

## VII

## THE BATTLE OF FRENCHTOWN

Towards the close of the autumn, General Winchester, having established himself at that point of the Miami, whither General Tupper had, on the occasion of Major Muir's retreat from Fort Wayne, been ordered to dislodge us ; and thrown up on the right bank of the river a strong fortification to which, in compliment to the Governor of the State of Ohio, the name of Fort Meigs had been given, a detachment, consisting of about 50 men under the command of Major Reynolds of the Essex Militia, with a three-pounder, and 200 Indians were sent to Frenchtown' on the River Raisin, distant eighteen miles from Amherstburg, to watch his movements. Here this little party continued unmolested until the afternoon of the 18th of January, 1813, when Colonel Lewis, who had been detached from General Winchester's division, with an advanced guard of nearly 800 men suddenly fell upon them, and notwithstanding a very gallant resistance, in the course of which, efficient service was rendered by the three-pounder under Bombardier Kitson of the Royal Artillery, aided simply by a few militia acting as gunners, compelled them to retire across some intermediate open ground to a wood, distant nearly a mile from their original position. Here the enemy were kept in check not only by the fire from the three-pounder, but by a

Ifrenchtown, now the city of Monroe, was so called because a number of French families settled upon the banks of the river, and built their houses near together, as was usual with this nationality. The stream was called Sturgeon river by the Indians, because that fish was found there in large numbers, but Riviere aux Raisins by the French, because, it is said, grapes grew in abundance on its banks.

running fusillade from the Militia, and Indians, chiefly of the Pottawattomi tribe. After the conflict had continued at this point upwards of half an hour, Major Reynolds,' finding himself closely pressed by very superior numbers, gave up the contest, the Americans suffering him to effect his retreat without further interruption. In this little affair the British loss was 1 Militia man and 3 Indians killed. That of the enemy was much more severe, they themselves admitting 12 killed and 55 wounded. Colonel Lewis having established himself in the position, sent immediate notice of his success to General Winchester, who quitting Fort Meigs with the main body of his army, pushed forward with all expedition, and effected a junction with Colonel Lewis on the 10th.

The account of the repulse of Major Reynolds having reached Amherstburg in the course of the night of the 18th, Colonel Procter, with a promptness and decision which it is to be regretted had not marked his subsequent operations, resolved on an instant advance upon the captured position, before the enemy could have time to fortify it. Accordingly the whole disposable force of the garrison was ordered upon this service, and early on the 19th, leaving a handful of men to occupy the fort, he crossed the Detroit river opposite Amherstburg, with

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'Major Ebenezer Reynolds, the commander of the Essex Militia, was the son of a Commissary officer to the British troops at Fort Detroit when it was a British possession. In the autumn of 1812 he occupied Frenchtown with two companies of militia, but on the advance of Col. Lewis with a superior force was obliged to retire. He took part in all the engagements of the Right Division.

From Sept. 10th, 1833, till the 7th of August, 1837, Major Reynolds was Sheriff of the Western District.

His brother, Robert Reynolds, Deputy Assistant-Commissary-General, followed the fortunes of the army of the Right Division, and escaped when that army was defeated at Moravian-town on Oct. 5th, 1813. He was born in Detroit in 1781, and lived to an advanced age on his farm on the banks of the Detroit near Amherstburg. His narrative of the events of the war is given by Coffin in " 1812 ; The War and its Moral," p. 195.

a body of 500 troops and militia, 800 Indians under the Chief Roundhead, (Tecumseh being absent collecting reinforcements) and 3 three-pounders. The different vessels being laid up for the season, parts of their crews were ordered to serve with the artillery, and the two companies of the Newfoundland Fencibles attached to the brigade. No sight could be more beautiful than the departure of this little army from Amherstburg. It was the depth of winter ; and the river at the point we crossed being four miles in breadth, the deep rumbling noise of the guns prolonging their reverberations like the roar of distant thunder, as they moved along the ice, mingled with the wild cries of the Indians, seemed to threaten some convulsion of nature ; while the appearance of the troops winding along the road, now lost behind some cliff of rugged ice, now emerging into view, their polished arms glittering in the sunbeams, gave an air of romantic grandeur to the scene.

On the night of the 21st, we halted and bivouacked in the open air, about five miles from the enemy's position, with no other protection from the cold than our great coats, and the fires which were kindled at our feet. Two hours before dawn, and we were again upon the advance to the River Raisin, and on the 22nd, before daybreak, came within sight of the enemy, occupying the position lately held by Major Reynolds. Such was their security and negligence that they had not thrown out a single picket, and our line was actually half formed within musket shot of their defences, before they were aware even of our presence.

The conduct of Colonel Procter on this occasion has ever been a matter of astonishment to me, and on no one principle that I am aware of, can it be satisfactorily accounted for. The Americans were lying in their beds **undressed and unarmed, and a prompt and forward movement of the line, either would have enabled us to have taken them with the bayonet at advantage, or to**

have seized the intermediate close fence, forming a parapet from which they shortly afterwards so severely annoyed us. Instead of this, he commenced firing his three-pounders in answer to the alarm of the sentinels who, at length perceiving us, had rapidly discharged their muskets—thus affording them time and facility for arming and occupying the only position from which they could seriously check our advance. Resting their rifles on the breastwork by which they were covered, the Americans fought under every advantage, the dark line of troops before them serving as a point of direction, which could not fail to be perceived along the field of snow by which they were surrounded. Much execution was done among the artillery and seamen. Placed in front of the line, and singled out by their marksmen, the officers and men of those departments were particularly exposed, and many of the guns were abandoned from want of hands to work them. The fire of the enemy was not less galling to the troops, yet although falling at every step, they continued to advance with the utmost resolution and gallantry. The action had continued about an hour, when the American right, being entirely broken by the Militia and Indians, a movement was made to occupy the ground they had abandoned, and to take them in flank. This manoeuvre succeeding, a corps of Americans, to the number of four hundred, threw themselves into the strong block-houses they had already constructed since their arrival, where they continued to make an obstinate defence. Meanwhile their right, and part of the centre, closely followed across the ice by the Indians, fell almost unresisting victims to the wrath of their pursuers : and for nearly two miles along the road by which they passed, the snow was covered with the blood and bodies of the slain. Among the fugitives was General Winchester himself, who, falling into the hands of the Wyandot Chief Roundhead, was conducted, together with his son—a handsome youth of sixteen—to our rear.

Here, being informed of the state of the action, he immediately wrote an order in pencil to the officer commanding the block-houses desiring him to surrender what troops were under him as prisoners of war. This being conveyed to Colonel Procter who was then in advance with the left wing, which was fast establishing itself on the flank of the enemy's position, the fire from our line was discontinued, and an officer despatched with a flag and the document in question. The result of this was the surrender of a considerable body of men, who dreading to fall into the hands of the Indians had resolved to sell their lives at the dearest possible rate, and who could not, without great difficulty, have been expelled from their formidable position. In this manner was the whole of the American force annihilated—150 men only of those who had been routed early in the day, contriving to effect their escape into Fort Meigs, the post so recently established on the banks of the Miami. So complete was the surprise of the enemy, that General Winchester, when brought in, had no other covering than the dress in which he slept.

In this affair which, if properly conducted, would have been attended by little loss to the assailants, we had 24 rank and file killed and 11 officers and 158 rank and file wounded, exclusive of sergeants whose number is not recorded. Colonel St. George, particularly distinguished by his valor and exertions, received five wounds (the despatch states four) several of them severe—and had a horse shot under him. No officer was killed; but among the wounded were Ensign Kerr of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, who was shot through the lungs, and died a few days afterwards, Captain Tallon and Lieut. Clemow of the 4rst, Lieut. Troughton of the Artillery, and Lieuts. Rolette and Irvine of the Navy. The conduct of this latter officer, whose gallantry at the capture of the Caledonia has already been described, was marked



GENERAL JAMES WINCHESTER.

on this occasion by the same coolness and resolution. In a forward movement made upon the enemy in the heat of the action, but in which we had been checked by the desperate fire of their riflemen, one of the three-pounders had been abandoned not twenty yards from the fence. The Americans 'eagerly sought to obtain' possession of this, and leaped the breastwork for the purpose of dragging it immediately under cover of their own fire. Their object, however, was seen and frustrated by the British line, which had not retired many yards before it again halted and renewed the contest, compelling the Americans to retire behind their breastwork. Lieutenant Irvine saw the peril of the gun, and, under cover of a heavy fire which was thrown into the enemy at that moment, he advanced, seized the drag rope, and bore it off. This daring feat, performed in presence of, and between, the two armies, was not without its penalty. Mr. Irvine received a wound immediately in the centre of his heel, the ball entering and saturating his boot, which was with some difficulty removed, with blood ; and from the effect of this he suffered for some time. The ball was never found.

Another individual who deserves honorable mention here was a young midshipman, a brother' of the writer of this narrative, and the son of a medical officer who had long served in the country. This youth, then only fourteen years of age, had ever been anxious to find himself engaged in an affair with the enemy, but no opportunity having presented itself on the lake, he had resolved to seize the first favorable occasion on land. Disobeying the positive order given him to remain behind, he joined the division during the bivouac of the night preceding

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=This was Robert Richardson, the next and favorite brother of the author, born at Queenston, Sept. 10th, 1798, died June 7th, 1819.

For a description of this battle see the letter of the author, written to his uncle after the return of the army to Amherstburg.

the action, and attaching himself to his department, was among the number of those singled out by the enemy's marksmen. While in the act of applying a match to one of the guns, he was struck by a ball, which shattered his right leg and felled him to the earth. Doctor Richardson had been called on, in his medical capacity, to attend the expedition, and was then with the staff in the rear. The first care of this gallant and excellent boy was to conceal his wound from his father ; and he begged those who bore him from the field to convey him to a position remote from that occupied by the staff, and to request the surgeon of the 41st to attend him, which was accordingly done. After having suffered intensely, but with manly and enduring courage, for six months, he was at length enabled to remove to Quebec, where, his conduct being generally known, he was taken into favor by the Commander-in-Chief, who gave him the commission of a lieutenant in one of the provincial corps. Sir John Harvey and Sir George Murray, then Colonels in the service, and filling the important offices of Adjutant-General and Quarter-Master-General to the army in Canada, were also forward in affording the most flattering testimony of their esteem ; and this spirited youth had the cheering consolation to know that, although afflicted with a wound which eventually cost him his life, the noble ardor developed at so early a stage of his existence was not without its reward, in the approval of men whose high military rank and character invested their individual regard with a ten-fold value.

The following extract from a letter from the first-named gallant Officer, dated November, 1839, contains so flattering a reminiscence of the devoted boy that it would be an injustice to his memory to withhold it. " I am favored with your very interesting communication of the 22nd inst. by which I learn that you are the brother of two youths, whose gallantry and merits—and with regard

to one of them, his sufferings—during the late war, excited my warmest admiration and sympathies ; and (continues Sir John, under an erroneous impression that his young *protegi* had been subsequently married) I will add, that the desire I felt to serve the father will be found to extend itself to the son, if your nephew should ever find himself under circumstances to require from me any service which it may be within my limited power to render him."

In the same engagement Mr. William Caldwell' of Amherstburg, who was attached to the Indians, had a very narrow escape. Among the number of those of the enemy who first broke and fled across the ice, was an officer who, overtaken by an Indian, and in the act of being tomahawked, was saved by the interposition of this gentleman. As he was conducting him toward the principal scene of action, the American officer drew his knife, at a moment when Mr. Caldwell was off his guard, and springing upon his deliverer, made an incision along his throat, nearly from ear to ear. The wound fortunately was not deep, and Mr. Caldwell, who was an extremely powerful and active person, with great presence of mind,

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'Col. William Caldwell, of Amherstburg, was a native of Ireland, and immigrated to the southern colonies of America before the Revolutionary War. When the colonies rebelled he took the Loyalist side, and was appointed an officer in one of the colonial regiments, but was transferred to that celebrated corps, Butler's Rangers, in which he held the rank of Captain. He took part in all the battles, raids and forays of this corps, and after the war settled in the township of Malden. On the breaking out of the War of 1812 he was appointed Quarter-Master-General of the militia on the western frontier. His influence with the Wyandots was such as to secure their aid for the British in the war. He and his four sons took part in all the engagements of the Right Division. William, Jr., was a Captain in the 1st Essex Militia, and Thomas and Francis, Lieutenants, in the same regiment. The latter was wounded seven times during the war. Another son, James, served through the war.

Francis Caldwell was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly, for the County of Essex in 1835, and re-elected in 1840.

Edwin Caldwell was Collector of Customs at Amherstburg from 1831 till 1857.

caught the arm which had attempted his destruction, and drawing forth a dagger, with which he was provided, thrust it repeatedly into the body of his assailant until death had freed him from all further apprehension—Mr. Caldwell's wound was soon healed.

The appearance of the American prisoners captured at Frenchtown was miserable to the last degree. They had the air of men to whom cleanliness was a virtue unknown, and their squalid bodies were covered by habiliments that had evidently undergone every change of season, and were arrived at the last stage of repair. It has already been remarked that it was the depth of winter ; but scarcely an individual was in possession of a great coat or cloak, and few of them wore garments of wool of any description. They still retained their summer dress, consisting of cotton stuff of various colors, shaped into frocks, and descending to the knee : their trowsers were of the same material. They were covered with slouched hats, worn bare by constant use, beneath which their long hair fell matted and uncombed over their cheeks ; and these, together with the dirty blankets wrapped around their loins to protect them against the inclemency of the season, and fastened by broad leathern belts, into which were thrust axes and knives of an enormous length, gave them an air of wildness and savageness, which in Italy would have caused them to pass for brigands of the Apennines. The only distinction between the garb of the officer and that of the soldier was, that the one, in addition to his sword, carried a short rifle instead of a long one, while a dagger, often curiously worked and of some value, supplied the place of the knife. This description may be considered as applicable to the various hordes of irregular troops sent forth throughout the war from the States of Ohio and Kentucky. The equipment was ever the same, and differing only inasmuch as their opportunities of preserving or renewing it were more or less frequent.

## PROCTER'S OFFICIAL REPORT

During the short period the American prisoners remained in Amherstburg, I had an opportunity of rendering a slight service to General Winchester, for which he appeared particularly grateful. This was replied to, moreover, by a request that I would accept a very handsomely-mounted pair of pistols which were with his baggage. The Indians however had forestalled me in the possession, and I believe the General never recovered a single article even of wearing apparel.

The following is the British Official Report of the battle of the River Raisin. Those of General Winchester and of General Harrison will be found succeeding it.

From Colonel Procter to Major-General Sheaffe,  
Sandwich, January 25, 1813.

MY DEAR GENERAL, — In my last despatch I acquainted you, that the enemy was in the Michigan territory, marching upon Detroit. I therefore deemed it requisite that he should be attacked without delay, and with all and every description of force within my reach. Early in the morning, on the 19th, I was informed of his being in possession of Frenchtown, on the River Raisin, 26 miles from Detroit, after experiencing every resistance that Major Reynolds, of the Essex militia, had it in his power to make, with a 3-pounder, well served and directed by bombardier Kitson of the Royal Artillery, and the militiamen, whom he had well trained to the use of it. The retreat of the gun was covered by a brave band of Indians, who made the enemy pay dearly for what he obtained. The Indians fell back, 18 miles to Brown's Town, the settlement of the brave Wyandots, where I directed my force to assemble. On the 21st instant, I advanced 12 miles to Swan Creek, whence we marched to the enemy, and attacked him at break of day, on the 22nd instant, and after experiencing, for our numbers, a considerable loss, about half of the enemy's force, posted in houses and enclosures, and which, in dread of falling into the hands of the Indians, they most obstinately defended, at last surrendered at discretion ; the other part of their force, in attempting to return whence they came, were, I believe, all, or perhaps excepting a very few, killed by the Indians. Brigadier-General Winchester was taken in the pursuit by the

Wyandot Chief Roundhead. He was cut off from those who were posted, and whom he afterwards surrendered.

I had much difficulty in bringing the Indians to consent to the sparing of their lives.

You will perceive that I have lost no time ; indeed, there was none to spare, as they would have been joined by Mr. Harrison in a few days, and the people of Detroit had already begun to show themselves. The troops, the marine, and the militia displayed great bravery ; all behaved well. Where so much zeal and spirit were displayed by all it would be unjust to particularize: I shall only venture to mention some of the wounded. Lieut.-Col. St. George, who received four wounds in a gallant attempt to occupy a building favorably situated for the enemy's annoyance ; Ensign Kerr, of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, who, I fear, is very dangerously wounded. The zeal and courage of the Indian Department were never more conspicuous than on this occasion. The Indian warriors displayed their usual courage. I am much indebted to the different departments, the troops having been well and timely supplied with every requisite the district can afford.

We feel the insufficiency of surgical assistance. If the Indians had not appeared quite so soon in the enemy's rear, which deterred them from quitting their fastness, scarcely a man could have escaped death. I send my A.D.C., Lieutenant McLean,' with this despatch. He will be able to answer any question respecting the affair of Frenchtown that you may be desirous of asking, or concerning our situation here generally. I have decided to the best of my judgment respecting the prisoners, which is to send them by the River Thames, to be passed

=Lieut. A. H. McLean, of the 41st Regiment, who was A.D.C. to Colonel Procter, was the son of Donald McLean, Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, who was killed while bravely opposing the landing of the Americans at York on April 27th, 1813. He was a zealous and painstaking officer, and was in every engagement in the west, and also the battle of Moraviantown. After the close of the war he went to England with his regiment, and thence to India, where he took part in the severe fighting of the first Burmese war. When he retired from the army he came to Canada, and lived on a farm in the town, ellip of Scarborough, a few miles east of Toronto. Here he still kept a connection with military affairs, and was appointed Colonel, and was in command during the troubles of 1837. His narrative of the battle of Moraviantown was used by Coffin in that writer's description of the event.

over on your frontier. The reasons for not sending them back the route by which they came are so obvious that I shall not, except required, obtrude them on you ; indeed, I see no option or arrangement that could be made but the one directed.

I, fortunately, have not been deprived of the services of Lieutenant Troughton of the Royal Artillery, and acting in the Quarter-Master-General's Department, although he was wounded. I am indebted much to his zeal and unwearied exertions. I could wish his continuance in the Quarter-Master-General's Department. Were it not unjust to particularize any corps, where all did their utmost, I would mention the zeal and courage of the Royal Artillery. Each officer is deserving of being named, could I do it within the compass of a despatch.

I enclose a list of the killed and wounded. I lament there having been so many of both ; but of the latter a large proportion will return to duty, and most of them before long. Before this reduction of my force, I had too few for the defence of this frontier. May I not hope that you will send me a company of the 41st Regiment ? You are aware of the insufficiency of my means. I also send a return of the arms, ammunition, etc., taken on the 22nd inst., likewise of the prisoners, who you will perceive to be equal to my utmost force, exclusive of the Indians, who, though a powerful aid, are an uncertain one, being dependent on success, and which would have strongly appeared had I failed on the 22nd instant, nor could I have been sure of the militia in the event of any disaster. I have not heard it officially, but I believe that a party of the enemy, one hundred, bringing 500 hogs for General Winchester's force, has been completely cut off. I shall defer until the next opportunity, which shall be in a few days, saying anything more, having already detained Lieut. McLean too long, of whose courage and exertions displayed on the 22nd inst. I would speak, did I think it just to attempt particularizing anyone, especially when I may be supposed partial.

I remain, my dear General, faithfully yours,

Henry Procter, Colonel Commanding.

Major-General Sheaffe,  
Fort George.

To Major-General Sheaffe, &c., &c., &c.

Fort George.

Return of prisoners taken after the action at Riviere au Raisin, on the 22nd day of January, 1813.

Brigadier-general ; 1 colonel ; f major ; 9 captains ; 6 lieutenants ; fo ensigns ; f brigade-major ; I adjutant ; f quartermaster ; 2 surgeons ; 27 sergeants ; 435 rank and file.—total, 495.

N.B.—The Indians have brought in and delivered up several prisoners since the above return was taken ; they continue to do so this morning, so that this return is not perfectly correct, nor can a correct one be procured until they arrive at Sandwich.

Felix Troughton, R.A.

Act. Dep. Assist. Quarter-Master-Gen.

Return of the killed and wounded in the action at Riviere au Raisin, 22nd January, f 813.

Royal Artillery ;—f sergeant, 1 gunner, killed ; lieutenant, f corporal, I bombardier, 5 gunners, wounded.

10th Royal Veteran Battalion ; —2 privates wounded.

41st Foot ;—15 privates, killed ; 1 captain, f lieutenant, 3 sergeants, 1 corporal, 91 privates, wounded.

Royal Newfoundland Regiment private killed ; r ensign, 1 sergeant, 3 corporals, 13 privates, wounded.

Marine Department ;—f seaman, killed ; 2 lieutenants, f midshipman, f gunner, 12 seamen wounded.

1st Essex Militia ;—2 privates, killed ; f captain, 2 lieutenants, 2 sergeants, 7 privates, wounded.

2nd Essex Militia ;—3 privates, killed ; f ensign, 3 privates, wounded.

Staff ;—f lieutenant-colonel, wounded.

Total ;—t sergeant, f gunner, 21 privates, I seaman, killed ; i lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 6 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, f midshipman, 6 sergeants, 5 corporals, f bombardier, 6 gunners, 116 privates, 12 seamen, wounded.

General total :—24 killed ; 158 wounded.

Names of the Officers wounded.

Royal Artillery ;—Lieutenant Troughton.

41st foot ;—Captain Tallon and Lieutenant Clemow.

Royal Newfoundland Regiment ;—Ensign Kerr (since dead).

Marine Department ;—Lieutenants Rolette and Irvine, and Midshipman Richardson.

1st Essex Militia ;—Captain Mills, and Lieutenants McCormick and Gordon.

2nd ditto ;—Ensign Claude Garvin.

Staff ;—Lieut.-Colonel Thomas B. St. George, I.F.O. Militia.

Felix Troughton, Lt. R. A.

Act. Dep. Assist. Quarter-Master-Gen.

From Brigadier-General Winchester to the American Secretary of War.

Malden, January 23rd, 1813.

SIR, —A detachment from the left wing of the North-Western Army under my command at Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, was attacked on the 22nd instant by a force greatly superior in number, aided by several pieces of artillery. The action commenced at the dawn of day ; the picquet guards were driven in, and a heavy fire opened on the whole line, by which a part thereof was thrown into disorder ; and being ordered to retire a small distance in order to form on more advantageous ground, I found the enemy doubling our flank with force and rapidity.

A destructive fire was sustained for some time ; at length borne down by numbers, the few of us that remained with the party that retired from the lines, submitted. The remainder of our force, in number about 400, continued to defend themselves with great gallantry, in an unequal contest against small arms and artillery, until I was brought in as a prisoner to that part of the field occupied by the enemy.

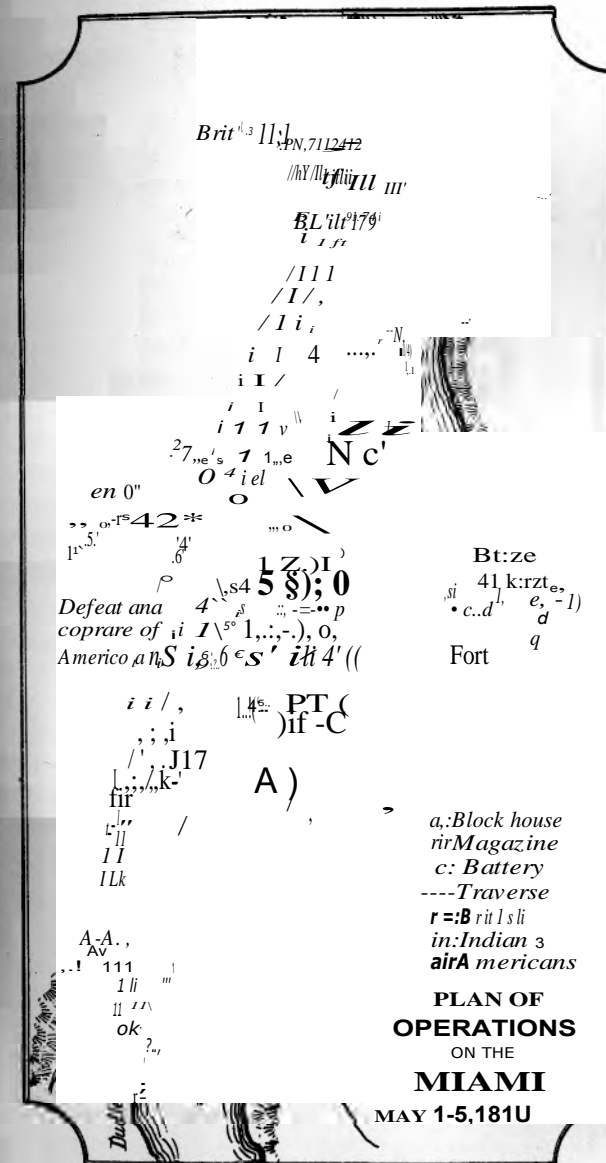
At this latter place, I understood that our troops were defending themselves in a state of desperation ; and was informed by the commanding officer of the enemy, that he would afford them an opportunity of surrendering themselves prisoners of war ; to which I acceded. I was the more ready to make the surrender from being assured, that unless done quickly, the buildings adjacent would be immediately set on fire, and that no responsibility would be taken for the conduct of the savages, who were then assembled in great numbers.

In this critical situation, being desirous to preserve the lives of a number of our brave fellows who still held out, I sent a flag to them, and agreed with the commanding officer of the enemy, that they should be surrendered



## THE BATTI,E Or THE MIAMI

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of the enemy's batteries, within our range, was silenced and dismantled. The fire of the 24-pounder battery was principally directed against the powder magazine, which the besieged were busily occupied in covering and protecting from our hot shot. It was impossible to have  
11r artillery better served ; every ball that was fired sank into the roof of the magazine, scattering the earth to a considerable distance, and burying many of the workmen in its bed, from whence we could distinctly perceive the survivors dragging forth the bodies of their slaughtered comrades. The officers, whom duty or curiosity drew to the ground—often pointed the guns—a favor on the part of the artillerymen, which was generally repaid by a glass of rum or whiskey, both which liquors were extremely scarce with us and were prized accordingly. Meanwhile the flank companies of the 41st, with a few Indians, had been detached to the opposite shore, within a few hundred yards of the enemy's works, and had constructed a battery, from which a galling cross-fire was maintained. Dismayed at the success of our operations, General Harrison, already apprized before our arrival of the approach of a reinforcement of 1,500 men, then descending the Miami under General Clay, contrived to despatch a courier on the evening of the 4th, with an order for that officer to land immediately, and possess himself of our batteries on the left bank, while he (General Harrison) sallied forth to carry those on the right. Accordingly, at eight o'clock on the morning of the 5th, General Clay pushed forward the whole of his force, and meeting with no opposition at the batteries, which were entirely unsupported, proceeded to spike the guns in conformity with his instructions ; but elated with his success, and disobeying the positive order of his chief, which was to retire the instant his object was effected, he continued to occupy the position. In the meantime the flying artillerymen had given the alarm, and three companies of the

41st, several of militia, and a body of Indians, the latter under Tecumseh, were ordered to move on the instant, and repossess themselves of the works. The rain, which had commenced early in the morning, continued to fall with violence, and the road, as has already been described, was knee-deep with mud, yet the men advanced to the assault with the utmost alacrity and determination. The main body of our small detachment, under Major Muir, advanced against the American left and centre which had **deployed into the woods, while Major Chambers, an officer whose gallantry in the field was ever remarkable, boldly attacked their right then occupying the principal battery. On approaching the position he threw away his sword, and seizing the accoutrements and musket of a soldier of his own company who had been shot dead a moment before, called out in a voice and manner which was characteristic of the man, and which rather denoted indignation that the enemy should have had the presumption to carry the position than anything else, " Who'll follow me and retake that battery?" I was immediately behind him at the time, and as enthusiastically replied (excited no doubt by the example before me) that I would. Lieutenant Bullock, who had been wounded over the left eye a day or two before, on the opposite side of the river, yet who, when apprized of the capture of the batteries, had left his tent for the purpose of aiding in their recovery, together with Lieutenant Clements (of the 41st also) were a few paces in the rear, and these officers, followed by not more than a dozen men who happened to be near at the time, pressed eagerly forward in compliance with the invitation of our dashing leader. It is a matter of perfect surprise to me, even at this hour, that our little force, which I have rather overrated, had not been annihilated to a man ; for the Americans were in strength, and of course perfectly under shelter, and the easy conquest we obtained (for they fled as we drew near to the battery) can only be attributed to the fact that their centre and**

left were being sorely pressed by the detachment under Major Muir, and the Indians under Tecumseh. In an account of this action, recently published by Captain Le Breton, residing near Bytown,= and then a Lieut. in the Newfoundland Regiment, that officer states himself to have been one of those who entered the battery with Major Chambers. Of course this is the fact, although my recollection does not embrace any other officers than those I have named, as being present on the occasion.

**Driven from the batteries, the enemy in vain sought for safety in the woods. The murderous fire of the Indians, which had already dispersed their main body, drove them back upon their pursuers, until in the end there was no possibility of escape, and their army was wholly destroyed. A vast number were killed, and independently of the prisoners taken by the Indians, 450, with their second in command, fell into our hands. A somewhat curious and characteristic anecdote may be related of a soldier (an Irishman) of the 41st, who being in a position in the woods, isolated from his own party, contrived to disarm and make prisoners of three Americans who were opposed to him. On joining his company towards the close of the affair, preceded by his prizes, and sweating beneath the weight of arms, he declared with great *naivete* and indifference that he had with great difficulty surrounded, and made them his prisoners.**

Of the whole of the division under General Clay, not more than 150 men effected their escape, and among the fugitives was that officer himself. The sortie made, by order of General Harrison, on the right bank of the river had

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<sup>z</sup>Bytown was the name by which the present city of Ottawa was known before it was selected as the permanent seat of the government of Canada. Bytown took its name from Lieut.-Col. By of the Royal Engineers, who constructed the Rideau canal from the present site of the city of Ottawa to Kingston. This canal was projected for the purpose of providing a safer route for the forwarding of troops and supplies to the Upper Lakes, than that offered by the St. Lawrence, in the event of another war with the United States.

a different result. The detachment supporting the battery already described were driven from their position and two officers (Lieutenants McIntyre and Hailes), and thirty men were made prisoners. Meanwhile, it having been discovered that the guns on the left bank, owing to some error on the part of the enemy, had been spiked 'with the ramrods of their muskets, instead of the usual instruments, they were speedily rendered serviceable, and the fire from the batteries was renewed. At this moment a white flag was observed waving on the ramparts of the fort, and the courage and perseverance of the troops appeared at length as if about to be crowned by the surrender of a fortress, the siege of which had cost them so much trouble and privation. Such, however, was far from being the intention of General Harrison. Availing himself of the cessation of hostilities which necessarily ensued, he caused the officers and men just captured to be sent across the river for the purpose of being exchanged;' but this was only a feint for the accomplishment of a

=An agreement for the exchange of prisoners, made between Brig.-Genl. Procter, Commanding His Britannic Majesty's Forces in the Miamis, and Maj.-Genl. Harrison, Commanding the North Western Army of the United States.

The prisoners of the Kentucky Militia, now in possession of General Procter, to be sent to the River Huron, upon the condition of not serving against Great Britain or her allies during the war between that power and the United States. Captain Price, of the First Regiment, United States Light Artillery, and twenty regulars of the United States Army, now in possession of General Procter, will be considered as exchanged, and permitted to serve after the termination of one month.

Lieuts. McIntyre and Hailes, of the 41st Regiment, and thirty-nine privates, are also to be exchanged, but are not to serve, except in garrison duty, until the expiration of one month.

A return of prisoners, released on each side, to be furnished to the respective commissaries of each nation, and the surplusage to be accounted for in a future settlement of the account of prisoners, agreeably to the tariff of exchange, heretofore established.

Headquarters Camp, Miamis, 9th May, 1813.

HENRY PROCTER, Col., Commanding His Britannic Majesty's Forces on the Miamis.

WM. HY. HARRISON, Maj.-Genl., Commanding the North Western Army of the United States.

more important object. Drawing up his whole force, both of cavalry and infantry, on the plain beneath the fortress, he caused such of the boats of General Clay's division as were laden with ammunition, of which the garrison stood much in need, to be dropped under the works, and the stores to be immediately disembarked. All this took place during the period occupied in the exchange of prisoners. The remaining boats, containing the baggage and private stores of the division, fell into the hands of the Indians, still engaged in the pursuit of the fugitives, and the plunder they acquired was immense. General Harrison having secured his stores, and received the officers and men exchanged for his captives, withdrew into the garrison, and the bombardment was recommenced.

The victory obtained at the Miami' was such as to reflect credit on every branch of the service ; but the satisfaction arising from the conviction was deeply embittered by an act of cruelty, which, as the writer of an impartial memoir, it becomes my painful duty to record. **In the** heat of the action a strong corps of the enemy, who had thrown down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, were immediately despatched, under an escort of fifty men, for the purpose of being embarked in the gun-boats, where it was presumed they would be safe from the attacks of the Indians. This measure, however, although dictated by the purest humanity, and apparently offering the most probable means of security, proved one of fatal import to several of the prisoners. On gaining our encampment, then entirely deserted by the troops, they were assailed by a few cowardly and treacherous Indians, who had borne no share in the action, yet who now, guided by the savage instinct of their nature, forced the British guard, and, selecting their victims, commenced the work of blood. In vain did the harassed

'For this victory the 41st Regiment bears on its colors the word, Miami.

and indignant escort attempt to save them from the fury of their destroyers ; the frenzy of these wretches knew no bounds, and an old and excellent soldier of the name of Russell, of the 41st, was shot through the heart while endeavoring to wrest a victim from the grasp of his assailant. Forty of these unhappy men had already fallen beneath the steel of the infuriated party, when Tecumseh, apprized of what was doing, rode up at full speed, and raising his tomahawk, threatened to destroy the first man who resisted his injunction to desist. Even on those lawless people, to whom the language of coercion had hitherto been unknown, the threats and tone of the exasperated chieftain produced an instantaneous effect, and they retired at once humiliated and confounded. Never did Tecumseh shine more truly himself than on this occasion ; and nought of the savage could be distinguished save the color and the garb. Ever merciful and magnanimous as he was ardent and courageous, the voice of the supplicant seldom reached him in vain ; and although war was his idol, the element in which he lived, his heart was formed to glow with all the nobler and more generous impulses of the warrior ; nor was his high character less esteemed by ourselves than revered by the various tribes over which, in his quality of brother to the Prophet, he invariably presided. In any other country, and governing any other men, Tecumseh would have been a hero ; at the head of this uncivilized and untractable people he was a savage ; but a savage such as civilization herself might not blush to acknowledge for her child. Constantly opposed to the encroachments of the Americans for a series of years previous to their rupture with England, he had combatted their armies on the banks of the Wabash with success, and given their leaders proofs of a skill and judgment in defence of his native soil, which would not have disgraced the earlier stages of military science in Europe. General Harrison himself, a commander with whom he had often disputed the palm of

victory, with the generous candor of the soldier, subsequently ascribed to him virtues as a man, and abilities as a warrior, commanding at once the attention and admiration of his enemies.

The survivors of this melancholy catastrophe were immediately conveyed on board the gun-boats moored in the river ; and every precaution having been taken to prevent a renewal of the scene, the escorting party proceeded to the interment of the victims, to whom the rites of sepulture were afforded even before those of our own men who had fallen in the action. Colonel Dudley, second in command of General Clay's division, was among the number of the slain.

In alluding to the painful occurrence above detailed James states that " Tecumseh buried his tomahawk in the head of a Chippeway Chief whom he found actively engaged in massacring some of Colonel Dudley's men." He furthermore shows, that Colonel Dudley fell in an ambuscade prepared by a body of Indians, stationed in the woods. Neither of these statements is correct—Colonel Dudley was taken prisoner and subsequently massacred in the manner just detailed, while Tecumseh was spared the necessity of inflicting the punishment attributed to him by an instant compliance with his will, on the part of the insubordinate and guilty, but excited Indians.

In bright relief to this piece of treachery and atrocity on the part of the Chippeways, (well known to be the most degenerate of the Indian race) let me hasten to record the noble conduct of a warrior of a very different tribe.

Metoss, the head chief of the Sacs, was a tall, handsome man about six feet in height, and with features (as is peculiar indeed with the whole of this nation) essentially classic and Roman. When dressed, or rather undressed for battle, his body and limbs fantastically painted, and his head ornamented with a handsome circlet of feathers,

his tall and commanding figure presented the very *beau ideal* of an Indian warrior. He was a resolute man, and although by no means gifted with the eloquence or intellect of Tecumseh, was a sagacious and active leader—firm in his attachment to British interests, and a most determined foe of the Americans, for whom he had conceived a hatred almost as powerful as that which actuated the noble being who has just been named. The injuries inflicted upon his red brethren rankled at his heart, and appeared to be ever present to his recollection. Still he could forgive an individual wrong, even when perpetrated by those whom he had so much reason to abhor—in proof of which, and to redeem the grossly maligned Indian character, the following touching circumstances may be related.

During the early part of the siege, Metoss with his warriors frequently passed over from the left to the right bank of the river, (where the 41st flank companies were stationed, in support of the small battery which had been constructed there) with a view of picking off such of the enemy as showed themselves above or without the ramparts of the fort. In these excursions the Sacs were generally successful, and the enemy seldom went to the river for water, for themselves or horses, without a shot from a lurking Indian. Metoss himself killed several in this way. One he contrived to make his prisoner, whom he kept in his wigwam, well secured. On the day following this capture, a favorite son of the chief—a fine lad of about thirteen—insisted on accompanying his father, notwithstanding all entreaty to the contrary. By this time the enemy had become so annoyed by the temerity of the Indians who, under cover of the night, used to creep close under the fort, that upon the appearance of any of them on the skirt of the surrounding forest, a shower of grape was instantly poured forth. Unhappily, on this occasion, the American telescopes discovered Metoss and his son in ambuscade, when a discharge of grape.

followed, and the poor boy was struck dead, dreadfully mangled in his bowels. Almost frantic with grief, the chief raised up the dead body, conveyed it to his canoe, and recrossing the river, hastened to his wigwam, with the stern determination of sacrificing his prisoner to the manes of the deceased. Fortunately Mr. Robert Dickson, who had brought the Sacs with him from the Mississippi, and whose influence over the Indians has already been shown to have been great, heard of the circumstance in time to intercept Metoss on his way to his wigwam, and to entreat that he would not destroy his prisoner, assuring him, at the same time, that if he did so, instead of surrendering him to himself as he proposed he should, His Great Father, the King, would hear of his refusal with unfeigned sorrow. Metoss, who had torn off the gay head-dress with which he ever went into battle, at length yielded, and going to his wigwam, whither his son's body had already been conveyed, he went up to the American, and severing with his knife the thongs by which he was fastened, took him by the hand, and led him to Mr. Dickson, saying in a mournful voice, "You tell me that my Great Father wishes it—take him," and this noble-hearted Indian, no longer able to suppress the feelings of his bereaved heart, wept like a child. The gaudy colors with which he was painted were soon replaced with black, and many months passed away before he was again seen to smile.

The body of the young Indian was buried the next day, and, out of respect to the father, with all military honors. The funeral party, which was commanded by Lieut. Bullock, proceeded to the wigwam of Metoss, where the body of the young Chief was laid out—his little rifle, with some powder and ball, and a supply of provisions, according to Indian usage, being placed at his side. About a dozen of the Sac tribe, all painted black, were dancing what seemed to be a solemn war-dance around the body, when suddenly Metoss rushed frantically into

the midst of the group, and exhibited every painful evidence of the most violent and ungovernable grief. With difficulty he was removed from the body of his child, when the corpse was taken up, and the party proceeded towards the grave which had been dug in the midst of our encampment, on the left bank of the Miami. The black-painted Indians slowly followed, and after the British party had fired the customary three rounds, they discharged their rifles several times as fast as they could load. The fierce wild air of the warriors, whose countenances evinced the strong desire they entertained of avenging the untimely death of the fallen youth, the originality of their costume, markedly contrasting as it did with that of the officers and soldiers present at the ceremony, and the sombre silence which prevailed, heightened in effect by the deep gloom of the forest in which they were assembled, composed a wild and romantic picture, in which melancholy grandeur shone principally conspicuous.

When the expedition subsequently returned to Amherstburg, Metoss, who had embarked in General Procter's boat, was frequently observed to be in tears. He later conceived a strong attachment for Lieut. Bullock, principally by reason of that officer having commanded the funeral party of his son. He made him a chief of his tribe, and requested, as a great favor, that he would assent to an exchange of names. This was of course cheerfully complied with, for it was impossible not to esteem and like the untutored warrior who had so nobly, and in so affecting a manner, departed from the fierce Indian law which, not only authorizes, but enjoins the sacrifice of life for life.

On the evening of the second day after this event, I accompanied Major Muir of the 41st, in a ramble throughout the encampment of the Indians, distant a few hundred yards from our own. The spectacle there offered to our view was at once of the most ludicrous and re-

volting nature. In various directions were lying the trunks and boxes taken in the boats of Gen. Clay's division, and the plunderers were busily occupied in displaying their riches, carefully examining each article, and attempting to divine its use. Several were decked out in the uniforms of the officers ; and although embarrassed to the last degree in their movements, and dragging with difficulty the heavy military boots with which their legs were for the first time covered, strutted forth much to the admiration of their less fortunate comrades. Some were habited in plain clothes ; others had their bodies clad in clean white shirts, contrasting in no ordinary manner with the swarthiness of their skins ; all wore some article of decoration, and their tents were ornamented with saddles, bridles, rifles, daggers, swords, and pistols, many of which were handsomely mounted and of curious workmanship. • Such was the ridiculous part of the picture ; but mingled with these, and in various directions, were to be seen the scalps of the slain drying in the sun, stained on the fleshy side with vermilion dyes, and dangling in the air, as they hung suspended from the poles to which they were attached ; together with hoops of various sizes, on which were stretched portions of human skin taken from various parts of the body, principally the hand and foot, and yet covered with the nails of those parts ; while, scattered along the ground, were visible the members from which they had been separated, and serving as nutriment to the wolf-dogs by which the Indians were accompanied.

Since the action of the 5th the enemy continued to keep themselves shut up within their works, and the bombardment, although followed up with vigor, had effected no practicable breach. From the report made by the officers captured during the sortie from the fort, it appeared that, with a toil and perseverance peculiar to themselves, the Americans had constructed subterranean passages to protect them from the annoyance of our shells, which sinking into beds of clay, softened by the incessant rains that

had fallen, instead of exploding, were immediately extinguished. Impatient of longer privation, and anxious to return to their families and occupations, the militia= gradually withdrew themselves in small bodies, while the Indians, enriched by plunder, and languishing under the tediousness of a mode of warfare so different from their own, with less ceremony and caution, left us to prosecute the siege alone. Tecumseh at the head of his own tribe (the Shawnees) and a few others, in all not exceeding four hundred warriors, continued to remain. The troops also were worn down by constant fatigue, for here, as in every other expedition undertaken against the enemy, few even of the officers had tents to shield them from the weather. A few slips of bark torn from the surrounding trees, and covering the skeleton of a hut, was their only habitation, and they were merely separated from the damp earth by a few scattered leaves, over which was generally

=The following is the statement of the Militia Captains to Lieut.-Col. Warburton, Inspecting Field Officer of Militia :-

Camp Miamis, 6th May, 1813.

Sir, --We, the undersigned officers of the first and second Regiments of Essex and Kent Militia, beg leave to state to you, as head of the Militia, our opinion on the present circumstances of the Militia-men, and of the District in general.

From the situation of our district last fall but very short crops of grain were put in the ground, and these, small as they were, will be rendered still less by the unfavorableness of last winter. Under these unfavorable appearances the farmer had only the resource left of putting in crops of spring wheat, and should they be kept here any longer, that of corn will also be out of their power, and the consequence must be a famine next winter. Indeed, the men are now detained with the greatest reluctance, some have already gone, and we are apprehensive that it will not be in our power to detain them much longer.

We have the honor to be

Your obedient humble servants,

Wm. Shaw, Captain, Kent Militia.

Wm. Caldwell, Captain, 1st Regt., Essex.

Geo. Jacob, Captain, Kent Militia.

Wm. Buchanan, Captain, 1st Essex Militia.

John Dolson, Captain, Kent Riflemen.

Wm. Elliott, Captain, Essex Militia.

Wm. Sterling, Captain, Kent Militia.

Jas. Akin, Captain, 2nd Essex Militia.

spread a great coat or blanket by the men, and a cloak by the officers. Hence frequently arose dysentery, ague, and the various other ills to which an army, encamped in a wet and unhealthy position is invariably subject ; and fortunate was he who possessed the skin of the bear or the buffalo, whereon to repose his weary limbs, after many consecutive hours of toil and privation which those only, who have acquired practical experience in the wild warfare peculiar to the country at that period, can fully understand.

Such was the position of the contending armies towards the middle of May, when General Procter (very naturally) despairing to effect the reduction of Fort Meigs, caused preparations to be made for raising the siege. Accordingly the gun-boats ascended the river, and anchored as near to the batteries as the lowness of the water would permit. Here the battering ordnance was embarked under a feeble fire from the enemy, and the whole having been secured, the expedition returned to Amherstburg, the Americans remaining tranquil spectators of our departure, nor offering further molestation.

It is a circumstance perhaps not unworthy of remark here that in 1840, after a lapse of twenty-seven years (during three and twenty of which I had been absent from the country), I alone of the force engaged at the siege of Fort Meigs, should have met with General Harrison on the very spot which he so vigorously defended against us in 1813 ; and, yet more remarkable, that the occasion of such meeting should have been the commemoration of the events of that important period. It was during the great delegation, or convention, which preceded the gallant old General's elevation to the Presidential chair, and when introduced to him by the Governor of Michigan, as one who had borne arms against him during that siege, and had later become his prisoner, I was received in that spirit of true and generous courtesy which is ever characteristic of the soldier. It is but an



act of justice to the memory of General Harrison to record here that, although the great object of the meeting—at which were present from fifty to sixty thousand persons—deputed from almost every state in the Union—was to honor him by celebrating his *asserted* triumph over the British arms, there was, in his address to the hushed multitude, when referring to his past services, less of allusion to those of the War of 1812, than to those of the revolution.

The following is General Procter's official account of the action.

Upper Canada, Sandwich, May 14th, 1813.

SIR, —The usual communication being interrupted by the capital of the Province being in the possession of the enemy, I have judged it expedient to make a direct report to your Excellency of our operations and present state in this district.

In the expectation of being able to reach the enemy, who had taken post near the foot of the Rapids of the Miami, before the reinforcement and supplies could arrive, for which only he waited to commence active operations against us, I determined to attack him without delay, and with every means in my power ; but from the necessary preparations and some untoward circumstances, it was not in my power to reach him within three weeks of the period I had proposed, and at which he might have been captured or destroyed.

From the incessant and heavy rains we experienced, and during which our batteries were constructed, it was not until the morning of the 1st inst., the fifth day after our arrival at the mouth of the river, twelve miles from the enemy, that our batteries could be opened. Illness from successive fatigue deprived me of the services early of the only Artillery officer, on an occasion when three would have found ample employment.

The enemy who occupied several acres of commanding ground, strongly defended by block-houses, and batteries well furnished with ordnance, had, during our approach, so completely entrenched and covered himself, as to render unavailing every effort of our artillery, though well served, and in batteries most judiciously placed and constructed under the able direction of Captain Dixon, of

the Royal Engineers, of whose ability and unwearied zeal, shown particularly on this occasion, I cannot speak highly.

Our attack had not answered fully the purpose <sup>generally</sup> ~~ed~~, I have the satisfaction to inform your Excellency of the fortunate result of an attack of the enemy, aided by a sally of most of their garrison, made on the morning of the 5th inst., by a reinforcement which descended the river a considerable distance in a very short time ; consisting of two corps of Kentucky Militia, Dudley's and Boswell's, amounting to 1,300 men, under the command of Brigadier-General Green Clay. The attack was very sudden, and on both sides of the river. The enemy were for a few minutes in possession of our batteries, and took some prisoners. After a severe contest, though not of long continuance, the enemy gave way, and excepting the body of those who sallied from the fort, must have been mostly killed or taken.

In this decisive affair, the officers and men of the 41st Regt., who charged and routed the enemy near the batteries, well maintained the long-established reputation of the corps. Where all deserve praise it is difficult to distinguish. Captain Muir, an old officer, who has seen much service, had the good fortune to be in the immediate command of these branches. Besides my obligations to Captain Chambers, for his unwearied exertions preparatory to, and on the expedition, as Deputy-Assistant-Quarter-Master-General, I have to notice his gallant conduct in the attack of the enemy near the batteries at the point of the bayonet ; a service in which he was well supported by Lieut. Bullock of the 41st Regt. and Lieut. Le Breton of the Royal Newfoundland Regt. The courage and activity displayed through the whole scene of action by the Indian chiefs and warriors contributed largely to our success. I have not been able to ascertain the amount of the prisoners in possession of the Indians. I have sent off agreeable to the agreement, near 500 prisoners to the river Huron, near Sandusky.

I have proposed an exchange, which is referred to the American Government.

I could not ascertain the amount of the enemy's loss in from the extent of the scene of action, and mostly in the woods. I conceive his loss to have been between 1,000 and 1,200 men in killed and prisoners.

These unfortunate people were not volunteers and com-

plete Kentucky's quota. If the enemy had been permitted to receive his reinforcements and supplies undisturbed, I should have had at this critical juncture to contend with him for Detroit, or perhaps on this shore.

I had not the option of retaining my situation on the Miami if it had appeared to me a judicious measure. The mode in which the militia turned out raised hopes and expectations that were very far from being realized in the sequel. The day after the enclosed letter was received half of the militia had left us and the remainder declared their determination not to remain longer. I also received a deputation from the Indian chiefs, counselling me to return, as they could not prevent their people, as was their custom after any battle of consequence, returning to their villages With their wounded, their prisoners, and plunder, of which they had taken a considerable quantity in the boats of the enemy.

Before the ordnance could be withdrawn from the batteries, I was left with Tecumseh, and less than twenty chiefs and warriors, (?) a circumstance which strongly proves that, under present circumstances at least, our Indian force is not a disposable one, or permanent, though occasionally a most powerful aid. I have, however, brought off all the ordnance ; and, indeed, have not left anything behind ; part of the ordnance was embarked under the fire of the enemy.

The service on which we have been employed has been, though short, a very severe one ; and too much praise cannot be given to the officers and men, for the cheerfulness with which, on every occasion, they met the service. To Lieut.-Colonel Warburton I feel many obligations for the aid he zealously afforded me on every occasion. From my Brigade-Major, Lieut. McLean, I received the same zealous assistance as on former occasions. To Captain Mockler, Royal Newfoundland Regt., who acted as my Aide-de-Camp, I am much indebted for the assistance afforded me.

Lieut. Le Breton, of the Royal Newfoundland Regt., assistant engineer, by his unwearied exertions, rendered essential service, as did also Lieut. Gardiner, of the 41st Regt., from his science in artillery. The Royal Artillery, in the laborious duties they performed, displayed their usual unwearied zeal, and were well assisted by the Royal Newfoundland, (under Lieut. Garden) as additional gun-

ners. The laborious duties which the marine, under the command of Commodore Hall, have performed, have been most cheerfully met, and the most essential service rendered.

I have the honor to send an embarkation return of the force that served under my command at the Miami, exclusive of the Indians, who may be stated at 1,200.

I also enclose a return of our killed, wounded, and prisoners, who have, however, been exchanged.

I had taken upon me to give the rank of major to the six captains of the line, as militia were employed on the same service with them ; some of them are old officers ; all of them deserving ; any mark of your Excellency's approbation of them would be extremely grateful to me.

I beg leave to mention the four volunteers of the 41st Regt., Wilkinson, Richardson, Laing, and Procter, as deserving of promotion.

Your Excellency will perceive that the reinforcement you intended I should have long since received has not been sent ; nor do I expect to receive any whilst any circumstance may seem to justify their detention. I had only half the 41st Regt. before the late action. Daily experience more strongly proves that a regular force is absolutely requisite to ensure the safety of this district, and which may be endangered by the detention of the intended reinforcement. My Brigade Major, Lieut. McLean, who is the bearer of my reports, will be able to give your Excellency any further information relative to this district or our late movements that may be required. I hope by sending him, and by the only service route at present, will meet with your Excellency's approbation.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

(Signed) **Henry Procter**,  
Brigadier-General, Comg.

I beg to acknowledge the indefatigable exertions of the Commissariat. (Signed) Henry Procter.

To His Excellency Lieut.-General  
Sir G. Prevost, Bart., &c.

Embarkation return of the Western Army commanded by Brigadier-General Procter, on an expedition to the Miami.

Amherstburg, April 23, 1813.

General Staff,-1 general, 1 lieut.-colonel, 1 dep. asst.-qr. mr.-general, 1 brigade major, 1 staff adjutant.

Royal Artillery,—I lieut., i serjeant; I surgeon, drummer, 27 rank and file.

Royal Engineers,—I captain.

10th Royal Veteran Battalion,—5.

41st Regiment,—3 captains, 7 lieutenants, I assistant surgeon, 22 serjeants, 6 drummers and buglers, 374 rank and file.

Royal Newfoundland Regt.—I captain, 2 lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 2 drummers, 55 rank and file.

Commissariat,—I dep. asst.-commissary-general, I assistant to do., 1 issuer.

Field Train,—I clerk of stores, I conductor.

Militia,—I major, 12 captains, 11 lieutenants, 8 ensigns, adjt., I quarter-master, 22 serjeants, 406 rank and file.

(Signed) Peter L. Chambers, Major.

Capt. 41st Regt., Dep. Asst.-Qr.-Mr.-General.

Return of killed;wounded, missing and prisoners, of the Army under the command of Brig.-Gen. Procter, at the battle fought at the Miami, May 5th, 1813.

Royal Artillery,—I serjeant, 1 rank and file wounded, 2 rank and file prisoners.

41st Regiment,—r r rank and file killed, r lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 35 rank and file wounded, 2 lieutenants, 1 serjeant, r drummer, 33 rank and file prisoners.

Royal Newfoundland Regt.—r drummer, 2 rank and file killed, 1 rank and file wounded, I rank and file prisoner.

Militia,—I captain, 4 rank and file wounded, I rank and file prisoner.

Total,—I drummer, 13 rank and file killed, 1 capt., lieut., 4 serjeants, 41 rank and file wounded, 2 lieuts.; r serjeant, I drummer, 37 rank and file prisoners.

Names of officers wounded and prisoners.

41st Regiment.—Lieut. Bullock wounded on the 3rd inst. Lieuts. McIntyre and Hailes prisoners.

Militia,—Captain Bondy, since dead.

(Signed) Peter L. Chambers,  
&c, &c, &c.

Return of Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and privates taken prisoners from the enemy on the 5th May, 1813, at the battle fought at the Miami.

United States Regulars,—I captain, 21 rank and file.

10th and 13th detachment Kentucky Militia,—2 majors,

1 brigade inspector, 8 captains, g lieutenants, 6 ensigns, adjutant, i paymaster, r surgeon, I asst. surgeon, 26 serjeants, 3 drummers, 373 rank and file.

Prisoners since delivered up 1 I ensign, asst. surgeon, 12 rank and file.

Grand Total, 468.

are a number of prisoners not yet come in, who are in the possession of the Indians, but they are bringing them in (ignadly).

Peter L. Chambers,  
&c, &c, &c.

May 17th,—Since the above return, 28 prisoners have been given up by the Indians.

(Signed) A. H. McLean,  
Brigade Major.

In reference to the closing paragraph= of the despatch, in which, as it will be perceived, the Volunteers of the st are for the first, and only time named, I cannot forbear a passing comment. I had the honor of being particularly named, in Major Chambers' report to General Procter of the action of the 5th of May, as having been the only one of the volunteers who chanced to have been engaged in the storming of the batteries. Yet the Official despatch includes the names of all, without any regard to their particular service. Messrs. Laing and Wilkinson were on the right bank of the river with the defeated party, who of course did their duty, but of whom no particular mention is made, while the General's son never once quitted the encampment-during the day, or was at any period, either then or heretofore, suffered to be exposed to the enemy's fire. This remark would not have been recorded but for the very glaring injustice

Richardson evidently copied Procter's report as given by James, who appears to have taken unwarranted liberties with the original. The closing paragraph of the report is omitted by James and consequently does not appear in Richardson. The reference here is to the next to the closing paragraph.

Major Chambers in a letter to Noah Freer, Military Secretary, gives a concise account of the events of each day from April 24th to the close of the action on May 5th. No person is particularly mentioned in his report of the action of May 5th. I have not seen Major Chambers' report to General Procter.

which, in bestowing commendation in so general and undistinguishable a manner, would aim at depriving a soldier of that distinct claim to approbation, admitted by his immediate commanding officer to have been won from him on the field. In the course of this narrative of military events, in which, it must be borne in mind by the reader, I was a constant participator, I have endeavored, as much as possible, to avoid any personal allusion to myself ; but this is a case where the injustice is too marked to be passed silently by. I had never seen General Procter's despatch, until this narrative was commenced, but had always understood it to have embraced the particular report made by Major Chambers, which, however, seems to have been suppressed.

Copy of a despatch from Gen. Harrison (No. t) to the Secretary of War dated

Head-Quarters, Camp Meigs, 9th May, 1813.

SIR,-I have the honor to inform you, that the enemy, having been several days making preparations for raising the siege of this post, accomplished this day the removal of their artillery, from the opposite bank, and about 12 o'clock left their encampment below, were soon embarked, and out of sight.—I have the honor to enclose you an agreement entered into between Gen. Procter and myself, for the discharge of the prisoners of the Kentucky militia, in his possession, and for the exchange of the Officers and men of the regular troops, which were respectively possessed by us. My anxiety to get the Kentucky troops released as early as possible induced me to agree to the dismissal of all the prisoners I had, although there was not as many of ours in Gen. Procter's possession ; the surplusage is to be accounted for, and an equal number of ours released from their parole, whenever the government may think proper to direct it.

The two actions on this side of the river, on the 5th, were infinitely more important and more honorable to our arms, than I had at first conceived. In the sortie made upon the left flank, Capt. Waring's company of the 19th regiment, a detachment of 12 months' volunteers, under Major Alexander, and three companies of Kentucky

militia, under Colonel Boswell, defeated at least double the number of Indians and British militia. The sortie on the right was still more glorious. The British batteries, in that direction, were defended by the grenadier and light infantry companies, of the 41st regiment, amounting to zoo effectives, and two companies of militia, flanked by a host of Indians. The detachment sent to attack these, consisted of all the men off duty, belonging to the companies of Croghan and Bradford, of the 17th regiment, Langham's, Elliott's, (late Graham's,) and Waring's, of the 19th, about 80 of Major Alexander's volunteers, and a single company of Kentucky militia, under Captain Sebree, amounting, in the whole, to not more than 340. Yet the event of the action was not a moment doubtful ; and, had not the British troops been covered in their retreat by their *allies*, the whole of them would have been taken.

It is not possible for troops to behave better than ours did, throughout ; all the officers exerted themselves to execute my orders, and the enemy, who had a full view of our operations, from the opposite shore, declared that they had never seen so much work performed in so short a time.

To all the commandants of corps, I feel particular obligations ; these were Col. Miller, of the 19th infantry, Col. Mills, of the Ohio militia, Major Stoddart, of the artillery, Major Ball, of the dragoons, and Major Johnson, of the Kentucky militia.

Captain Gratiot, of the engineers, having been, for a long time, much indisposed, the task of fortifying this post devolved on Captain Wood ; it could not have been placed in better hands. Permit me to recommend him to the President, and to assure you that any mark of his approbation, bestowed on Captain Wood, would be highly gratifying to the whole of the troops, who witnessed his arduous exertions.

From Major Hukill, Acting Inspector-General, my aide-de-camp, Major Graham, Lieutenant O' Fallon, who has done the duty of Assistant Adjutant-General in the absence of Major Adams, and my volunteer aide-de-camp, John Johnson, Esq., I received the most useful assistance.

I have the honor to enclose you a list of the killed and wounded, during the siege, and in the two sorties ; those of the latter were much greater than I had at first expected.

Want of sleep, and exposure to the continued rains which have fallen almost every day, for some time past, render me incapable of mentioning many interesting particulars ; amongst others, a most extraordinary proposition of General Procter's, on the subject of the Indians, within our boundary ; this shall form the subject of a communication, to be made to-morrow or next day, and for which I will provide a safer conveyance than that which carries this.

All the prisoners and deserters agree in saying, that the information given to Major Stoddart, by Ryland, of the British having launched a sloop of war this spring, is incorrect; and the most of them say, that the one which is now building will not be launched for many weeks.

I am, &c.

W. H. HARRISON.

Hon. J. Armstrong.

P.S. Captain Price, of the Regiment Light Artillery; and the 20 Regulars, prisoners with General Procter, were taken on the northwestern side of the river, with the Kentucky militia. We had no prisoners taken on this side during the siege.

In the siege, and the several sorties of the 5th instant, there was 81 killed, and 189 wounded—total, killed and wounded, 270.

Copy of a Despatch, from Maj. General William H. Harrison (No. 2) to the Secretary of War, dated

Headquarters, Lower Sandusky, May 13, 1813.

SIR,—Having ascertained that the enemy (Indians as well as British, ) had entirely abandoned the neighborhood of the Rapids, I left the command of camp Meigs with General Clay, and came here last night. It is with the greatest satisfaction I inform you, Sir, that the loss of the Kentucky troops, in killed, on the north side of the river, does not exceed fifty. On the 10th and 11th inst. I caused the ground, which was the scene of action, and its environs, to be carefully examined ; and, after the most diligent search, 45 bodies only, of our men, were discovered ; amongst them was the leader of the detachment, Col. Dudley. No other officer of note fell in the action. I have strong reason to believe that a considerable number of Kentuckians effected their retreat

up the river, to Fort Winchester. General Procter did not furnish me with a return of the prisoners in his possession, although repeatedly promised.

His retreat was as precipitate as it could possibly be, leaving a number of cannon balls, a new elegant sling carriage for cannon, and other valuable articles. The night before his departure, two persons that were employed in the British gun-boats (Americans by birth), deserted to us—the information they gave me was very interesting ; they say that the Indians, of which there were from 1,600 to 2,000, left the British, the day before their departure, in a high state of dissatisfaction, from the great loss which they had sustained in the several engagements of the 5th, and the failure of the British, in accomplishing their promise, of taking the post at the Rapids. From the account given by these men, my opinion is confirmed of the great superiority of the enemy, which were defeated by our troops in the two sallies made on the 5th instant. That, led by Col. Miller, did not exceed 350 men ; and it is very certain that they defeated 100 British regulars, 150 militia men, and 400 or 500 Indians. That American regulars, (although they were raw recruits), and such men as compose the Pittsburgh, Penn., and Petersburg, Va., volunteers, should behave well is not to be wondered at ; but, that a company of militia should maintain its ground, against four times its number, as did Captain Sebree's, of the Kentucky, is truly astonishing. These brave fellows were at length, however, entirely surrounded by Indians, and would have been cut off, but for the gallantry of Lieut. Gwynne, of the 19th regiment, who, with a part of Captain Elliott's company, charged the enemy, and released the Kentuckians. I enclose you a list of the killed and wounded during the whole siege ;—it is considerably larger than I supposed it would be, when I last wrote you—but it is satisfactory to know that they did not bleed uselessly, but in the course of successful exertions. The return does not embrace those who fell on the Northwestern side of the Miami.—You will also receive, herewith, a monthly return of the troops, at camp Meigs, for the last month ; the communication with the other posts being cut off, the returns were not received. A copy of Gen. Clay's report to me, of the manner of his

executing my order, for the attack on the enemy's batteries, is likewise forwarded, by which it will be seen that my intentions were perfectly understood ; and the great facility with which they might have been executed is apparent to every individual who witnessed the scene ; indeed, the cannon might have been spiked and the carriages cut to pieces, the magazine destroyed, and the retreat effected to the boats, without the loss of a man, as none were killed in taking the batteries—so complete was the surprise.

An extensive open plain intervenes between the river and the hill, upon which the batteries of the enemy were placed ; this plain was raked by 4 of our 18 pounders, a 12, and a 6 ; the enemy, even before their guns were spiked, could not have brought one to bear upon it. So perfectly secured was their retreat, that the 150 men, who came off, effected it without loss, and brought off some of the wounded, one of them upon the back of his comrade. The Indians followed them to the woods, but dared not enter into the plain.

I am unable to form a correct estimate of the enemy's force. The prisoners varied much in their accounts ; those who made them least, stated the regulars at 560, and the militia at 800 ; but the number of Indians were beyond comparison greater than have ever been brought into the field before ; numbers arrived after the siege commenced. I have caused their camps, on the S. E. side of the river, to be particularly examined, and the general opinion is, that there could not have been fewer on that side than 1,000 or 1,200. They were, indeed, the efficient force of the enemy.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 14th, 18th, and 28th ultimo, and 5th inst.

I am sorry to inform you, that Major Stoddard died the night before I left the Rapids, of a lock-jaw, produced by a slight wound from a fragment of a shell, which struck him on the thigh ; several have died in this way, from their great and unavoidable exposure to the cold ; but, perhaps there were never so many instances of desperate wounds likely to do well. The gallant Captain Bradford will recover.

I shall go from here to Upper Sandusky, and shall take my station at Delaware, or Franklinton, until the troops

are assembled. Gen. Clay, who commands at the Rapids, is a man of capacity, and entirely to be relied upon.

I have the honor, &c.

WM. H. HARRISON.

Hon. J. Armstrong, Sec. War.

Killed, 81—wounded, 189, in the siege of Camp Meigs and the several sorties of the 5th of May, 1813.

Copy of a letter from Gen. Clay, to Gen. Harrison.

Camp at Fort Meigs, May 13th, 1813.

SIR,—On the 5th instant, about 8 o'clock, A.M., descending the Miami of the lake, about midway of the Rapids, with 1,200 of the Kentucky troops, in the eighteen flat-bottomed boats, I was met by Captain Hamilton and a subaltern, who delivered me (as he said) the orders of Major-Gen. Harrison to the following effect :

"You must detach about 800 men from your brigade, who will land at a point I will show, about one, or one and a half miles above the fort, and I will conduct them to the British batteries, on the left bank of the river—they must take possession of the enemy's cannon, spike them, cut down the carriages, and return to their boats," observing that the British force at their large batteries was inconsiderable ; but that their main force was at the old garrison, about one and a half miles below, on the same side of the river, that the Indian forces were chiefly on the right bank of the river—"the balance of the men under your command must land on the right bank, opposite to the first landing, and will fight their way through the Indians to the fort,"—observing that the route thus to be taken, would be shown by a subaltern officer there, in company with Captain Hamilton, who would land the perogues at the point on the right bank, at which the boats would land.

The order of descending the river in boats was the same as the order of march, in line of battle, in solid column, each officer taking position according to his rank. Col. Dudley, the eldest colonel, led the van, and in this order the river had been descended. As soon as Captain Hamilton had delivered these orders, being in the thirteenth boat from the front, I directed him to proceed immediately to the point above mentioned, and order him to take the men

out of the boats, and execute Gen. Harrison's orders,

on the left bank of the river; and to post his (Capt. Hamilton's) subaltern on the right bank, to conduct myself, with the men in the six boats, to the fort. I ordered the five boats in the rear to fall in a line, and follow me. High winds, and the rapidity of the current, drove four of the rear boats ashore, in the attempt to follow on according to order, where they remained a short time; sufficient, however, to detain them one-half, or three-fourths of a mile to the rear.—To land, according to order, I kept close along the right bank, until opposite Col Dudley's landing; there I found no guide left to conduct me to the fort, as Captain Hamilton promised. I then made an attempt to cross the river, and join Col. Dudley; but, from the rapid current on the falls, I was unable to land on the point with him. Being nearly half way across the river, and the waves running too high to risk the boats then driving down the current sidewise, veered about the boat, and rowed the best way we could, to save our boat. My attempt to cross the river, to Col. Dudley, occasioned all the boats, (I presume in the rear of me), aligned which were then out of hailing distance, to cross over, and land with Col. Dudley. Having been defeated in landing on the left, we then endeavored to effect one on the right, even without a guide; but before a landing could be effected, we received a brisk fire from the enemy on shore, which was returned, and kept up on both sides; and I was in this unavoidable situation, compelled to make to Fort Meigs, with no other force than about 50 men on board, (the other boats being still in the rear) and to receive the enemy's fire, until we arrived under the protection of the fort. Col. Boswell's command (except the men in my boat,) having landed to join Col. Dudley, were, as I have been informed, ordered by Captain Hamilton, immediately to embark, and land on the right hand shore, about a mile above the fort, and prepare to fight his way through to the garrison. The Colonel embarked, landed, as he conceived, at the proper point, pursuant to Captain Hamilton's order, and was forming his men in order of battle, when he was met by Captain Shaw, and ordered to march into the garrison, at open order, the safest route.

When my own boat landed, we were met by two men, who took charge of the boat, as we understood, to bring her under the protection of the fort batteries; believing

our baggage to be thus made safe, we forbid our servants to carry any portion of it; but loaded them with cannon balls, which they bore to the fort. Our baggage was, however, taken by the Indians, in a very short time after we left the boat. Upon receiving the orders of Capt. Hamilton, I asked if he had brought spikes, to spike the enemy's cannon? to which he replied, that he had plenty. Capt. Hamilton, on delivering the orders of General Harrison, observed, that the object of landing, and marching a portion of the troops on the right bank, was to draw the attention of the Indians; and, by thus engaging them, afford an opportunity to the garrison to make a sally; and, by a circuitous route, surprise and carry the batteries and cannon of the enemy, below the fort, on the right bank.

I am, respectfully, &c.,

GREEN CLAY, Brig.-Gen.

His Ex. Maj.-Gen. Harrison.

The following General Order, issued by Brigadier Green Clay to his troops, preparatory to their departure for the Miami, is so amusingly in contrast with the report made by him of his defeat, that, although suppressed by the American historians of the war, it would be an unpardonable omission not to record it here. It will be remarked that this corps met with precisely the same fate with their *butchered* brethren of the River Raisin, they were hastening to avenge. The words emphasized are such as they appear in the original document.

CINCINNATI, April 7, 1813.

General Orders.

SOLDIERS, You are now about to leave the shores of Kentucky—Many of you can boast that she gave you birth—She is indeed dear to us all.

KENTUCKIANS *stand high in the estimation of our common country*. Our brothers in arms, who have gone before us to the scene of action, have acquired a fame, which *shall never* be forgotten by you—a fame worthy your

I feel conscious you would rather see your country no more, than return to it, under the impression, that by an act of yours, the high character of Kentucky had fallen.

To support this reputation, purchased by valor and by blood, you must with fortitude meet the hardships, and discharge the duties of soldiers. Discipline and subordination mark the real soldier—and are indeed the soul of an army.

In every situation, therefore, the most perfect subordination—the most rigid discharge of duty, will be expected from all. Partiality or injustice shall be shown to none.

I have the most perfect confidence in your attachment and support through every difficulty we may encounter.

It is upon you—it is upon your subordination and discipline I rely, for a successful issue of the present campaign. Without this confidence and support, we shall achieve nothing honorable or useful.

The same destiny awaits us both. That which exalts or sinks you in the estimation of your country, will produce to me her approbation or condemnation.

Feeling this same common interest, the first wishes of my heart are, that the present campaign should prove honorable to all, and useful to the country.

Should we encounter the enemy—REMEMBER THE DREADFUL FATE OF OUR BUTCHERED BROTHERS AT THE RIVER RAISIN—that *British treachery produced their slaughter.*

The justice of our cause—with the aid of an approving Providence, will be sure guarantees to our success.

GREEN CLAY,  
Brigadier-General.