

CHAPTER IX.

Advance of major-general Proctor—Augmentation of the American north-western army—Description of Fort-Stephenson—Gallant assault upon it—American masked ' battery—Defeat of the British— Major-general Proctor's return to Sandwich—Arrival of the remainder of the 1st battalion 41st regiment—Accumulated number of Indians—Scarcity of provisions on the Detroit frontier — Wretched state of captain Barclay's fleet---Effects of its capture upon the right division—Hardships endured by the troops—General Harrison's newly-raised army—Its entry into Amherstburg, and pursuit of major-general Proctor up the Thames...Losses of the British on the retreat—Their defeat near the Moravian village—Remarks on sir George Prevost's general order—Escape of major-general Proctor--Loss of territory arising from the defeat of the British — American rejoicings—Death and character of Tecumseh—Anecdotes respecting him—Description of the scalping-operation Barbarities committed upon Tecumseh's body—American disrespectful to a flag of truce--Imprisonment of British officers along with convicts.

MAJOR-GENERAL Proctor, having been reinforced with nearly the whole of the remaining

effective strength of the 41st regiment, as well as rejoined by the Indians who had abandoned him, for a while, after the battle of the Miami,. advanced from Sandwich, on the 20th of July, for the purpose of recommencing hostilities against the American north-western army. In the mean while, the American government, still acting upon the principle, that " nothing ought, if possible, to be left to chance," had almost drained of resources the hitherto prolific western states ; so that major-general Harrison, assisted by commodore Perry and his formidable fleet, might be able to finish the campaign in this quarter, in time to be one in the scramble for laurels among his brother,-generals to the eastward.

The American head-quarters were at Senecatown, near to Sandusky Bay on Lake Erie. Fort-Meigs, already so strong,...had its works placed in a still more vigorous state of defence: and a fort had since been constructed on the west-side of Sandusky river, about 40 miles from its mouth, and 10 from the general's head-quarters. It stood on a rising ground, commanding the river to the east ; having a plane to the north and south, and a wood to the west. The body of the fort was about 100 yards in length; and 50 in breadth ; surrounded, outside of all, by a row of strong pickets, 12 feet over

ground ; each picket armed at the top with a *bayonet*. * Next to, and against this formidable picket was an embankment, forming the side of a dry ditch, 12 feet:wide, by seven feet deep ; then a second embankment, or glacis. A strong bastion and two block-houses completely enfiladed the ditch. Within the fort were the hospital, military and commissary's store-houses, magazine, &c. As far as we can collect from the American. accounts, the fort mounted but one 6-pounder ; and that in a masked battery at the north-western angle. The number of troops composing the garrison cannot exactly be ascertained. One American account states, that the *effective* force did not amount to 160 men, or rank and file.

Major-general Proctor, when he landed near the!: mouth of Sandusky river, on .the 1st of August, had, :lit is admitted, no other white troops with him than the 41st regiment. An American editor says, that the major-general, previous to his appearance on the Sandusky, had detached " Tecumseh, with 2000 warriors, and a few regulars, to make a diversion favorable to the attack upon Fort-Stephenson ;"1. and yet the same editor states major-general Proctor's force before that fort, on the evening of the 1st, at " 500 regulars, and 700 Indians."t Of the latter. there were but 200; and they, as was

* Hid. of the War, p. 131. f Sketches of the War, p. 161.

generally their custom wheti the object of assault was a fortified place, withdrew to a

- ravine, out of gun-shot, almost immediately that the action commenced. Of regulars, there were two lieutenant-colonels, four captains, seven subalterns, (one a lieutenant of artillery,) eight staff, 22 serjeants, seven drummers, and 0 341 rank and file, including 23 artillerymen ; making a total of 391 officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates.

On the morning of the 2d the British opened their artillery, consisting of two light 6-pounders, and two 52 inch howitzers, upon the fort ; but without producing the slightest impression ; and the different American accounts, as we are glad to see, concur in stating, that the fort " was not at all injured" by the fire directed against it. 'Under an impression that the garrison did not exceed 50 or 60 men, the fort was ordered to ; be stormed. Lieutenant-colonel Short, at the head of 180 rank and file, immediately advanced towards the north-west angle; while about 160 rank and file, under lieutenant-colonel Warburton, passed round through the woods skirting the western side of the fort, to its south side. After sustaining a heavy fire of musketry from the American troops, lieutenant-colonel Short approached to the stockade ; and, with some difficulty, succeeded in getting over the pickets, The instant this gallant vfficer

reached the ditch, he ordered his men to follow, and assault the works with the utmost vigor. The masked, 6-pounder, which had been previously pointed to rake the ditch, and loaded "with a double charge of leaden slugs," was now fired at the British column, "the front of which was only 30 feet distant from the piece." A volley of musketry was fired at the same instant; and repeated in quick succession. This dreadful and, as to the battery, unexpected discharge killed lieutenant-colonel Short, and several of his brave followers; and wounded a great many more. Still undaunted, the men of the 41st, headed by another officer, advanced again to carry the masked 6-pounder; from which another discharge of "leaden slugs," aided by other volleys of musketry, was directed against them, and cleared the "fatal ditch" a second time. It was in vain to contend further; and the British retired, with as many of their wounded as they could carry away.

Lieutenant-colonel Warburton's party, having a circuit to make, did not arrive at its position till the first assault was nearly over. After a volley or two, in which the British sustained some slight loss, the troops at this point, also, were ordered to retire. The loss sustained by both divisions amounted to 26 killed, 29 wounded and missing, and 41 wounded (most of whom slightly) and brought away; total 96, The

Americans state their loss at one killed, and seven wounded. Considering the way in which they were sheltered, and the circumstances of the attack altogether, no greater loss could have been expected.

The American editors seem determined to drag the Indians, in spite of their confirmed, and, to an American, well-known habits, within the limits of the "fatal ditch." **The Indians,** says Mr. Thomson, "were enraged and mortified at this unparalleled defeat; and, *carrying their dead and wounded from the field,* they indignantly followed the British regulars to the shipping."* "It is a fact worthy of observation," says Mr. O'Connor, "that not one Indian was found among the dead, although it is known that from 3 to 400 were present."† A brave enemy would have found something to praise in the efforts of colonel Short and his men, in this their "unparalleled defeat;" but all is forgotten in the lavish encomiums bestowed upon major Croghan and the band of "heroes," who "compelled an army," says an American editor, "much more than 10 times superior,"* to relinquish the attack.

Major-general Proctor returned to Sandwich, accompanied by an hourly accumulating number of Indians; who, having deserted their hunting-grounds to follow the British, naturally

† Kist. of the War, p. 131. * Sketches of the War, p. 163.

looked to the latter for supplies. Unfortunately, the store-houses along the Detroit had been nearly emptied of their contents already, to feed our importunate allies ; neither would it have been prudent to order them back to their woods, nor even to impose upon them any restraints ; when general Harrison had, - for the last two months, been endeavouring, . . . by means of a numerous body of spies, to sow distrust among the chiefs, and gain over them and their tribes as allies to the Americans.

The remainder of the 41st regiment had long been expected at Amherstburg from Fort-George, \$41 distance of about 270 miles. -A few companies did move forward in May ; but, by the time the men had marched 90 miles, which, owing to the bad state of the roads, could not be performed in fewer than eight days, they were ordered back, to assist in defending Fort-George, then threatened with an attack. As soon as the centre-division of the army, under major-general De Rottenburg, had been reinforced by the 1st battalion of the royal Scots, the detachment of the 41st marched to Long-point, on Lake Erie ; there to embark, alpng with the force already under major-general Proctor's command, on board captain Barclay's fleet, for the purpose of attacking Presq' Isle ; where two large American brigs of war were building, and several schooners lying at anchor. The British were. to have been joined

by a numerous body of Indians ; but who declined co-operating, until Fort-Stephenson should be reduced, as they could then move, with less apprehension of danger, along the south-shore of the lake. The assault had, as we have seen, .been attempted without the reinforcement, and failed. On the very 'next day, commodore Perry appeared on Lake Erie, with eight vessels of war, including the two newly launched brigs ; and captain Barclay, with his small command, was compelled to retire to Amherstburg, till the new ship that was building should be ready for the lake.

The reinforcement ,from 'Niagara had augmented major-general Proctor's force to ⁸⁶⁸ officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates . of the 41st regiment, 30 of-the royal artillery, the same number of the royal veteran battalion and Newfoundland regiment, eight artillery-drivers, and about 50 provincial cavalry ; making a total of 986 men ; of whom between 1 and 200 were upon the sick-list.

So many men made a sensible reduction in the small quantity of provisions that remained in the store-houses on the Detroit frontier ; and, to encrease the evil, the Indians kept flocking to Am-., herstburg, in such multitudes, that, by the 8th or 9th of September, upwards of ,3500 warriors had attached themselves to general yroctor,'s diyision. One hope remained. Every exertion

was making at Arnherstburg to complete the new ship ; which, when added to the others, and the whole equipped with stores, and manned with seamen, daily expected from Lake Ontario, might re-open the lake-communication.

Neither guns, stores, nor seamen came ; beyond as many of the latter as augmented captain Barclay's number to 50. The new ship was launched, and the exigence became hourly more pressing. There remained no alternative but to strip the forts of their guns, and get them fitted, as far as was possible, to the ports of the Detroit.* This botching business ended, the four other vessels were deprived of a part of their already scanty stores, to enable the Detroit to move from her anchorage ; or, when she met the enemy, to make use of her lumbering guns. By way of helping to man this " superior British fleet," major-general Proctor spared, in addition to the detachment of his army already on board, one lieutenant, three serjeants, and 148 rank and file from the 41st regiment. •

Driven, as it were, out of port, captain Barclay, on the evening of the 9th of September, sailed forth upon the lake, to endeavour at clearing it from his vigilant, well-provided, and almost doubly superior foe. "The meeting of

* The guns (24-pounder carronades) intended for this ship did not arrive at Burlington Heights from Livingston, till after She was captured.

the two fleets on the following morning ; the Sudden fatal change of wind. the gallant behaviour of the Detroit ; the surrender to her of the American flag-ship, the ' St. Lawrence ; the re-hoisting of the latter's colours ; the renewal of the combat, and surrender of the British ; the damages and loss' of the two squadrons ; their comparative strength in guns, men, and size ; the extravagant boastings of the Americans, and their gross distortion of every feature in the action are all fully, and, as we trust, correctly detailed in our naval volume.*•

This was a sad blow upon the right division. As hope fled, despair found its way into the British camp. The situation of the men, it must be owned, was deplorable in the extreme. They had long been suffering, not only from a scarcity of provisions, but a scarcity of money. Few of them had received any pay for the last six months : to some, indeed, nine month's arrears were due. Winter, a Canadian winter, was fast approaching ; and scarcely any of the soldiers had blankets, and all were without great coats. The severe privations which they had endured in the last, were therefore likely to be augmented rather than diminished, in the succeeding winter. In addition to all this, the commander of the forces appeared unmindful of their arduous exertions; and that, parti-

* James's. Nay. Occur. p. 283.

cularly, in a description of service, to which neither their arms, clothing, nor discipline had adapted them. Not to gain credit for what they did, was, indeed, the lot of all the British troops employed against the Americans ; chiefly, because the latter, ranking beneath them as soldiers,- invariably got applause when they gained a victory over, or stood their ground against, two-thirds of their own number:

What movements commodore Perry's victory caused, on the part of major-general Harrison, we shall now proceed to detail. Satisfied that he should soon be able, not only to recover the surrendered territory, but to dissipate or destroy the British force in this quarter, the American general hastened to claim from governor Meigs a portion of 15,000 volunteers, just arrived from the state of Ohio.* Reinforced here, he received a fresh accession of strength in the arrival, on the 17th of September, of the governor of Kentucky, Isaac Sheby, " with 4000 well mounted volunteers."* The works on the Miami and Sandusky were abandoned, and their garrisons added to the already overwhelming army. On the 21st of September general Harrison, with the bulk of his troops, proceeded in boats to an island about 20 miles from Amherstburg, called the Eastern Sister ; having despatched the remainder, consisting of colonel Johnson's mounted

* Sketches of the War, p. 169.. -

regiment, by land, to Detroit. On the 27th the American fleet, " composed of 16 vessels of war, and upwards of 100 boats," received on board general Harrison's division, and landed it, on the afternoon of the same day, 'atilt point three miles below Amherstburg; whence the troops marched forward to that village.

The full amount of the British white force on the Detroit having already been given, it now remains for us to shew, if we can, what was the number of American troops, with which general Harrison so sanguinely expected to " overthrow general Proctor's army." This does not appear, either in general Harrison's letter,* or in any of the American accounts, minute as they are in other less important particulars. Perhaps, by putting together such items of numbers as, in the general plan of concealment, may have escaped the notice of the different editors, we shall get within one or two thousands of the number of troops that landed below Amherstburg, as doctor Smith tells us, " without opposition." We find the 17th, 19th, 24th, 26th, 27th, and 28th regiments of infantry, named. Admitting every one of these to have been reduced to 250 men, the whole would give 1500. " Part of colonel Ball's regiment of dragoons" has been stated, at 240; then there was a full rifle-regiment, say 450 strong ; also major Wood's detachment

*App. No. 52.

of artillery, certainly not less than 150. Next come "major Suggett's three spy companies," 160 more; also "five brigades of Kentucky volunteers, averaging," according to general Harrison, "500 men;"* but Mr. Thomson had before told us, that the volunteers from Kentucky, under governor Shelby, amounted to "4000," and those well-mounted."† We shall be contented, however, with the smaller number; which, without proceeding further in our inquiry, gives a force of 5000 men. As these had but 17 miles to proceed by water, and that in the finest of weather, 2395 tons of shipping, (without reckoning the 16th vessel,) along with "boats," afforded them ample room.

On arriving at Amherstburg the Americans found it abandoned by its garrison, and the fort and public buildings in ruins. To put the worst possible construction upon the retreat of the 800 British from this place, Mr. Thomson has not scrupled to state, that "the guns of the batteries had been previously sunk;" although he knew the latter were then on board commodore Perry's prize, the Detroit. After leaving, in possession of Amherstburg, colonel Smith's rifle regiment, general Harrison moved forward to Sandwich,§ attended in his course along the

* A pp. No. 52. — Sketches of the War, p. 168.
James's Nay. Occurr. p. 293. § See p. 48.

side of the river, by the American brigs Niagara and Caledonia, and three of the schooners; armed between them with 30 heavy guns. At Sandwich general Harrison received authentic information of the small regular force which major-general Proctor had with him; also, that the Indians had been, and still were, abandoning him by hundreds at a time. This welcome news enabled the major-general, on the 29th, to leave a portion of his force, under lieutenant-colonel Ball, at Sandwich, and to send another portion under brigadier-general McArthur, across to the opposite town of Detroit; especially as the general expected, and was the next day joined by, "colonel R. M. Johnson's regiment," consisting of "upwards of 1000 horsemen."*

Major-general Proctor had retreated towards the mouth of the river Thames, and made a temporary stand at a place called Dalson's, distant about 56 miles from Detroit. On the 2d of October the American army left Sandwich in close pursuit. Of what number that army, since a part had been detached, consisted, puzzles all calculation. Major-general Harrison speaks, in rather an obscure way, of general McArthur's force consisting of only "about 700 effectives;" but we have seen an account, bearing every mark of authenticity, which fixes brigadier-general McArthur's force at 100 artillery, and 1600

* Sketches of the War, p. 173.

infantry. The force with which the American general left Sandwich, is stated in the American official account at " about 3500 men." In another part of his letter, the major-general states his number of men at " something above 3000." On the other hand, the same account from which we extracted brigadier-general M'Arthur's force, gives what purports to be a list of the different corps and detachments of American troops that moved up the Thames, in pursuit of major-general Proctor ; numbering altogether 6200 men. As, however, in a case of this kind, we have pledged ourselves to consider each party to be the best authority for its own numbers, major-general Harrison's force shall be fixed at no more than he himself admits; 3500 men. With this army, and two 6-pounders, the major-general, on the evening of the 2d; encamped at Riscutn, about 26 miles from Sandwich.

Early on the morning of the 3d he resumed his march, accompanied by general Cass and commodore Perry, as his additional aides de camp.- ---On arriving at the second bridge across a branch of the Thames, the American general succeeded in capturing a lieutenant and 11 rank and file of major-general Proctor's provincial dragoons. After proceeding a short way further up the Thames,..the American general left his three gun-boats in charge of 150 infantry ; and

" determined to trust to fortune and the bravery of his troops," for effecting the further passage of the rivers. On the morning of the 4th, the American army again proceeded on its route ; and, on reaching Chatham, distant about 17 miles from Lake St. Clair, found its progress obstructed by a deep and unfordable creek, the bridge of which had been partially destroyed by some Indians, who now made their appearance, and fired on the advanced guard. The major-general, " believing that the whole force of the enemy was there," halted his army, formed it in order of battle, and brought up his pieces of artillery. A few shot from the 6-pounders drove away the Indians ; and the army repaired, and crossed the bridge. The American loss on this occasion amounted to two killed, and three or four wounded. Mr. Thomson states 13 as the loss, in killed only, of the Indians ; or, as his term is, of " the enemy." On the same evening three of general Proctor's boats, loaded with ordnance-stores, were taken ; as also " two 24-pounders, with their carriages," or, as Mr. Thomson has it, " several pieces of cannon."

On the morning of the 5th, the pursuit of the British was eagerly renewed ;- and, before nine o'clock, two gun-boats and several batteaux were captured. With these boats and batteaux, and some Indian canoes, the American army was

enabled, at 12 o'clock at noon, to cross over to the left bank of the Thames. About 12 miles above this ford, and two and a half from the Moravian town, major-general Proctor had drawn up his troops, to resist, if possible, the further advance of the American army. The amount of the British force we are fortunately enabled to state with accuracy. There were present, under arms, of the 41st regiment, (including 30 additional gunners,) one lieutenant-colonel, six captains, 10 lieutenants, three ensigns, two staff, 26 serjeants, four drummers, and 356 rank and file, total 408 ; among whom were one serjeant, and 26 rank and file, taken from the hospital on that very morning. There were also, 38 provincial dragoons. The artillery numbered six pieces, 3 and 6-pounders, and were worked by 30 of the royal artillery, assisted by the additional gunners from the 41st. So that the whole effective strength of the right division, **on** the morning of the 5th of October, amounted to 476 men. The remaining part of the right division was thus disposed of. The gun-boats and batteaux had on board, just previous to their capture, one captain, nine serjeants, 10 drummers, and 124 rank and file of the 41st ; along with the 30 men of the royal veteran battalion and Newfoundland regiment. The hospital at the Moravian village contained 101 officers and privates ; and those that attended them, and

were on duty with the baggage, amounted to 63 officers and privates, all of the 41st regiment. Adding to this amount such of the eight artillery-drivers as had not been captured, and allowing for a few desertions, we account at once for the 834 officers and privates, composing major-general Proctor's force, when he commenced his retreat. Of his 3500 Indians, 500 only remained ; and they were led by the brave and faithful Tecumseh.

The 356 rank and file of the 41st regiment were formed at open files, in a beach forest, without any clearing. The line crossed the York road, its left resting on the river, its right on the thicker part of the wood. On this point the troops joined the Indian warriors ; who, forming an obtuse angle to the front, were the better able to get into the enemy's rear, the Indian's favorite system of action. At the back of the Indians, and about 300 yards from the river, was a miry swamp. A 6-pounder enfiladed the only road by which the Americans could advance in any order. The provincial dragoons were stationed a little in the rear of the infantry. This position was 'considered an excellent one ; as the enemy, however numerous his force, could not turn the flanks of the British, or present a more extended front than theirs. The remaining five pieces of artillery were stationed upon some heights ; a little to the north-eastward

Of the Moravian town, and consequently upwards of two miles from the field of battle; in order to guard a ford of the river, and, if necessary, cover the British retreat.

General Harrison has given us a very full description of the manner in which he arranged his force upon this occasion. Three brigades - of volunteer-infantry, under the command of major-general Henry, were drawn up in three lines, having their right upon the road, and their left upon the swamp. The whole of general Desha's division, consisting of two brigades, was formed, *en potence*, upon the left of the first, or Trotter's brigade. "The American back-woodsmen," says the general, in his despatch, "ride better in the woods than any other people. A musket or rifle is no impediment, they being accustomed to carry them on horse-back from their earliest youth." Consequently, colonel Johnson drew up his mounted regiment in close column, having its right at the distance of 50 yards from the road, and its left upon the swamp. His directions were, to charge at full speed, as soon as the enemy delivered his fire ; and the general rightly conjectured that "the enemy would be quite unprepared for the shock and could not resist it." Colonel Paul's regulars occupied the space between the road and the river, ready to seize "the enemy's artillery ;" the quantity of which brought into action, is

very cunningly left by the general to inference. Along the bank of the river were stationed "some 10 or 12 friendly Indians." An American account states, that "nearly 300 Indians" were, at this time, attached to general Harrison's army. Before we commence upon the attack, let us place before the reader, in one view, the force of the contending parties. The Americans had, by their own admission, and meaning "privates," or rank and file, 1200 cavalry, 1950 infantry, "some 10 or 12," or, let us say, 150 Indians, and two 6-pounders. The British had 38 cavalry, 356 infantry, 500 Indians, and one 6-pounder. We have no more to do with the remnant of the British force stationed beyond the Moravian town, than we have with the 400 men of the 27th United States' regiment, that were hastening to share the honors of the day.

The British gave the first fire ; from which the horses of the front column recoiled. After the delivery of the second fire, the "brilliant charge" took effect. "In a few moments," says Mr. Thomson, "the enemy's line was pierced by upward of 1000 horsemen, who, clashing through the British regulars with irresistible speed, either trampled under foot, or cut down, every soldier who opposed them ; and, having killed and wounded upwards of 50 at one charge, instantly formed in their rear, and repeated the attack. Such was the panic," proceeds the

American editor, " which pervaded the whole line of the enemy, that an order which had been issued to fix bayonets, was not attempted to be executed."*

The Indian warriors, led by the undaunted Tecumseh, rushed upon the enemy's front line of infantry, and " for a moment," says the general, " made some impression upon it." It was not, in short, till the infantry was reinforced by the whole of governor Shelby's, and a part of colonel Johnson's regiment ; nor, till the fall of their lamented chief, and upwards of 30 of their warriors, that the brave foresters retired from the field of battle. Had the men of the 41st regiment at all emulated the Indians, the fate of the day might have been changed ; or did the enemy's great numerical superiority render that an improbable event, the American general would not, in the very paragraph in which he admits that he contended with an inferiority of force, have dared to claim for his troops " the palm of superior bravery." † *His* troops possessed the peculiar privilege of not having their character affected by any similar conduct on their part ; nay, not even, had they submitted to an equal, instead of a seven-fold force.

The British lost, in killed 12, in wounded 22, and in prisoners, including the wounded, 601. ‡ Of these, 477 were taken on the day of the

* Sketches of the War, p. 173.

† App. No. 52.

surrender ; the remainder, previously and subsequently. Mr. Thomson, still regardless about contradicting the, official accounts of his own generals, says :—" The enemy lost, in regulars alone, upwards of 90 killed, and about the same number wounded."* The Indians lost 33 killed, exclusive of such as fell during the retreat : their loss in wounded does not appear. The Americans admit a loss of 12 killed, and 17 wounded:

The censure passed upon the right division of the Canadian army, by the commander-in-chief, was certainly of unparalleled severity. Yet, who but must admire the valorous spirit that breathes through the general order of the 24th of November, promulgating sir George's indignation ? Who could believe that this document was penned by the same hand that, six months previous, dragged away the British troops from the possession of Sackett's Harbor ? lo—The ardor which, as sir George himself admits, and every one else knows, had, till the fatal 5th of October, distinguished the 41st regiment, affords^a strong belief it was not cowardice that made that corps surrender so tamely,—no matter to what superiority of force. The privations the troops had undergone, and the marked neglect which had been shewn at head-quarters to the representations of their commander, had probably possessed them with an idea, that any

* Sketches of the War, p. 175.

+ See p. 163.

change would be an improvement in their condition.

Major-general Proctor, with some officers of his staff, and a part of his provincial cavalry, retreated towards the river *Grande*,[†] after having his baggage and private papers captured by a squadron of dragoons, which major-general Harrison had sent in pursuit of him. Sir George's letter,* (the only one published,) as well as his general order, mentions that the Indians harrassed the American army on its retreat to Detroit. So far was this from being the case, that not a tomahawk was lifted after the day on which the British surrendered ; and many of the Indians actually accompanied major-general Proctor on his route to Ancaster. In preference to pushing after the latter, major-general Harrison, on the day succeeding his easy victory, destroyed the Moravian town. This fact, owing, probably, to some political reason, does not appear in the official letter ; although the latter bears date three days after the conflagration. But Mr. Thomson, in the fulness of his patriotism, cannot refrain from announcing the event to the public. † The Moravian town, or rather its site, is distant about 35 miles from the mouth of the Thames ; and was under the superintendence of missionaries from the society of Moravian United

* App. No. 51.

† Sketches of the War, p. 176.

Brethren, who maintained a chapel there. On the 9th of October major-general Harrison retired upon Detroit ; and, on the 17th, major-general Proctor had concentrated at Ancaster, on the river *Grande*, not far from Burlington Heights, 204 rank and file of the right division ; of whom more than half had escaped after having been captured.

The defeat of the British at the battle of the Thames was highly advantageous to the American cause. Not only was the whole territory of Michigan, except the fort of Michilimacinaç; restored to the United States, but the western district of the upper province became a conquered country. Nor was it the least misfortune, that we lost the services of the whole of the north-western Indians, except 2 or 300 that subsequently joined the centre-division of the army. The American editors boast that general Harrison, before he left Detroit for Buffaloe, made peace with upwards of 3000 warriors. The reader now sees the fatal consequences ; first, of not having, in the winter of 1812, destroyed the two or three schooners which were equipping at Buffaloe by lieutenant Elliott ;* secondly, of not having, in the spring of 1813, secured the possession of Sackett's Harbor ; † thirdly, of not having, in the summer of the same year, captured or destroyed

See p. 83.

See p. 174.

the whole American fleet, as it lay, unmanned, in Presq' Isle harbor ;* and lastly, of not having sent a supply of guns, stores, and men, to captain Barclay at Amherstburg, so as to have enabled Min to meet and conquer that same American fleet, whose growth and maturity had thus been so shamefully promoted.

The American public made no distinction, apparently, between the important consequences that ensued from general Harrison's capture of " a British regular *army,*" and the merits of the victory itself. By adding some circumstances, and concealing others, the historian was able to convert the thing into what he pleased ; but who could have imagined, that every town in the republic would illuminate, and every church ring a merry peal, on the occasion ? Such was actually the case. All this to be sure, might have been a political measure, or, as general Wilkinson calls it, " a military deception," t to render the war popular ; but no sober-minded American could, one may suppose, see any reason to exult, because 3500 of his countrymen had conquered 4 or 500 British, and the same number of Indians. A Mr. Cheeves, however, member for South-Carolina, and one of the 98 " yeas" that declared the war, uttered, in the middle of a very long speech to congress " on the conduct of the war," the following sentence:

* See p. 1G8.

+: See p. 162.

—" The victory of Harrison was such as would have secured to a Roman general, in the best days of the republic, the honors of a triumph."* —The American editor has not followed up the period with " (*hear, hear,*)" or introduced any remarks of his own, either in ridicule or surprise of the orator's modesty.

Let us now ascend in the scale of human beings, from a " member of congress" to a " savage,"—from Mr. Cheeves to the late Indian warrior Tecumseh. It seems extraordinary that general Harrison should have omitted to mention, in his letter, the death of a chief, whose fall contributed so largely to break down the Indian spirit, and to give peace and security to the whole north-western frontier of the United States. Tecumseh, although he had received a musket-ball in the left arm, was still seeking the hottest of the fire, when he encountered colonel R. M. Johnson, member of congress for Kentucky. Just as the chief, having discharged his rifle, was rushing forward with his tomahawk, he received a ball in the head from the colonel's pistol. Thus fell the Indian warrior Tecumseh, in the 44th year of his age. He was of the Shawanw tribe ; five feet ten inches high ; and, with more than the usual stoutness, possessed all the agility and perseverance, of the Indian character. His carriage was dignified ; his eye

penetrating ; his countenance, which, even in death, betrayed the indications of a lofty spirit, rather of the sterner cast. Had he not possessed a certain austerity of manners, he could never have controlled the wayward passions of those who followed him to battle. He was of a silent habit ; but, when his eloquence became roused into action by the re-iterated encroachments of the Americans, his strong intellect could supply him with a flow of oratory, that enabled him, as he governed in the field, so to prescribe in the council. Those who consider that, in all territorial questions, the ablest diplomatists of the United States are sent to negotiate with the Indians, will readily appreciate the loss sustained by the latter in the death of their champion.

The Indians, in general, are full as fond as other savages, of the gaudy decoration of their persons; but Tecumseh was an exception. Cloaths and other valuable articles of spoil had often been his; yet he invariably wore a deer-skin coat and pantaloons. He had frequently levied subsidies to, comparatively, a large amount ; yet he preserved little or nothing for himself. It was not wealth, but glory, that was Tecumseh's ruling passion. Fatal day ! when the " Christian people" first penetrated the forests, to teach the arts of " civilization" to the poor Indian. Till then, water had been his

only beverage ; and himself and his race possessed all the vigor of hardy savages, Now, no Indian opens his lips to the stream that ripples by his wig-wam, while he has a rag of cloaths on his back, wherewith to purchase rum ; and he and his squaw and his children wallow through the day, in beastly drunkenness. Instead of the sturdy warrior, with a head to plan, and an arm to execute, vengeance upon the oppressors of his country, we behold the puny besotted wretch, squatting on his hams, ready to barter his country, his children, or himself, for a few gulps of that deleterious compound, which, far more than the arms of the United States, is hastening to extinguish all traces of his name and character. Tecumseh, himself, in early life, had been addicted to intemperance ; but no sooner did his judgment decide against, than his resolution enabled him to quit, so vile a habit. Beyond one or two glasses of wine, he never afterwards indulged,

" By whom are the savages led ?" was the question, for many years, during the wars between the Americans and Indians, The name —" Tecumseh !" was itself a host on the side of the latter ; and the warrior chief, while he signalized himself in all, came off victorious in most, of the many actions in which he had fought and bled. The American editors, superadded to a national dislike to the Indians.,

have some special reasons, which we shall develop presently, for blackening the character of Tecumseh. They say, that he neither gave 119r accepted quarter. His inveterate hatred to the Americans, considering them, as he did, to have robbed his forefathers of their territory, renders such a proceeding, in a savage, not improbable. European history, even of modern date, informs us, that the civilized soldier can go into battle with a similar determination. Mr. Thomson says of Tecumseh, that, " when he undertook an expedition, accompanied by his tribe, he would relinquish: 'h to them the spoil,; though he would h• never yield the privilege of destroying the victim." And yet, it was from an American publication, that we extracted the account of Tecumseh's killing a brother-chief, because the latter wanted to massacre an American prisoner.- This trait in Tecumseh's character is corroborated by all the British officers who have served with him. That it did not, however, proceed from any good-will towards the Americans, was made known, in an extraordinary manner,...at the taking of Detroit. After the surrender of the American troops, general Brock desired, Tecumseh, not to allow the Indians under him to ill-treat the prisoners. Tecumseh promptly replied : " I despise them too much to meddle with them." ; ' Nor is there a

single act of violence charged to the Indians on that occasion. As a proper contrast to this, an American editor, describing a battle between general Jackson and the Creek Indians, in March, 1814, says : " Of about 1000 Creeks only 10 of the men are supposed to have escaped with life : 16 of the Creeks, who had hid themselves, were killed the morning after the battle. The American commander said, in his despatch, that he was : ' *determined to exterminate*' the tribe ; of course," proceeds the editor, " no quarter was given, except to a few women and children."

Few officers in the United States' service were so able to command in the field, as this famed Indian chief. He was an excellent judge of position; and not only knew, but could point out, the localities of the whole country through which he had passed. To what extent he had travelled over the western part of the American continent, may be conceived from the well-known fact, that he visited the Creek Indians, in the hopes of prevailing on them to unite with their northern brethren, in efforts to regain their country as far as the banks of the Ohio. His facility of communicating the information he had acquired, was thus displayed before a concourse of spectators. Previously to general Brock's crossing over ..to, Detroit, he

asked Tecumseh what sort of a country he should --have to pass through, in case of his proceeding further. Tecumseh, taking a roll of elm-bark, and extending it on the ground by means of four stones, drew forth his scalping-knife, and, with the point, presently etched upon the bark a plan of the country, its hills, Woods, rivers, morasses, and roads ; a plan which, 'if not as neat, was, for the purpose required, fully as intelligible, as if Arrowsmith himself had prepared it. Pleased with this unexpected talent in Tecumseh, also with his having, by his characteristic boldness, induced the Indians, not of his immediate party, to cross the Detroit, prior to the embarkation of the regulars and militia, general Brock, as soon as the business was over, publicly took off his sash, and placed it round the body of the chief. Tecumseh received the honor with evident gratification ; but was, the next day, seen without his sash. General Brock, fearing something had displeased the Indian, sent his interpreter for an explanation. The latter soon returned with an account, that Tecumseh, not wishing to wear such a mark of distinction, when an older, and, as he said, abler, warrior than himself was present, had transferred the sash to the Wyandot chief Round-head.* Such a man was the unlettered " savage" Tecumseh;

* See p. 188.. •

and such a man have the Indians for ever !Ost. He has left a son ; who, when his father fell, was about 17 years old, and fought by his side. The prince regent, in 1814, out of respect to --the memory of the old, sent out as a present to the young Tecumseh, a handsome sword. Unfortunately, however, for the Indian cause and country, faint are the prospects, that Tecumseh, the son, will ever equal, in wisdom or prowess, Tecumseh, the father.

According to Mr. Thomson, 120 Indians were killed at the battle of the Thames. General ..., Harrison numbers 33 only. No *4ounded* are mentioned by either. While the affair with the Creeks is fresh in our minds, what are we to infer from this 9.—However, let us proceed. Full two-thirds of general Harrison's army, at the battle of the Thames, were Kentuckians. As every soldier wore a scalping-knife as part of his accoutrements, and was extremely " dextermis in the use of it ;"* as the *live* Kentuckians bore to the *dead* Indians (taking Mr. Thomson's estimate) fully as 20 to one ; and as one head could conveniently afford but one scalp, we can picture to ourselves what a scramble it here Must have been for the trophies.' For the European reader's edification, we will endeavour at describing the manner in which the-operation of scalping is performed. A circular incision,

See p. 183.

of about three inches or more, in diameter, according to the length of the hair, is made upon the crown of the heads. The foot of the operator is then placed on the neck or body of the victim, and the *scalp*, or tuft of skin and hair, torn from_ the skull by strength of arm. In case the hair is so short as not to admit of being grasped by the band, the operator, first with his knife turning up one edge of the circle, applies his teeth to the part ; and, by that means, quite as effectually disengages the *scalp*. In order to preserve the precious relict, it is then stretched and dried upon a small osier hoop. The western Indians invariably crop their hair, almost as close as if it were shorn ; to retaliate upon their enemies, probably, by drawing some of their teeth. As captain M'Culloch's prisoner* was a western Indian, we were, therefore, wrong in supposing, that the American officer practised any refinement in the art of *scalping*.

The body of Tecumseh was recognised, not only by the British officers who were prisoners, but by commodor Perry, and several American officers. An American writer (from the spot, it would appear) says :—" There was a kind of ferocious pleasure, if I may be allowed the expression, in contemplating the contour of his features, which was majestic, even in death." t—Poor chief ! the *majesty* of his features

* See p. 62.

± Burdick's Pol. and Hist. Reg. p. 84.

could no longer, now he was dead, awe the Kentuckians ; and that majesty was, by their merciless scalping-knives, soon converted into hideousness. Had the " ferocious pleasure" of Americans required no further gratification than Tecumseh's scalp, custom might have been their excuse. The possessor of this valuable trophy would not, it may be supposed, part with a hair of it. Were the other Kentuckians, then, to march home empty-handed ?—Ingenuity offered a partial remedy. One, more dexterous than the rest, proceeded to *flay* the chief's body ; then, cutting the skin in narrow slips, of 10 or 12 inches long, produced, at once, a supply of *razor-straps* for the more " ferocious" of his brethren. We know that the editor of the United States' government-paper, the " National Intelligencer," not many months ago, * flew into a violent rage, because some anonymous writer here had mentioned the circumstance ; How will the American government bear to hear the fact thus solemnly repeated, accompanied by the declaration, that some of the British officers witnessed the transaction, and are ready to testify to the truth of it ?—But, have we not *American* testimony in support of the charge ?—The same writer who was so struck with the *majesty* in Tecumseh's countenance, and who, of course, would, by every means in

* Aug. `21, 1817.

his power, soften down an account that reflected so high dishonor upon his countrymen, says thus : " Some of the Kentuckians disgraced themselves; by committing indignities on his dead body.' He was scalped, and *otherwise* 'disfigured.'"

Considering the importance of Tecumseh's death to the American cause, it is difficult to account for general Harrison's omission to notice it ; unless we suppose, that the general did transmit the account, but so blended with the indignities" committed upon the chief's person : that the American secretary at war, finding a difficulty in garbling, suppressed altogether, that paragraph of the letter. This is strengthened by the circumstance of the *flaying* ceremony having been the topic of conversation in the United States, very soon after the receipt. of the official letter, and of the private ones forwarded by the same express. t We now discover why the American editors wished to prejudice the public mind against the character of Tecumseh, One of the three editors has been both artful and graceless enough, to lavish encomiums upon the *humanity* of the " volunteers of Kentucky." These are his words :—" History can record to their honor that, not merely professing"to be

* Burdick's NI. and Hist. Reg. p. 84.

-1- The Author heard it spoken of in Philadelphia, about the 4th of October.

Christian people, they gave a high example of Christian virtues: For evil they returned not evil. For cruelty they returned mercy and protection."*—Had we taken up Dr. Smith's book } for the first time, we should have pronounced this an excellent piece of irony.

On the day succeeding the battle of the Thames, major general Proctor sent captain Le Breton, of the Newfoundland regiment, with a flag, to general Harrison, requesting " that humane treatment might be extended to the British' prisoners." t Contrary to the laws of war, however, the American general detained the British officer, and sent no reply to major-general Proctor's letter. Soon afterwards - general Harrison wrote aE very insolent letter to major-general Vincent, on the subject of major-general Proctor's application ;' enclosing letters from some of the British officers, in which the latter mentioned, that they were kindly treated by the Americans. General Harrison, in his letter to general Vincent, avows a knowledge of the contents of these enclosures. The impression. once made, was not easily to be effaced. The British officers soon saw through the trick; soon began to repent that, urged by premature gratitude, they had so grossly deceived themselvesF4 their friends, and the public.

* History of the United States, Vol. III. p. 258. †

41V 1: Sketches of the War, p. 170,

On the 22d of October general Harrison, after garrisoning Detroit, Sandwich, and Amherstburg, and discharging the principal part of his Kentucky and Ohio volunteers, embarked, with his disposable regular force, on board Commodore Perry's fleet, to join, agreeably to the orders of his government, the troops on the Niagara frontier. About the same time, the commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and privates, of major-general Proctor's late army, were transported, by water, from Detroit, to the portage on Lake Erie, distant 45 miles; and thence marched to Franklin-town, distant 129 miles. Here they embarked in boats, and proceeded 100 miles down the Scioto to Chillicothe; at which place some of the non-commissioned officers and privates were detained. The remainder of the British prisoners again proceeded by the Scioto, to Cincinnati on the Ohio. Here and at Newport-town, a military depot, half a mile across the river, was detained a second detachment, comprehending nearly all that were left, of the non-commissioned officers and privates. The small remnant, consisting almost wholly of commissioned officers, proceeded to the ultimate point of destination, Frankfort, in Kentucky; just 612 miles from Detroit, and about the same distance from the nearest Atlantic port.

Here, at Frankfort, Kentucky, were " colonels

Evans, Warburton, and Baubee, and majors Muir and Chambers,"* and other British commissioned officers, thrown into prison.---Into what prison? The Penitentiary, along with 40 convicts, condemned for murder, rape, forgery, coining, burglary, horse-stealing, Lest the reader should doubt this, he will, in the Appendix, find, furnished by the keeper of the prison, a list of the convicts, their crimes, and sentences.† Comments are unnecessary. Yet, general Shea‡ did not behave thus to the American officers who surrendered at the battle of Queenstown.} Many will be surprised that this mode of incarcerating British officers of rank and distinction, taken in honorable war, should be realized—not at *Verdun* in France, but—at Kentucky, in the United States: the land of *liberty*, where, among other advantages, a man may compound for " shooting his wife"† by a four years' imprisonment, but, for " horse-stealing,"‡ he runs the chance of remaining in confinement six years longer!—Leaving our poor countrymen' to ruminate over their misfortunes, in the midst of company so *respectable*, we hasten to beguile the reader, with the busy scenes of hostility still carrying on in the neighbourhood of Lake Ontario.

• Sketches of the War, p. 173.

‡ App. No. 53.

† See p. 101.