonge	Masquinonge
33	488/819	17/27	B	Berthierville	Berthier
34	503/843	15/24	B	La Valtrie	La Valtre
35	518/867	15/24	B	Repentigny	Reperrique
36	547/913	29/46	B	Montreal. Quebec Gate Barracks?	
37	559/932	12/19	B	Lachene	La Chiene
38		??	Y	?? stop at the 18 mile point??	
39	587/977	28/45	B	Cedars	
40	596/991	9/14	G	Coteau-du-Lac, QC	
41	614/ 1020	18/29	B	South Lancaster, ON	River Raisin
42	624/ 1036	10/16	B	Glen Walter	Glengarry House
43	631/ 1047	7/11	B	Cornwall	
44	643/ 1066	12/19	B	Ingleside. Blockhouse	Osnaburg
45	653/ 1082	10/16	B	Iroquois Point	
46	665/ 1101	12/19	G	Prescott. Fort Wellington	
47	677/ 1120	12/19	B	Brockville. Court House Sq.	
48	689/ 1139	12/19	Y	Near Mallorytown. Blockhouse	Bridge Island
49	707/ 1168	18/29	G	Gananoque. Blockhouse	
50	731/ 1206	24/38	G	Kingston. Point Henry	Nr. Fort Henry

Other Aspects of the March.

There are many other aspects of the march that need to be commented on. This will be done in the following sections:

- a. The composition of the 104th. The officers came from the United Kingdom and British North America. Many of them settled in New Brunswick after the war and became prominent citizens. When the New Brunswick

Regiment of Fencible Infantry was raised in 1803, the first recruits came from New Brunswick. However, the regiment had permission to recruit anywhere in British North America and in the Highlands of Scotland. It was also allowed to recruit “boys” between the ages of 10 and 15. Once they reached age 15, they were deemed “fit to carry arms” and became Privates. The Inspection Return of the 104th Foot dated 11 June 1812 stated that the ethnic composition was: “British Americans, 516; English, 116; Scots, 97; Irish, 91; foreigners, 44 – total, 864 men”. As well as the English, the term “British Americans” also included Canadiens from Quebec and Acadians from the Maritimes. Rainsford mentioned that his two companions were Acadians/Canadiens from the Madawaska settlement of New Brunswick. There were a number of Blacks in the regiment. Unconfirmed tradition has it that there was a Black pioneer in each company although this does not appear on the authorized structure of the regiment. Markham did record the details of two Blacks who were members of the regiment.⁵¹

b. The equipment of the 104th. The officers would have provided their own winter clothing. Their kit was limited “to a knapsack, carried by themselves, unless they could obtain a dog that would work in harness”. The men were “provided with a pair of snowshoes, moccasins, and one blanket each and one togagan (Indian sleigh) to every two men”. This was in addition to their uniform and greatcoat. The officers and men were also provided with “fur caps, mits [mittens] and collars [scarves?]”. Rainsford described “their clothing as poor and scanty, their snow-shoes and moccasins miserably made; even their mitts were of poor, thin yarn”. An American privateer, the *Rover*, had captured the new uniforms destined for the 104th on 4 July 1812 and so the uniforms worn by the men were old and much worn. Le Couteur also stated that the moccasins were poorly made. These inadequacies in clothing would have added to their vulnerability to frostbite. The toboggans were made from a hickory or ash plank, approximately a quarter inch thick, and were “about six feet in length and a foot in breadth, so as to fit the track of a snow shoe”. “The men’s knapsacks ... [were] laid on the bottom and the arms stowed on the sides”. The “seventeen days of provisions” and “thirty rounds of ball cartridges per man” were loaded on separate togoggans.⁵²

c. The weather conditions. The weather was abnormally cold with greatly above average snowfall. Le Couteur reported that the snowfall was greater than it

⁵¹ Squires. pp. 23-24, 29-30, 43-44, 54, 188-195, Graves. p. 105, Fn 6. Cites the report as found at The National Archives, WO 27, vol. 108, PANB. MC 300 MS 15/4. These were Private George Lawrence, the bass drummer in the regimental band, and Private “Black Harry” Grant. Both appear to have settled in the Fredericton area after the war.

⁵² Playfair. p. 1, Graves. p. 68, Rainsford article in *Saint John Daily Sun* No. 202, 23 August 1889, Joan Stevens. Victorian Voices: An introduction to the papers of Sir John Le Couteur, Q.A.D.C., F.R.S.. St. Helier, Jersey, Channel Islands: La Société Jersiaise, 1969. pp. 42-45. While the account of the march of the 104th given in Chapter 5 generally parallels the account published in the Canadian Defence Quarterly, it also provides additional information based on Le Couteur’s draft that is held by La Société Jersiaise. The descriptions of making snowshoes and moccasins are of particular interest.

had been for the previous nine years and that the temperature in early February had dipped to -17° Fahrenheit (-27° Celsius). The cold weather continued during their march from Fredericton to the St. Lawrence, as did the snow. They marched through at least one blizzard and, on 5 March, the temperature dropped to -27° Fahrenheit (-32° Celsius). Everyone suffered greatly from the cold and many had frostbite to varying degrees. The weather moderated as winter ended although the wet early spring weather with its daily thaw and freeze cycle probably was not much of an improvement. By the time they reached Kingston, they were walking through a stream to wash the mud off so they would present a better appearance on their arrival!⁵³

d. Their method of marching. Except for the short periods when sleighs were provided, the regiment marched on foot, sometimes with or without snowshoes. Playfair provided the best description when he wrote “The train of the 104th (one company) consisted of upwards of 50 tobagans, containing each two fire-locks and accoutrements, two knapsacks, two blankets, and at one period of the march, 14 days provisions for two men (each ration one pound ten ounces), and two pairs of snowshoes until we left the settlement, drawn by one man in front, and pushed or held back as necessity required, by one in the rear, by a stick made fast to the stern of the tobagan, Indian fashion”. Because of the constant snowfall, each division of troops had to create their own path through the fresh snow. Walking single file, they took turns of 10 to 15 minutes each as the lead to break the trail. Then they stepped aside and let the rest of the company pass before rejoining the end of the column. A misstep could cause someone to fall into the deep snow along the path, sometimes up to the chin. MacDermott said that an officer was positioned at the end of each column to keep up the stragglers. The 104th would have likely used a similar method. Once they reached Rivière-de-Caps, the road improved greatly and, according to Playfair, the snowshoes and toboggans were dispensed with. Sleighs were most likely provided to carry the baggage and camp stores.⁵⁴

e. Their accommodations during the march. Where possible, the 104th would have been accommodated in houses, barns and other buildings that were available along the line of their march. Barracks were available in Fredericton, Presqu’Île, Grand Falls, Quebec City and probably Montreal. Once in Kingston, the officers were billeted in private homes or military quarters while the soldiers lived in tents or huts. However, on several nights they were forced to camp or “hut” in the woods. Based on the descriptions, there were two ways of making these temporary shelters, one with and one without a roof:

(1). From Captain Charles Rainford’s Account of the March of the 104th that appeared in the Saint John Daily Sun dated 23 August 1889, No. 202:

⁵³ Graves. pp. 94, 99, 100, 109.

⁵⁴ Playfair. p. 1, Graves. pp. 95-96, MacDermott. p. 8, Playfair. p. 5.

“They had to halt every day about 2:30 to prepare for night. The first thing done was to hang up every thing from fear of a snow storm; their excavations for camps were dug out with their snow shoes. Around these they stuck up brush; hardwood was cut down for fires: the camp kettles were hung on, some for tea, others to thaw and cook the pork, etc.: - and when all was ready, a voracious charge was made on the tea, pork and biscuit. This went on regularly for a while, reducing the carriage of the provisions at an alarming rate. For beds, they reposed on cedar and spruce boughs spread on the snow floors of the excavated huts. Each man’s share of the fire was his width only, but he might turn whichever side he liked, and many a time they kept turning the whole night, while the snow wall stood like marble, although some of the fire piles were fourteen feet long, and over four feet high”⁵⁵.

(2). From Lieutenant John Le Couteur’s journal as it appeared in Merry Hearts Make Light Days:

“We generally marched close along the edge of the river, whenever no rapids intervened to prevent this, and always constructed our huts on the windward side of it in the woods, in order to gain a little shelter. The men’s hands were frequently so cold that they could scarcely work; however as they were divided into squads, the best axe men immediately set to felling young pine trees to form the rafters for the hut. These being trimmed of all their lateral branches, were cut about fifteen feet in height. Others trimmed branches of pine for thatching it and others felled hard woods and cut into logs for burning.

While these were at work, some were clearing away spaces for the areas of the hut, which was done by taking off their snow-shoes and using them as shovels to throwback the snow till they got to the soil destined for the floor, four or five feet deep. The snow that was thrown back formed a high wall round it, which served to shelter us somewhat from the chilling wind. Within this area, the trimmed branches were placed in a conical or lengthened form and ties at top; they were then covered with pine boughs thickly laid over each, the points of the branches being downwards made it an excellent thatch, quite impervious to the snow, with the exception of the hole at the top which was left for a chimney. A blazing fire was then lit in the centre of the hut, and all around it was strewed a thick layer of small pine branches, which formed a delicious and fragrant bed – here were no feather bed soldiers.

The next precaution was to close the only aperture in the hut, which was intended for a doorway, made just large enough for a man to creep through edgewise, and a blanket, which everyone in turn grumbled to give up,

⁵⁵ Rainsford article in *Saint John Daily Sun* No. 202, 23 August 1889. This information was actually extracted from Playfair’s letter.

served as an inner door to shut out the cold if possible. But I may well say if possible, as those who have not experienced it, cannot figure to themselves the extreme frigidity of a temperature from 18 to 27 degrees below zero [Fahrenheit], that is from 50 to 59 degrees below freezing. While our feet were burning, which was sometimes literally the case whilst asleep, our heads were in a freezing temperature, as water immediately froze if placed near the outer circumference of the hut. It generally happened that we were as completely enveloped in smoke as an Esquimaux family but, like them, we found it much more agreeable than having no smoke at all, as it warmed the hut. Moreover, I imagined that sleep without fire in such cold would have proved the sleep of death.”⁵⁶

f. Their rations. The officers provided their own provisions. The cost of this exceeded the normal amounts expected and so the officers were granted “lodging money” for the duration of their march from Fredericton to Quebec City. The men were issued 14 days rations when they left Fredericton. Each ration consisted of “one pound of pork, including bones, with 10 ounces of biscuit”. There was also “tea, coffee or chocolate” to drink although the chocolate was more likely privately supplied by the officers. The day’s ration was divided between a morning meal before the march began and then an afternoon or evening meal after the end of the day’s march. Playfair stated that the added exertions of the winter march resulted in the rations being consumed more quickly than intended. Both Playfair and Rainsford indicated that the rations had been used up by the time they reached either the entrance to the Grand Portage or the junction of Lake Temiscouata and the Madawaska River. All groups were glad to encounter the Commissariat contractor, William Anderson, along the Grand Portage and to receive a fresh supply of food.⁵⁷

g. The casualties. According to popular belief, the 104th completed the march from Fredericton to Kingston without any casualties. This is based on Le Couteur’s statement. However, this is not correct. Private William Lammy died along the line of the march near Woodstock. Private Reuben Rogers suffered severe frostbite and was left at Philip Long’s house at the start of the Grand Portage to recover. Rogers later rejoined the regiment in Kingston but died the next year. Many members of the 104th also suffered from less severe cases of frostbite. Others suffered from an inflammation of the Achilles tendon, called “mal de racquette” caused by snowshoeing when not conditioned to it. Le Couteur also recorded that many were ill after the march and that a few died from

⁵⁶ Graves, p. 96.

⁵⁷ LAC. RG 8 “C” vol. 1024 p. 54. Letter from Colonel Halkett to Noah Freer, the Military Secretary in Quebec City dated 29 March 1813 in which he requested the lodging allowance for the officers. Playfair, pp. 1, 3 and 4, Rainsford article in *Saint John Daily Sun* No. 202, 23 August 1889, Graves, p. 102. In contrast, Stevens, p. 44, quotes Le Couteur as saying that the ration consisted of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a pound of pork and one large biscuit per man per day. Le Couteur said that “the [ration] allowance was ...shortened to lighten the draught, as the men had to drag seventeen day’s rations” along with their other equipment.

the effects of it. Sir George Prevost inspected the 104th in May 1813 and this is echoed in his report. He found that the men were generally looking sickly, several had died and the hospital was full of the sick. From these two statements, it is clear that the long march had an adverse effect on the overall health of the regiment.⁵⁸

h. Interesting incidents along the march. Although the journey from Fredericton to the St. Lawrence was very difficult and tiring, the 104th did enjoy some lighter moments. Playfair reminisced about spending the evenings in “cheerful conversation” once the camp had been established and the supper meal cooked. Because of their closeness to the fires, the boughs that provided shelter from the wind and snow had a tendency to catch fire. Playfair related an incident in the officers’ camp where the regimental colours were almost lost in one of these fires. Le Couteur mentioned a similar incident in which a moneybox had to be rescued from a fire. The officers and men then snowballed the fire to put it out. While at Grand Falls, the officers of the Light Company took time to go sightseeing at the falls. The hills along the Grand Portage made pulling a toboggan up and down them quite tricky. Efforts had to be made to prevent toboggans from getting out of control on the downhill slopes. Despite the risk of personal injury and damage to equipment, it appears that tobogganing was a great sport. Playfair told an amusing story of a drummer straddling his large drum, which was lashed to a toboggan, and running it down a hill. Unfortunately the toboggan left the track and sailed off into the deep snow. There were some anxious moments until the drummer reappeared, covered in snow from head to toe. The drummer has been identified as Private Harry Grant.⁵⁹

i. Col Halkett’s disappointment. Alexander Halkett was a colonel in the British army and the lieutenant-colonel of the 104th (New Brunswick) Regiment of Foot. He led them on the first part of their march from Fredericton to Quebec City. It was his expectation that he would continue to command his regiment in Canada. Unfortunately, this was not to be. First, it was suggested that he remain in Quebec City as a brevet promotion to major general was imminent. However, he decided to move forward to Kingston with the 2nd division of the regiment. The adjutant and the colours accompanied him. On arriving at Montreal, Major General de Rottenburg ordered the 2nd division to Couteau-du-Lac and, while not specifically stated in the orders, he intended that Halkett would also stop there. But Halkett continued on to Kingston where, as senior colonel, he briefly had command of the garrison. When he found out about this, De Rottenburg ordered him back to Couteau-du-Lac and then Montreal. Halkett appealed to Sir George Prevost who countermanded De Rottenburg’s orders. Soon afterwards, Prevost arrived in Kingston and gave Halkett the command of a small post at Point Frederick (the site of the Royal Military College). The overall command of the Kingston garrison was given to a junior officer. Realizing that he was not going

⁵⁸ Squires. pp. 125-127, Stevens, p. 46, Graves. p. 104, LAC. RG 8 “C” vol. 165 p. 175. Halkett to Torrens dated 30 May 1813.

⁵⁹ Playfair. pp. 3-4, Graves. pp. 97, 101, Squires. p. 128.

to be given a command suitable for his rank, Halkett asked for a leave of absence to return to England, which was granted. Before leaving, Halkett asked to accompany his regiment on the attack on Sackett's Harbor and this request was refused. Halkett returned to England and never rejoined the 104th.⁶⁰

j. Lieutenant Charles Rainsford's brave rescue. Lieutenant Charles Rainsford is credited with saving the lives of the members of two companies. Captain Holland's and Captain Shore's companies had been storm stayed at the juncture of the Madawaska River and Lake Temiscouata. Their supplies were running out and they were in danger of starving. Rainsford volunteered to go for help. He took two volunteers from the Light Company with him. They have been tentatively identified as Privates Patinaude and Gaié who were "natives of the upper country bordering on the Canada line" and were mostly likely from the Madawaska settlement. Leaving on 5 March, Rainsford and his small party were about half way across Lake Temiscouata when they met Philip Long. Long had been searching for the missing companies and he guided them back to his farm. He fed them and put them on the path across the portage. When he arrived at the exit of the portage, he encountered William Anderson and organized a rescue party of 17 Canadiens and a supply of food. Hurrying back with the rescue party, Rainsford met up with the two companies at Long's farm. Rainsford and his two companions "had travelled 90 miles in two days and the troops had been without food for over thirty hours". Le Couteur said that afterwards Anderson's name always merited a toast within the regiment. Rainsford was later given a land grant by the Province of New Brunswick and a pension by the British government for his brave actions.⁶¹

k. Battle Honours. The London Gazette Number 17076 of 4 November 1815 contained the following announcement:

"War-Office, November 4, 1815.

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been pleased, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, to approve of the Flank Companies of the 104th Regiment being permitted to bear on their appointments (in addition to any other badges or devices which may have been heretofore granted to the 104th Regiment) the word "*Niagara*," in consideration of the gallantry and good conduct evinced by those Companies in the action at Lundy's-Lane, near the Fall of Niagara, on the 25th July 1814, and during the whole of the campaign on the Niagara Frontier in the year 1814."

⁶⁰ Squires. pp. 143-144, LAC. RG 8 "C" vol. 165 pp. 171-177. Halkett to Colonel Torrens dated 30 May 1813.

⁶¹ Rainsford article in *Saint John Daily Sun* No. 202, 23 August 1889, Squires. pp. 128-130, 183. Squires identified the battalion company as Captain Armstrong's but no reason for this is provided. Graves. p. 102. fn land grant and pension.

This honour became inactive following the disbanding of the regiment in 1817. There is an initiative underway to have a unit of the Canadian Forces designated to perpetuate the 104th (New Brunswick) Regiment of Foot and to carry its battle honour *NIAGARA*.

l. Planning the March. According to folklore, the march of the 104th was planned in the study of William F. Odell's house. Odell was the Provincial Secretary at the time and it could have been that his home provided a convenient meeting place for the military and government officials who would have been involved in planning the march. The house is still standing at 808 Brunswick St. in Fredericton and is the former Deanery of the Christ Church Cathedral.⁶²

m. Regimental Families. The 104th had a number of family groups within its numbers. Some of these were:

(1) Rainsford. Three Rainsford brothers were officers in the Regiment. Andrew joined in 1803 and was a captain with a company by 1814. He later settled in eastern Ontario and served during the Rebellion of 1837/38 as a major in the Glengarry militia. Bradshaw joined as an Ensign in 1810 and resigned in 1811. He later served in the New Brunswick Fencibles. Charles joined in 1806 and became a captain in 1815. He was renowned for his rescue of the two companies that had been storm-stayed at Lake Temiscouata during the march to Upper Canada. In 1847, the New Brunswick Legislative Assembly gave him a grant of 500 acres near Springhill in recognition of this heroic deed. Later in 1876, he received a pension from the British government, again in acknowledgment of this accomplishment.⁶³

(2) Squires. Jabish Squires enlisted in the King's New Brunswick Regiment in 1795 and then in the New Brunswick Regiment of Fencible Infantry in 1803. He rose through the ranks and became the Regimental Sergeant Major. His son, Zebedee, enlisted in 1809 as a Boy and became a Bugler. When the regiment was disbanded in 1817, they took up land grants in Carleton County, NB.⁶⁴

(3) Moran. There were three Morans from St. Martins in the 104th. William Sr. had served in the King's Orange Rangers during the American Revolution and later in the King's New Brunswick Regiment. He received land grants in St. Martins for both periods of service. He joined the 104th in 1811 as a Private and died of disease in Kingston on 12 January 1814. Two of his sons also served in the Regiment. John joined as a Private in 1811. William Jr. joined as a Boy in 1811, went to Quebec by sea and served there on attachment to the Corps of Artillery Drivers.

⁶² Discussion with Wayne Phillips and tour of the Deanery on 17 May 2011.

⁶³ Squires. pp. 183, 194.

⁶⁴ Squires. pp. 19, 181, 234.

Both John and William Jr. were discharged in 1817 and returned to New Brunswick. John is said to have run a tavern at Victoria Corner, NB. William Jr. lived in St. Martins for a while. He later became a Methodist minister and moved to the United States. Two of his sons served in the Illinois Infantry during the American Civil War. Both William Sr. and John were part of the march to Upper Canada.⁶⁵

(4) Beard. If true, the largest family group was associated with Elizabeth Beard. According to an article in the Royal Gazette of 22 April 1811, she had a husband and six sons in the 104th. Her first husband, John Jasper, was a Royal Marine. Having survived the Revolutionary War, he died in Jamaica. She then married Samuel Woodward who died when the ship taking them to New Brunswick was wrecked on Seal Rocks. She later married Jeremiah Hopkins, a Sergeant in the 104th. Her sons in the Regiment may have been: Richard Hopkins; Archibald, Nathaniel, Robert, Samuel and Timothy Woodward. The article stated that she had the honour to be the mother to eighteen sons and four daughters. Timothy Woodward was killed in action at Sackett's Harbor on 29 May 1813 and his brother, Archibald, died of wounds on 31 May 1813. The rest were discharged when the Regiment was disbanded in 1817. All five of them received land grants in the Military Settlement between Presqu'Isle and Grand Falls.⁶⁶

n. Rates of Pay. Soldiers were not well paid. The daily rate was: Privates – one Shilling (12 pence or 12d), Corporals – one shilling and three pence (15d) and Sergeants – one shilling and seven pence (1s/7d). The annual salary for a Private was 18 pounds (£) and five shillings (£18/5s). In comparison, a skilled artisan earned £55, a miner £40 and a farm labourer £30. Officers were much better paid. An ensign, such as Le Couteur, earned £44/3s/4d, a lieutenant £85/3s/6d and a captain £164/5s.⁶⁷

o. Regimental Colours. The Colours embodied the heart and soul of the Regiment. There were two of them: The King's Colour and the Regimental Colour. Each was a large flag, six feet by five and on-half feet in size. The Colours were carried by the 104th on their march to Kingston and were endangered when one of the huts caught fire. After the Regiment was disbanded, the Colours were sent to the Colonel of the Regiment, Lieutenant General Martin Hunter, who lived in Scotland. In 1939, his descendants presented the Colours to

⁶⁵ Squires. p. 225. New Brunswick Museum Archives. WO 12/9748 – Paylists for the 104th Regiment, 1811-1817. Exchange of emails with Alex Otero in February 2001.

⁶⁶ B.J. Grant. Fit to Print. Fredericton: Fiddlehead Poetry Books & Goose Lane Editions Ltd., 1987, Squires. pp. 217, 239.

⁶⁷ Graves. p. 91 fn 83. The rates of pay were found on <http://www.napoleonguide.com/ukwages.htm>. Accessed 7 June 2011.

the New Brunswick Museum. They are presently being restored and will form part of the Museum's exhibit about the War of 1812.⁶⁸

p. Images relating to the March of the 104th. There are several contemporary images that help to depict the 104th during the course of their march. These are:

(1). Ernest Clarke. "The Presqu'Île Military Post in the Old Parish of Wakefield". Reconstructed image of the Presqu'Île military post. p. 11a.

(2). Library and Archives Canada.

(a) George Heriot. *Presqu'île, St. John's River, July 1807* (LAC C-012724).

(b) Joseph Bouchette. *Long's Farm on Lake Temiscouata, at the Extremity of the Portage*. (LAC R9266-1511).

(c) Unknown. *Camp St. François, Centre of Temiscouata Portage*. (LAC C-000919).

(3). New Brunswick Museum collection. Lieutenant E. E. Vidal, RN. *Travelling on the River St. John, New Brunswick, W6798* and *New Brunswick [Grand Falls], 1815, WW6797*.

(4). Micah A. Pawling, ed. Wabanaki Homeland and the New State of Maine: The 1820 Journal and Plan of Survey of Joseph Treat. Sketch of Fort Carleton, 1820 by Major Joseph Treat. p. 196.

(5). Jack L. Summers and René Chartrand. Military Uniforms in Canada 1665-1970. Image of a pioneer of the 104th. p. 65.

Summary.

In his introduction to Le Couteur's account that appeared in the July 1930 edition of the *Canadian Defence Quarterly*, Major Pope calculated that the 104th had marched about 700 miles (1126 kilometres) between Fredericton and Kingston.⁶⁹ This study has suggested that the distance was more like 731 miles (1176 kilometres). It is sufficient to say that the actual distance was more than 700 miles or 1126 kilometres. The actual distance will never be known, as the 104th did not follow a well-defined road as they marched between Fredericton and the St. Lawrence River. Instead their path twisted and turned as they avoided rapids and patches of bad ice along the St. John and Madawaska Rivers. Nonetheless, the Grenadier Company completed the march in 57 days while the Light Company, the last to leave Fredericton, finished it in 53 days. Using the distance found in this study and factoring out the nine-day pause in Quebec City, the average distance travelled by the Light Company was 17 miles or 27 kilometres per day.

⁶⁸ Squires. pp. 65, 186-187.

⁶⁹ Pope. p. 491.

Major Pope also chronicled some of the other famous marches in history, such as the Duke of Marlborough's 240 mile/ 386 kilometre dash from the Rhine to the Danube and the victory at the Battle of Blenheim in 1704. While some of these marches may have been longer or involved larger numbers of troops, they were also made during the warmer weather of the campaign season when food and fodder was more readily available. Troops normally went into winter quarters during the cold months and movement was minimized. Ordering the 104th to march from Fredericton to Quebec City in the middle of winter was a significant change from the usual method of operations. Only exceptional circumstances, in this case the threat of an early American offensive, would have justified this. The 104th (New Brunswick) Regiment of Foot responded admirably to this challenge. Their march of over 700 miles or 1,126 kilometres, through heavy fresh deep snow and extremely cold temperatures that later moderated to a wet, cold and slushy spring thaw, is unparalleled in the annals of British and Commonwealth military history. Had the Duke of Wellington been aware of this march at the time, perhaps he would have said that this was the one feat that he admired the most? The march of the 104th (New Brunswick) Regiment of Foot certainly deserves to be commemorated as one of the more significant feats accomplished during the War of 1812.

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Béatrice Craig, Professor of History, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, On

Brenda C. Foss, Research Volunteer, Brockville Museum, Brockville, ON

Donald E. Graves, Almonte, ON, noted War of 1812 historian and author

Major John R. Grodzinski, Assistant Professor, Department of History, The Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston, ON

Wallace (Wally) Hale, Fredericton, NB

Samuel Moreau, Vice President, Society of History and Archaeology of Temiscouata, Fort Ingall, Cabano, QC

New Brunswick Museum

Gary Hughes, Curator of History & Technology

Peter Larocque, Curator of NB Cultural History & Art

Jennifer Longon, Archives and Research Library

Parks Canada

Paul-Émile Cadorette, Visitor Services Officer, Lachine Canal National Historic Site of Canada, QC

Jim Candow, Historian, Atlantic Service Centre, Halifax, NS

André Charbonneau, Historian, Historical Services, Cultural Heritage Service, Parks Canada - Quebec Service Centre

Ron Dale, War of 1812 Project Manager, Parks Canada, Niagara-on-the-Lake, ON

Bob Garcia, Historian, Ontario Service Centre, Parks Canada Agency, Cornwall, ON

Karine La Flèche, Interpretation Officer Coordinator, Coteau-du-Lac National Historic Site, QC