

## XII

### PRISONERS OF WAR

Although, with the capture of the Right Division, ceases all military operations of any consequence in the West, as its imprisonment and detention as hostages form no inconsiderable feature in the historical occurrences of that period, I have, under the impression that the narrative would be imperfect without it, decided on detailing the several vicissitudes to which, principally in their character of hostages, the captured troops were subjected. From this it will be seen, that the feeling of dislike and jealousy entertained by the Americans for everything English, was precisely in 1812 what it is at the present day. (1842).

On reaching Detroit, after having traversed for the last time, as prisoners, that soil which, almost unaided, a single Regiment had for fifteen months defended against the efforts of successive powerful armies sent to wrest it from their grasp, we found that Fort Meigs was the route through which the Division was to be marched into the State of Ohio. The majority of the officers, having pledged their parole to General Harrison, were suffered to take the advance, mounted on pack horses provided by the American Government. A few only, desirous of taking the Sandusky route across the lake, were embarked in the Ariel gun-boat, and conveyed to Put-in-Bay island, where the shattered fleets were then lying. Here indeed was to be seen evidence of a most sanguinary conflict, especially in Captain Barclay's ship. Every mast of this vessel had been carried away—more than half her long guns had been dismounted—and the bulwarks were in fragments, while it was impossible to place a hand upon that broadside which had been exposed

to the enemy's fire, without covering some portion of a wound, either from grape, round, canister, or chain-shot. The decks of all were moreover filled with wounded, and on being introduced into Captain Barclay's cabin, we found that gallant officer in bed, presenting a most helpless picture of mutilation. Pain and disappointment were upon his brow, and the ruddy hue of health, for which he had ever been remarkable, had deserted him. In short, of his former self there then seemed to be little left besides his untainted honor. The scene altogether was one of a most melancholy and impressive character.

On the second morning of our arrival at this island, after having taken on board such of the naval officers as were prevented by the severity of their wounds from performing the journey, we continued our course for Sandusky Bay. We had nearly made the spot intended for our disembarkation, when one of those dangerous and sudden hurricanes, peculiar to the lakes of Canada during the autumnal months, drove us back under bare poles, and along the sheet of foam with which the broad expanse of water was literally covered, to the port we had just quitted. At length we finally separated from our companions in misfortune, and after a few hours' sail were enabled to cast anchor in the bay, where, being immediately landed, we were conducted to the fort of Sandusky.

During our stay at this place we had full leisure for examining not only the defences of the fortress, but the various positions occupied by our troops during the assault ; and the result of our observation was, that an attack on a stockade work of this description, without the aid of ladders must inevitably entail discomfiture. The nature of the fortification, and the manner in which the enemy were protected from our fire, may be judged of from the fact of their having had only one man killed in the affair.

That which most excited my own immediate attention

was the ground occupied by the left column of attack, consisting chiefly of the light company of the 41st, to which I was then attached, and which having forced their way to the very batteries of the fort had consequently sustained the greatest loss. My escape from the ravine, where we had continued so many hours, was truly providential. When the order for retiring was in order to deceive the enemy, given in the Indian language, it was immediately explained by one or two interpreters present with the grenadier column on the right, and conveyed by them in a low voice to the remaining divisions. Covered by the brow of the opposite eminence, they followed the course of the ravine in safety, until they emerged from the defile, at a distance sufficient to admit of their forming unperceived by the enemy. Nearly all the men of the light column, having received the order, had retired with the main body ; but those on the extreme left, having been separated from the line by the brushwood and other obstacles they had encountered in the ascent, remained in utter ignorance of what was passing on the right ; and such was the caution observed in retiring, that neither the enemy in the fort nor ourselves could distinguish the slightest sound to justify the supposition. It was now half-past nine o'clock. We had continued since half-past five lying extended on the wet ground, where the mud was ankle-deep, and most of the men were chilled with cold. At this moment we heard, though indistinctly, various orders given in the direction of our encampment, and then only did we surmise the fact of the troops having been withdrawn. In this belief we were speedily confirmed, by hearing a command issued in a suppressed tone of voice in the fort, to open the sallyports. Perceiving that no time was to be lost, I proposed in a whisper, which the rising ground prevented being overheard by the enemy, that we should brave every risk, and attempt our immediate retreat. The men, however, refused to move, until the moon, which was

then in the first quarter, and reflecting its beams everywhere but in the bed of the ravine, was set, or should be obscured by some passing cloud. Leaving them to their fate, I therefore prepared to effect my escape alone, and immediately in front of the fortress ; but notwithstanding all my caution, I had not advanced many paces, when I stumbled over the dead body of a soldier, who, after having received a mortal wound, had evidently crawled on his hands and knees to rest his bleeding form against a clump of bushes, and had died in that singular position. The noise occasioned by my fall put the enemy once more on the alert ; and as the moonbeams reflected on my arms and regimentals, I had no sooner ascended the opposite side of the ravine, than the whole front of the fort was lighted up with their fire. Not an individual, save myself, was exposed to their aim, and the distance did not exceed fifty paces; yet, although the balls whistled round my ears in every direction, and hissed through the long grass with which the plain was covered, I did not sustain the slightest injury, even though a second volley was fired after the interval of half a minute. On reaching the spot where the columns had been originally formed for the assault, I found that my retreat had been well-timed, for the troops were already in motion towards the boats, the guns having been previously embarked. In that which contained my provision-basket, I discovered a few bottles of port wine, which had arrived that very morning from Amherstburg. This was indeed a luxury that I would not at the moment have exchanged for a throne ; and so thoroughly exhausted was I with hunger, thirst and fatigue, that placing a bottle to my parched lips, I did not abandon it until the whole of its contents had been emptied at a draught. The effect was instantaneous, and I lay in the bottom of the boat all night enjoying the most delicious moments of repose I recollect ever having experienced. When I awoke

at a late hour on the following morning, a mild September' sun was glancing its golden rays along the tranquil bosom of Lake Erie, in the centre of which our boats were all assembled, and gliding along its surface with a speed proportioned to the vigorous efforts of the rowers—the men alternately singing and indulging in rude jests, reckless of the comrades whose dying groans had assailed their ears a few hours before, and evidently without care or thought for the future. Every individual of those who had refused to accompany me on that occasion was taken prisoner by the American party despatched through the sallyport.

Some difficulty was experienced at Sandusky in procuring the means of conveyance ; at length, however, on the morning of the third day, mounted on miserable pack horses, scarcely able to sustain their own weight, and tottering at every step beneath their additional burden, we commenced our route for Chillicothe, the place selected for our detention. A single officer of infantry composed our escort, and he had been appointed to the service chiefly with a view to protect us from insult, and to procure lodgings and other accommodations on the road. To describe the fatigue and privation which we endured during this tedious journey would require more time and space than it can be necessary to bestow upon this part of the narrative. The rainy season had already set in, and scarcely a single day passed by without our being literally wet to the skin. Our route lay through an inhospitable tract of country, consisting alternately of gloomy forest and extensive savannah, the latter often intersected by streams fed from the distant mountains, and swollen by the unceasing rains. Sometimes a solitary hut, vying in filthiness with the beings by whom it was tenanted, afforded us shelter for the night, but more frequently we found that repose which absolute fatigue

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This happened on the 3rd of August.

and exhaustion ensure to the traveller, near the fires we were compelled to kindle in the forest. At length our jaded animals, slipping at every step, and threatening to sink beneath their efforts, brought us to Fort Wayne. Here we were provided with other horses, but of the same miserable description : their backs cruelly galled by the ill-stuffed saddles, and their ribs almost protruding, from beneath their hair-divested hides. The appearance of these unfortunate animals was pitiable in the extreme ; and few of us, on leaving Fort Wayne, entertained the slightest doubt of their sinking successively beneath us, before our destination could be gained. The rain still continued to fall, and during the latter part of October and the commencement of November we never once beheld the sun. Many of the officers were without great-coats, having been plundered of everything, as well by the followers of the division as by the enemy themselves ; and, although we each possessed a change of, linen, during the whole journey we had no opportunity of washing, so that in a short time we ere infested by vermin, which gave the finishing stroke to our calamities. Still we proceeded on our journey, and through a country of the same character with that we had previously traversed. On one occasion we found ourselves stopped by a stream of considerable depth, the bridge over which had been broken down by the torrent. No other alternative remained than to swim our horses across, or run the risk of their breaking their legs in the interstices of the bridge, which had partly sunk beneath the surface of the water. The former course was, after due deliberation, adopted ; and lots having been drawn, the first attempt devolved on Lieutenant Stokoe of the Royal Navy. Spurring his horse into the current, this officer with much difficulty reached the opposite bank ; but, unable to effect a landing, was thrown from his seat in consequence of the violent struggles made by the animal, and, with one foot fastened in the stirrup, lay for some moments in imminent

danger of perishing. At length, after much exertion, he succeeded in disengaging himself, when clambering up the steep, he soon drew his horse after him. This experiment being considered too dangerous for 'repetition, we decided on effecting our passage across the bridge ; and owing to the caution we observed, no accident occurred to the horses—a circumstance peculiarly fortunate, since we could have found no means of supplying our loss. After several weeks of tedious travelling through this dreary region some few traces of civilization and cultivation were perceptible, and we finally beheld the banks of the Scioto. On the opposite shore of this small river stands the town of Chillicothe; and after having for the last time committed our steeds and persons to the water, in default of a bridge, we found ourselves at the termination of our journey, overcome with lassitude, and in a state which might have caused us to pass for anything rather than British officers. The party which had taken the route of Fort Meigs was already arrived, and with it the troops of the division.

At Chillicothe I was singularly fortunate in meeting with a gentleman who exercised the rites of hospitality in my favor to the fullest extent. An apartment in his house was appropriated to my service, a cover daily laid at his table, and his horses declared at my command. In short, no individual in the character of a prisoner of war had ever less reason to inveigh against his destiny. This ray of sunshine was, however, of short duration. Soon after the arrival of the Sandusky party at Chillicothe, the officers captured at the Moravian village were, in consequence of an order from the American government, despatched to Frankfort, the capital of Kentucky—those of the naval service alone being suffered to remain, and, through the influence used by my kind host, my name was included in the list of the latter. At the moment when we began to reconcile ourselves to our situation, and to appreciate the attention paid us by the more re-

spectable inhabitants, an order suddenly arrived for <sup>our</sup> close imprisonment. This unexpected measure owed its origin to the following circumstance. Among the prisoners taken at the affair in which the lamented General Brock lost his life, twenty-three men, recognized as deserters from the various regiments in Canada, had been sent to England, and subsequently tried and convicted. The execution of the sentence, had, however, been deferred. The American government was no sooner apprized of their impending fate, than, acting on that system of naturalization which, in defiance of every principle of equity, would preclude the hitherto undisputed right of nations to punish their criminal subjects, they caused an equal number of British soldiers to be kept closely confined, to answer as hostages for the safety of the convicted deserters. This unjustifiable proceeding was followed by the seclusion of twenty-three commissioned, and an equal number of non-commissioned American officers, and retaliated by them in a similar manner ; so that finally nearly all the officers of both parties were deprived of their liberty, and liable at any moment to answer with their lives for the apostasy of three and twenty individuals America should have blushed to claim as subjects of her republic.

With a view to the thorough comprehension of the subject by the reader, and to exhibit in its true light the extraordinary course pursued by the United States, it will be important here to annex, not only the remonstrance of the British Government, as conveyed through two distinct general orders issued by Sir George Prevost, under the direction of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, but the particular instructions, for the close confinement of the officers of the Right Division in the Penitentiary of Frankfort, transmitted by the American Secretary of State to the Governor of Kentucky.

Headquarters, Montreal, Oct. 27, 1813.

His Excellency the Governor-General and Commander of the Forces, having transmitted to His Majesty's Government a letter from Major-Gen. Dearborn, stating that the American Commissary of Prisoners in London had made it known to his Government, that twenty-three soldiers of the 1st, 6th and 13th Regiments of United States Infantry, made prisoners, had been sent to England and held in close confinement as British subjects, and that Major-Gen. Dearborn had received instructions from his Government, to put into close confinement twenty-three British soldiers, to be kept as hostages for the safe keeping and restoration in exchange of the soldiers of the United States, who had been sent as above stated to England ;—in obedience to which instructions, he had put twenty-three British soldiers into close confinement to be kept as hostages ; and the persons referred to in Major-Gen. Dearborn's letter being soldiers serving in the American army, taken prisoners at Queenstown, who had declared themselves to be British-born subjects, and were held in custody in England there to undergo a legal trial.

His Excellency, the Commander of the Forces, has received the commands of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, through the Right Honorable the Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State, to lose no time in communicating to Major-Gen. Dearborn, that he has transmitted a copy of his letter, and that he is in consequence instructed, distinctly to state to Major-Gen. Dearborn, that His Excellency has received the commands of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, forthwith to put in close confinement, forty-six American officers and non-commissioned officers, to be held as hostages for the safe keeping of the twenty-three British soldiers stated to have been put in close confinement by order of the American Government.

And he is at the same time to apprise him that if any of the said British soldiers shall suffer death, by reason that the soldiers now under confinement in England have been found guilty, and that the known law, not only of Great Britain, but of every independent state under similar circumstances has been in consequence executed, he has been instructed to select out of the American officers and non-commissioned officers put into confinement as many as may double the number of British soldiers who

shall have been so unwarrantably put to death, and cause such officers and non-commissioned officers to suffer death immediately.

And His Excellency is further instructed to notify to Major-Gen. Dearborn that the commanders of His Majesty's armies and fleets on the coast of America have received instructions to prosecute the war with unmitigated severity against all Cities, Towns and Villages belonging to the United States, and against the inhabitants thereof, if after this communication shall have been duly made to Major-Gen. Dearborn, and a reasonable time given for its being transmitted to the American Government, that Government shall unhappily not be deterred from putting to death any of the soldiers who now are, or who may hereafter be, kept as hostages for the purposes stated in the letter from Major-Gen. Dearborn.

His Excellency the Commander of the Forces, in announcing to the Troops the commands of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, is confident that they will feel sensible, of the paternal solicitude which his Royal Highness has evinced for the protection of the person and honor of the British soldier thus grossly outraged in contempt of justice, humanity, and the Law of Nations, in the persons of twenty-three soldiers placed in close confinement, as hostages for an equal number of traitors who had been guilty of the base and unnatural crime of raising their parricidal arms against that country which gave them birth, and who have been delivered over for legal trial to the just laws of their offended country.

The British soldier will feel this unprincipled outrage, added to the galling insults and cruel barbarities that are daily wantonly inflicted on many of his unfortunate comrades, who have fallen into the enemy's hands, as additional motives to excite his determined resolution never to resign his liberty but with his life, to a foe so regardless of all sense of honor, justice and the rights of war.

(Signed) Edward Baynes, Adj' t-Gen.

Extract from a letter from the Secretary of State to the Governor of Kentucky.

Nov. 27, 1813.

Sir,—The British Government seems to have given to this war every degree of savage barbarity and cruelty which it may be able to inflict. In the close of the late

campaign, the British commanders at Quebec seized and sent to England, twenty-three of our soldiers who had been prisoners, to be tried for treason, on the pretence that they were British subjects. For so unjust and outrageous an act, the President was bound to confine a like number of British prisoners in the United States, which he did in the expectation that the British Government, seeing the inevitable consequence of the first measure, would relax from it, or at least leave the affair in the state in which it had thus been placed for accommodation by treaty. More recently, however, a measure of still greater injustice has been adopted. The Prince Regent has ordered into close confinement forty-six officers of the United States upon the principle, as he says, of retaliation, expecting, by the violence of the proceeding, to intimidate this government into a submission to the extravagant and unfounded claims of the British Government. The President has met this measure with equal decision, by ordering into like confinement forty-six British officers, as a pledge for the safety of those on whom the British Government seems disposed to wreak its vengeance.

These officers are ordered to be conveyed to Frankfort, in Kentucky, to be confined there in the penitentiary of that State, which is represented to be a building affording the two-fold advantage of *good* and *safe* accommodations.

This step is taken in the full confidence that every facility will be afforded to its complete execution, by Your Excellency, that may be expected from a character so strongly attached to the union, and decided in the support of all the necessary measures to secure success to the just war in which we are engaged.

General Order, Adjutant General's Office,  
Headquarters, Montreal, 12th December, 1813.

His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief and Commander of the Forces has to announce to the troops under his command, that he has received a communication from Major-General Wilkinson, commanding a division of the army of the United States of America, by order of his government, of which the following is an extract :

" The Government of the United States adhering unalterably to the principle and purpose declared in the communication of Gen. Dearborn to you, on the subject of the twenty-three American soldiers, prisoners of war, sent to England to be tried as criminals ; and the confinement

of a like number of British soldiers, prisoners of war, selected to abide the fate of the former ; has in consequence of the step taken by the British Government, as now communicated, ordered forty-six British officers into close confinement, and that they will not be discharged from their confinement until it shall be known that the forty-six American officers and non-commissioned officers in question are no longer confined "

It would be superfluous to use any argument to refute an assumption so extravagant, unjust, and unprecedented as to deny the right of a free nation to bring to legal trial, in a due course of law, her own natural-born subjects taken in the actual commission of the most heinous offence that man can commit against his king, his country, and his God; that of raising his parricidal arm against his allegiance to his countrymen, by leaguering with their enemies ; a crime held in such abhorrence by every civilized nation in Europe, that summary death by the law martial is its avowed reward, and is inflicted with unrelenting severity by France, the ally of the United States. This pretention must appear to every unprejudiced and upright mind as iniquitous and unjust, as is the retaliation which the Government of the United States has adopted, by placing in close confinement three and twenty British soldiers, as hostages for an equal number of infamous wretches, the unworthy offspring of Great Britain, who, when drawn from the ranks of the enemy, solicited to be suffered to expiate their treason by turning their arms against their employers. These Rebels have (with the contempt they merit) been consigned to the infamy and punishment that await them from the just laws of their offended country, while the Government of the United States does not blush to claim these outcast traitors as their own, and outrage the custom of civilized war, in the persons of honorable men, by placing them on a par with Rebels and Deserters.

No alternative remains to the Commander of the Forces, in the discharge of his duty to his king, his country, and his fellow-soldiers, but to order all the American officers, prisoners of war, without exception of rank, to be immediately placed in close confinement as hostages for the forty-six British officers so confined, by the express command of the supreme authority in that country, until the number of forty-six be completed, over and above those now in confinement.

His Excellency directs that this General Order together with that issued on the 27th of October, be read to the troops, that the British soldier may be sensible of the terms on which America has determined to wage this war ; confident that he will meet them with proper spirit and indignation ; for should he become the prisoner of a foe so regardless of those laws, which for ages have governed civilized nations in war, he would be doomed to a rigorous confinement, and that only preparatory to a more savage scene.

(Signed) Edward Baynes, Adj.-Gen.  
North America.

But more than either of the foregoing documents, does the following statement, copied from the Salem Gazette, prove the nature and consequences of this cruel system of retaliatimi, as carried on between the two countries.

" TREATMENT OF BRITISH PRISONERS OF WAR IN THE UNITED STATES.—It is time that the public should be correctly informed on the subject of the unfortunate prisoners at Ipswich. Seventeen of our fellow-beings have been immured in dungeons in our own neighborhood, three months, and the public attention has not been called to their sufferings. The following we believe to be a correct statement of this affair.

" On the seventh day of October, 1813, James Prince, Esq., Marshal of this District, issued his mandate directed.

" ' To the keeper of the gaol of the United States at Ipswich, within the District aforesaid—Greeting '—requiring him ' to receive into his custody, and safely keep in dungeons in the gaol aforesaid, the bodies of Thomas Cooper, John Clark, Adam Kirby, Samuel Thorp, Thomas Hewes, John Bendow, James Onion, Richard How, Daniel Dowland, and James Humphries,' in retaliation for cruelties ' said to be " exercised ' on certain persons at Halifax, ' and also as hostages to respond for any acts of violence which may be inflicted on them.'

" By similar orders dated Oct. 11th, 12th, 13th, and Nov. 2nd, he also directs the under keeper to confine in dungeons the bodies of Wm. Nickerson, Elkanah Clements, R. Kirkland Black, Wm. Owen, Benj. Johnson, and James Ross in retaliation for ' cruelties' said to be committed on other American prisoners of war in Halifax.

" By another order dated Oct. 12th, the Marshal directs the gaoler to receive and detain in his custody the body of Peter H. Diedale, a maritime prisoner of war, without alleging any other cause, and he has been confined in a dungeon with the rest.

" These men have ever since been kept in dungeons as dreary as Mr. Madison could desire. The gaol is a gloomy stone building. The dungeons are seven feet by ten on the ground floor, of rough stone at top, bottom, and on all sides. There are loop holes or narrow openings of two or three inches wide through the upper part of the stone walls, to admit the little light and air which these unfortunate victims are allowed to enjoy. In damp weather, the water runs down the walls and drops from the stone ceiling over the floors. These dungeons were never intended for any other purpose, than to punish the worst of convicts by a few days' solitary imprisonment, and it is believed have never been used even for that purpose. Yet in these places have innocent men been languishing for three months, sixteen of them, four in a dungeon, and the other (Captain Ross) in a dungeon by himself. A few days since ten of them were removed to the cells in the second story, appropriated to criminals. These cells are larger than the dungeons, but extremely cold and uncomfortable. So far have these unfortunate prisoners been released' (as had been asserted in another American paper), and no farther. Seven, viz. Capt. Clements, Lieuts. Owen, Black, and Nickerson, and two seamen, it is understood, are still confined in two dungeons, and on some of the late cold nights several were past recovery, notwithstanding they had received a supply of warm clothing from some charitable individuals; and medical aid was necessarily called in to restore the perishing ; and it is only by this charitable relief and the attention of the gaoler's family, unwarranted by the orders of Government, that these poor prisoners are not dead ! They must have perished, if left to the care of Government ! Such is the situation of these prisoners, and this is the retaliation' that is called ' Christian ' ! "

That the threat of retaliation would have been carried into effect by the American government, it is scarcely possible, to believe, since, exclusively of the blot such a proceeding must have imprinted• on their character, the

disproportion of prisoners was greatly in our favor, as well in regard to rank as numbers ; but we had too much reason to apprehend, from the unqualified hatred manifested towards us by the populace in the States of Ohio and Kentucky, that the will of their rulers would have had little effect in restraining the ebullition of their rage, had the original sentence been carried into execution. Let it not be imagined that this idea arose simply from surmise, or had its being in the vague apprehension of men who, more immediately interested in the result, might be deemed ready to admit the agency of fancy in their impressions of impending evil. Several gentlemen, estimable for their rank and character in these States, warned us during their occasional visits of the fact, and with every opportunity of ascertaining the public feeling, communicated circumstances which left us no reason to infer that their fears for the result should be disregarded. Our sensations in consequence were not, it will be imagined, of the most pleasing or enviable description. The common gaol of the town had been fixed on for our abode, and we were distributed into two small rooms in an upper story, communicating with each other, and containing each ten persons. During the day they were left open, but carefully locked and bolted at night, and sentinels were posted in the corridor into which they opened. The height was upwards of sixty feet from the ground ; and through the strong bars with which the windows were furnished, we beheld others pacing to and fro, and exercising their vigilance so far as to direct their attention repeatedly to our rooms. Thus guarded, and unprovided with instruments of any description whatever, we had no hope of effecting an escape ; while, to crown our misery, fortune had thrown us into the hands of a gaoler of the most ruffianlike character. On one occasion, in consequence of some trifling misunderstanding with an Interpreter who had been confined in the adjoining room—a mai remarkable for the mildness and forbearance of his nature,—the wretch inflicted so severe a wound on



his head with a ponderous key, as to cause the blood to gush forth with extreme violence. When visited by the officer of the guard, a complaint was preferred by the injured man ; but the liberal republican, with true patriotic feeling, justified the act of his countryman, and concluded by threatening a repetition of the punishment.

We had now been some time in this disagreeable situation, when a project was formed which promised to throw a more favorable coloring over our destiny. The whole of the captive division, including the seamen, were confined in a fortified camp, erected for the purpose on the skirt of a wood adjoining one of the suburbs of the town, and were guarded by a considerable detachment of regular infantry. These noble fellows were no sooner apprized of the ignominious fate with which their officers were threatened, than with the generous devotedness characteristic of their respective professions, they deputed two sergeants who had been suffered to communicate with us on subjects relative to the clothing of the men, to express their determination to effect our liberation, or perish in the attempt. Accordingly, the following plan was adopted, and fixed on for execution at a certain day. At midnight, the men were to rise and overpower the guard, and having secured them, and possessed themselves of their arms, to separate into three distinct parties. The first of these, headed by one of the deputies, were to advance on the prison, and having effected our liberation, to hasten to the boats on the river, which the second division was to have secured ; while the third, patrolling the streets in silence, were to prevent the inhabitants from assembling and impeding the operations of the first. The plan, hastily adopted, from the circumstances in which we found ourselves placed, was at best a wild one, since, had it succeeded in all its primary stages, we must have been eventually destroyed in descending the narrow river of the Scioto, by the fire from the numerous riflemen the enemy would have collected, on the first intima-

tion of our departure. We were then, however, sanguine of success, and none paused to consider the difficulties that awaited us after our liberation, in the heart of an enemy's country, where ammunition and provisions were alike beyond our reach. We spoke of our descent of the Mississippi from the Scioto, and the Ohio, and our final reception on board the English fleet we knew to be cruising off New Orleans, as a matter of course, and discussed our meditated movements with all the confidence of the soldier, but certainly with little of the prudence or foresight of the general. Such was the plan decided on for our escape ; but, while awaiting the completion of the necessary preparations, a circumstance, ludicrous in itself, yet alarming in our actual position, threatened to blight every hope by which we had lately been sustained. One morning about daybreak, the noise of workmen was distinctly heard beneath the windows of the room in which, covered with a solitary blanket, and huddled together without order or ceremony, we contrived to enjoy a few moments of repose. One of the party immediately jumped up, and running to the window, beheld a number of men engaged in the erection of a scaffold. The exclamation wrung from him by the sight, drew us all to the spot, and then, indeed, we might be said to have experienced the sensations of men who behold for the first time, and without a hope of reprieve, the gloomy preparations for an ignominious end. The predominant sentiment with us was, however, less regret for the existence we considered ourselves about to forfeit, than rage at the idea of having surrendered ourselves prisoners of war to an enemy capable of violating every principle of justice, for the sake of shielding a few perjured and despicable criminals from the laws of their offended country. In this state of cruel suspense, we continued until nine o'clock, the hour at which the bolts of our prison were withdrawn for the day, when the explanation given by the gaoler dissipated our alarm. The scaffolding was being erected for the purpose of

sinking a pump for the use of the prison ; and the indistinct view we had obtained of the construction through our bars had given rise to the error.

At length the much-wished-for day fixed on for the execution of our enterprise arrived, and we arose, as we fully hoped, from our couch of misery, for the last time. To persons in our situation, it may easily be imagined, the hours appeared to move on leaden wings, yet we doubted not an instant of a favorable result. Fate had, however, ordained otherwise. At four in the afternoon, while yet partaking of our wretched meal, the trampling of horses' feet, and a confused sound of drums and voices, drew us suddenly to the window, and in a few minutes we beheld Governor Shelby literally armed to the teeth, a rifle on his shoulder, and accompanied by a numerous staff, riding up at full speed. We were for some time lost in astonishment and unable to account for this singular appearance ; but a clue to the mystery was soon afforded by the entrance of an American officer, who, leaving his guard in the corridor, advanced into the outer room, accompanied by a formidable cyclop, bearing certain insignia of his trade, with which we could very willingly have dispensed.

For the better insurance of success in our enterprise, it had been found necessary to admit two individuals in the town into our confidence—certain essential and preliminary arrangements remaining to be effected. These gentlemen were of the federal party, and entered into our views with a willingness which gave very fair promise of a favorable issue. We had been rather intimately known to them prior to our confinement, and with their sentiments, both political and private, we were well acquainted. The measures necessary to forward our undertaking were faithfully executed by them, and on the morning of the night which was to give us to liberty, as we fondly imagined, nothing of a preparatory nature remained to be done. Seized, however, by a sudden panic, and anti-

cipating the consequences of a discovery of co-operation with the enemies of their country, they resolved to elude the danger they feared, by a voluntary and unreserved disclosure of our intentions to the Governor of the State, who resided in Chillicothe. This was accordingly done, and the active and precautionary measures consequent on this alarming intelligence, had given rise to the bustle and tumult which assailed our ears from without, and carried disappointment and despair to our hearts.

This latter information was conveyed to us by our new visitor, Lieutenant Harrison, of the 19th Infantry (a gentleman whose name I feel peculiar pleasure in recording), who now proceeded to communicate the disagreeable duty with which he was charged, and which the equipment of his forbidding attendant, armed with a hammer, anvil, and about twenty pairs of hand-cuffs, sufficiently explained. With a tearful eye and in a faltering tone, did this gentleman entreat us to lose sight of the man in the subordinate, and to believe how much it pained him to be the instrument selected for the purpose. Such an indignity, he said, he deplored being compelled to offer to British officers ; but he trusted that with men to whom the rigor of military duty was familiar, the public act would be forgotten in the expression of private feeling. The delicacy of such conduct was felt by all, and we hastened to assure him of our grateful sentiments in return. He then desired the man to proceed to the execution of his office ; and in less than an hour the hands of the whole party, myself alone excepted, were fettered with irons, which the rough and malignant-looking son of Vulcan seemed to feel no little satisfaction in applying. On inquiry, I learned that I had been excepted at the express desire of Colonel Campbell, commanding the troops at Chillicothe, from whom the order had emanated. For this favor I felt that I was indebted to my kind friend Mr. Brush, but as I had little inclination to be exempted from a participation in the fate of my com-

panions, I expressed myself to that effect to Lieutenant Harrison, requesting at the same time that he would impart to the Commandant, who was the colonel of his own regiment, the utter disinclination I entertained to owe him any thing in the shape of obligation, while my brother officers were manacled as felons.

On the departure of the officers we had full leisure to reflect on the hopelessness of our situation, and we inveighed not a little against the defection of our American friends, though, in fact, our own folly alone was to be taxed in having made the subjects of a country so interested in our detention accessory to the design. These reflections, however, finally yielded to a feeling of mirth excited by the ludicrous appearance we exhibited, stalking about the room like spectres, and deprived of the usage of our arms ; and we began to enjoy the panic partly visible to our eyes, and principally ascertained from our gaoler, from whose account it appeared large bodies of the inhabitants were already assembling to the sounds of the alarm drums and bugles. The guards and sentinels of our prison had been doubled at the first rumor, and the militia of the adjacent country were flocking in to strengthen the troops intrusted with the security of the men. It was not until a late hour in the night, that these warlike preparations appeared to be completed, the rolling of the drums frequently breaking on our ears, as we lay extended on our blankets, to which, after a close examination of our apartments by the gaoler, followed by an unusually careful application of bolts and keys, we had long since consigned our aching limbs.

In the state of utter helplessness to which my companions were reduced, we found the advantage of the exception made in my favor, since I was thus enabled to perform many little offices which the brutality and remissness of the gaoler left us no hope would be attended to by him. Three days had now elapsed since the visit of

Lieutenant Harrison, when the situation of the sufferers had become irksome to a degree. Not once, during that period, had they been permitted to throw off their clothes, or perform their customary ablutions ; and when they descended to the court, which was rarely and but for a few minutes, a sentinel followed with his bayonet extended, and within a foot of the prisoner. Their hands and wrists had also become extremely swollen by the compression of the irons, and the extremities of the fingers of several were discolored with the quantity of blood propelled to those parts. Under these circumstances I wrote a polite note to Colonel Campbell, detailing the several inconveniences sustained by my brother officers, and requesting that he would cause the fetters to be removed under the inspection of an officer, and merely for the time requisite to clean their persons and change their linen. To this communication I received a negative reply, couched in the most positive and unfeeling terms. I immediately wrote a second, expressive of our united sentiments in respect to his conduct, which I had no doubt would have brought down the wrath of the generous commandant on my head ; but no notice whatever was taken of the letter. Finding it vain to expect any relief from this quarter, we adopted an expedient which answered all the intention proposed. With the aid of an old knife, we contrived to divide the nails by which the irons were riveted around the wrists, and substitute others of lead, a small quantity of which article one of the midshipmen happened to have in his haversack. The relief afforded by the removal of the fetters, which was only effected by stealth, and at those moments when we considered ourselves free from interruption, was grateful to all, although the fingers were so cramped by the extended position in which they had been kept, as to render it difficult and painful to move them. The leaden pins had been blackened to imitate iron, and as the sleeves were carefully drawn over, the deception could

only be discovered on a minute examination. Thus were the officers enabled not only to enjoy some little cessation from suffering, but to attend to the comfort and cleanliness of their persons, an advantage for which they certainly were not much indebted to the humanity of the public authorities of Chillicothe.

Nearly ten days had succeeded to the detection of our plan of escape, when, one evening at a late hour, we received intimation to prepare for our removal to the penitentiary of Frankfort in Kentucky, and accordingly the next day, about two o'clock in the afternoon, we were conducted to the front of the prison, where a detachment of regular infantry was drawn up with their ranks facing inwards, and at extended order. Between these ranks we were placed two abreast, and the detachment being ordered to face to the right and left, we moved on, thus escorted or rather enfiladed, from the gloomy walls of our prison. As if to humiliate us to the last degree, and add insult to misfortune, we were paraded through the principal streets of the town, though such a route was at once circuitous and unnecessary. The taunts and hisses of the populace who had assembled at an early hour to witness our departure, and were now with difficulty kept back by the guard, followed us throughout ; but the clamorous ebullition of their hate gave us far less concern than the sombre countenances of the more respectable inhabitants, collected to view the passing scene. Those with whom we had lately associated, and who had exercised the courtesies of hospitality in our favor, now gazed upon us with various expression—some in a triumphant disdain originating in a false rumor, which had been industriously circulated of a design to fire the town—others with evident interest and concern, arising from a conviction of the injustice of such a charge. Friends and foes were, however, alike to us at that moment, and the proud indifference of our looks rested on all with the same cold expression ; for we felt

that the ignominious treatment to which we were then being subjected, reflected, not on us, who had attempted the fulfilment of a duty we owed both to our country and to ourselves, but on those who thus abused their power over us as defenceless captives. At length when it was presumed that the good inhabitants of Chillicothe had satiated themselves with a view of the " incendiary English " we were conducted to a large boat on the river, already manned with soldiers, and awaiting our arrival.

It was with a feeling of real pleasure that we found Lieutenant Harrison to be the officer in command of the detachment to whose charge we were here given over ; and as we took our places, the boat was pushed off from the shore, and quickly glided down the Scioto, amid the continued hootings of the rabble, collected at the point of embarkation on its banks. Impressed with various reflections arising from the preceding scene, few of the party were disposed for conversation, and an almost uninterrupted silence had prevailed some hours, when, towards the close of the day, the boat struck against a " sawyer," or trunk of a tree carried off from the land during the floods, and frequently stationary in the beds of rivers, from whence, when acted on by the tide and current, it rises suddenly to the surface in a perpendicular direction, preserving a state of reaction, and threatening destruction even to the largest boats used in the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi. The concussion we experienced gave rise to serious apprehensions for our safety ; and in an instant the leaden pins of the handcuffs were removed, but yet with sufficient precaution to escape the attention of the guard. Lieutenant Harrison, however, caused the boat to be directed towards the shore, and having expressed his intention to pass the night in an old deserted building, which stood at the distance of some few hundred paces, we were accordingly disembarked. When arrived at the spot indicated for our temporary sojourn, the American officer, evidently impressed with a full sense of

our recent danger, declared it to be his determination to remove the fetters from our hands, provided we would pledge our words to him, as British officers, that no attempt at escape should be made. This step, he observed, had not in any way the sanction of his superiors, but he was willing to take the responsibility upon himself, satisfied that our parole once engaged, no ultimate risk could be incurred. This circumstance, however grateful in fact, placed the manacled officers in a rather awkward dilemma, since it was evident that in removing the irons, which had been replaced the instant the danger was passed, the deception must be discovered. We had, however, formed too just an estimate of the character of Lieutenant Harrison to hesitate long in the avowal of a subterfuge to which we had been driven by suffering and necessity. Our promise was then given, and the whole party once more enjoyed the unrestrained use of their limbs. At an early hour on the following morning we again embarked, and a few hours brought us to the point of confluence with the majestic waters of the Ohio. The strong current of this expansive river carried us rapidly forward, and we soon found ourselves at Cincinnati, the capital of the State.

After leaving Cincinnati, and passing the boundary line which separates the States of Ohio and Kentucky, the direction of our course was changed, and we ascended a small river intersecting the latter state and leading in the line of the capital. Our progress here was slow and difficult. A thick and apparently impervious wood skirted its banks, and occasionally interweaving its protruding tops, threw a chilling gloom over the scene, while the close underwood, reaching to the very margin of the waters, seemed to preclude all possibility of a landing. At length a more open space was perceptible, and at this point our journey by water, owing to the increasing difficulty of movement, was discontinued. Horses were procured in the adjacent country ;

and, escorted by Lieutenant Harrison, who left his detachment in the boat, we continued our route towards Frankfort, then at no great distance. After travelling through a wild and thinly-inhabited country, and along paths which no other than American horses could have trod with safety, a range of lofty and gloomy hills, by which that capital is nearly surrounded, announced the proximity of what we were to consider as our future home. The morning was cold and rainy, and as we wound round the base of a hill which intercepted our view, the towering walls of the penitentiary, situated in that extremity of the town by which we approached, fell suddenly on our gaze. A few minutes brought us in a line with its principal entrance ; and as we glanced upwards at the low and narrow windows we beheld our companions thrusting their handkerchiefs through the bars, and saluting us as they could. They were the party that had preceded us from Chillicothe, and consisted chiefly of the officers taken at the Moraviantown. It was a melancholy moment for recognition, and our feelings had imbibed much of the sombre character of the season, as we moved on to the spot appointed for our delivery into the hands of the Marshal of Kentucky. This duty performed, Lieutenant Harrison bade us adieu, with a friendly warmth which every individual in our party fully appreciated and returned. He was in truth a noble fellow.

On entering the prison of the penitentiary, we found our friends distributed into two small rooms little larger than common cells, and crowded together in a distressing manner ; but many had reconciled themselves to their situations, and enjoyed a temporary distraction in studying the trades carried on by the convicts in the court, who cheerfully initiated them into the rudiments of their respective arts. The following is a correct list, taken from an American paper, of the names and rank of the several officers assembled within its walls.

Lieut.-Col. Warburton--Major Chambers, D. A. Q m G.—Major Muir, 41st—Captain Derenzy, do—Capt. McCoy, do—Capt. Hill, do—Capt. Tallon, do—Capt. Dixon, Royal Engineers—Lieut. Hailes, 41st—Lieut. Watson, do—Lieut. Linn, do—Lieut. Jeboult, do—Lieut. O'Keefe, do—Lieut. Gale, do—Lieut. Purvis, Royal Navy—Lieut. Stokoe, do—Lieut. Bremner, Provincial do—Lieut. Rolette, do. do—Lieut. Irvine, do. do—Lieut. Holmes, Light Dragoons—Ensign Mompesson, 41st—Ensign Cochran, do—Ensign Jones, do—A. B. Garden, Gent. Volunteer, Royal Newfoundland Regt.—J. Richardson, do. 41st—James Laing, do—J. Campbell, Master's Mate, R.P.N.—G. Collins, do—J. Fortier, do—R. Nelson, Midshipman

The whole number of prisoners were about 900, including those taken on the lake.

Our residence in the penitentiary was, however, too limited to admit of perfection in our new occupations. At this period a strong sensation was produced in America by the intelligence of Napoleon's unexpected reverses in Russia. A termination of the war between Great Britain and France might now be anticipated as an event of no very remote occurrence, and the ability thus afforded to the former power of sending a more formidable army to oppose that of the United States would place the struggle between the two countries on a very different footing. Under this view of the case, and as one of the measures consequent on the altered aspect of the war, the affair of the hostages was gradually suffered to die away. The first step, however, was only an amelioration of our condition, which was effected by our removal from the penitentiary to the town. The principal hotel in Frankfort, to which was attached an extensive garden, surrounded by a low wall, was the place selected for our residence, with the express prohibition, however, of outstepping its limits. Here on the score of personal comfort we had no reason to complain. Three shillings a

day was the allowance granted by the American government to each officer, and the sick were entitled to twice that amount. One room was occupied by two prisoners, and our table was abundantly supplied with excellent food. Tea, coffee, eggs, cold meat, and the various "sweet sauces" to which the Americans are so partial, composed our breakfast; while at dinner we generally found ourselves seated before meats of every description, and succeeded by a plentiful dessert. Tea, coffee and hot cakes composed our evening repast. A number of black slaves were also at our orders, and the preparation of our linen was included in the moderate charge. Such was the revolution effected in our position, and but for the restraint imposed on our liberty, our chains would have been light.

At length, in consequence of an order from the seat of Government, we were once more placed on parole, and permission was accorded to such of the prisoners as chose to pay their own expenses, and provide their own horses, to repair to the Canadian frontier. This offer was eagerly embraced by the field officers and such others as the state of their finances would permit. The remainder were compelled to await the issue of the arrangements then in agitation for an exchange of prisoners, hoping that the shackles of captivity, which had at the outset promised to be of long continuance, would speedily be removed; and we availed ourselves of the liberty once more accorded. Several gentlemen of the highest respectability in the place were forward in offering attention; and among the first of these was Major Madison. This officer had been himself a prisoner in Lower Canada, from whence he was only recently returned, and, impressed with a grateful sense of the treatment he had received, hastened to evince it by various acts of hospitality and courtesy towards ourselves. We became welcome visitors in his family, and frequently accompanied him in excursions to several delightful country seats at some distance

from the town. Permission was frequently obtained for us to visit places at the distance of twenty miles without any escort whatever ; and as our purses had been replenished by the kindness of Mr. Sproule, a Frankfort banker, without any other guarantee for future payment than our simple bills, these excursions were not few. A good understanding was, however, only maintained with a very small portion of the inhabitants. By the rest we were regarded with an eye of jealousy and detestation, and whenever opportunities did present themselves, these feelings were undisguisedly manifested. One instance must suffice.

As a slight return for the attentions of Major Madison, Lieutenant Irvine of the Navy, the person so honorably alluded to in the first part of this narrative, had, with an ingenuity for which he was remarkable, constructed a vessel in miniature for the daughter of that gentleman. To many of the inhabitants of Kentucky the model even of a frigate complete in all her parts was a novel sight, and the present was thankfully received. Anxious to tender a similar offering, though in a different quarter, a young midshipman named Campbell, occupying one of the upper rooms, had undertaken a similar task, and devoting himself with all the anxiety and ardor of his years to the completion of his vessel, soon had the satisfaction of seeing it in a state of great forwardness. Most unfortunately for him, however, he had forgotten that an English flag, even on a bark of those Lilliputian dimensions, is ever an offensive image to an American eye ; and decked in this fatal ornament, it now lay exposed in one of the windows of his apartment, and was distinctly visible from the street. On the morning of its exhibition, a crowd of persons, delighted at having what they conceived a pretext for insult, rushed in a body up the stairs, uttering imprecations and threats. Having reached the spot where the object of their fury was lying, they seized

the luckless ship, and dashed it on the pavement of the street, where it was shattered in a thousand fragments, the leader of the party exclaiming, " You British rascals, if you show your tarnation colors here again, we'll throw you after them." This noble feat being accomplished, they retired, swearing at us all in true Kentucky style, and leaving poor Campbell to brood at leisure over his misfortune.

Shortly after this event, arrived the agreeable intelligence that the whole of the prisoners were to be marched to the frontier for the purpose of an immediate exchange. Those alone who have experienced the miseries and restraints attendant on a state of captivity, especially under such circumstances as those by which that of the officers of the Right Division was marked, can enter into the feelings by which we were all more or less actuated. By many the news, although long expected, of our exchange being actually effected, had been received as a pleasing dream or illusion, from which the mind dreaded to be awakened ; and until the moment of actual departure, that restlessness of impatience which is the offspring of uncertainty seemed to predominate in every breast. A thousand things unlikely to occur, but still within the pale of possibility, presented themselves to imaginations more disposed to the expectation of gloomy than of agreeable events. The order for our departure might be repealed—the negotiation for the exchange broken off altogether—and to crown all, the cruel subject of the hostages renewed. Pleasurable anticipations belong only to those who have basked in the unbroken sunshine of Fortune—those who have been tutored in the school of Adversity are less sanguine in their hopes, and temper the glow of generous confidence with the steady calm of warning experience.

That we were not wrong, indeed, in apprehending interruption to the negotiations, then pending between the two Governments, will be seen from the following

important General Orders issued by Sir George Prevost, embracing the correspondence between Adjt.-General Baynes, and General Winder, to whom had been confided the delicate task of entering on the subject of the exchange of hostages.

General Order,  
Headquarters, Montreal,  
16th April, 1814.

His Excellency the Governor in Chief, and Commander of the Forces, announces to the troops under his command, that he was pleased to sanction and confirm, on the 15th inst., Articles of a Convention entered into by Colonel Baynes, Adjutant-General of the Forces, and Brigadier-General, Winder of the army of the United States of America, for the mutual release of all prisoners of war, Hostages or others, with the exception of the forty-six American officers and non-commissioned officers placed in close confinement as Hostages, in conformity to the General Order of the 27th of October last, in retaliation for twenty-three British Soldiers, confined by the Government of the United States as hostages for twenty-three British-born subjects, taken from the ranks of the enemy, and sent to England for legal trial.

By this agreement it is stipulated that all prisoners of war (the above mentioned alone excepted) shall be mutually exchanged, and delivered at such places as shall be agreed on, with all convenient expedition, and shall be declared, respectively and severally, to be released, and free to carry arms and serve on the 15th day of May next, the same as if they had never been prisoners of war : and it has been further provided, that whatever balance shall appear on the returns of prisoners of war, respectively exchanged or given up on parole, by either party since the commencement of Hostilities, the number of Prisoners for which an equivalent has not been returned, shall be withheld from all military service, until exchanged.

It is with proud satisfaction that the Commander of the Forces feels confident, that this provisional clause can never apply to the Army in Canada, from the immense disparity in the number and rank of the prisoners it has restored to the enemy.

All officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers, being prisoners of war, who are not prevented in conse-



From a painting in possession of Mr. O Hara Baynes, Montreal.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL EDWARD BAYNES.



quence of their wounds, are commanded to join their respective corps and stations on the 15th day of May next, and to resume their military duties.

(Signed) Edward Baynes, Adjt.-Gen.

General Order,

Headquarters, Camp at Chambly,

July 2nd, 1814.

Several officers of this army having returned from the United States, where they had been held in close confinement as hostages, and having on their release signed a conditional parole containing a pledge on their part, to return to their captivity at the expiration of a limited period, unless previously exchanged : His Excellency the Governor in Chief, and Commander of the Forces, considering such parole to be inconsistent with the provisions of a convention for the exchange of prisoners which was entered into by persons duly empowered for that purpose by the Government of the United States, and His Excellency respectively, and has already been carried into complete execution on his part, and has also been in part executed by the American Government,—is pleased to declare that all those officers, whether of the Line or  
 10. Militia are absolved from their parole, under and by virtue of the before-mentioned convention :—that they are released and free to serve as if they had never been Prisoners of War and are all and severally included in the General Order of the 16th of April, directing all Prisoners of War after the 15th of May to repair to their respective corps and stations, and to resume their military  
 1. duties.

To destroy any doubts which may by possibility be entertained with regard to the complete execution of the Convention above mentioned ; to satisfy the nice and scrupulous sensibility with which a British soldier must ever view and examine an act, professing to release him from an obligation in which his honor is implicated, and to remove every apprehension from the minds of those who may come within the scope of the present General Order, His Excellency is pleased to authorize the communication to the army under his command, of the principal circumstances attending the commencement, progress, and final conclusion of the Convention to which allusion has above been made.

At the solicitation of the Government of the United States, conveyed in a letter from their Secretary of State of the 19th of March, and not less induced by his anxious desire to alleviate the unnecessary severity which the system of retaliation had introduced into the conduct of this war, the Commander of the Forces did not hesitate in acceding to a proposal which seemed to promise the attainment of an object so desirable. In that spirit, and with that view, His Excellency consented to the exchange of Brigadier-General Winder, (a Hostage) in consequence of that officer having been selected by the President of the United States, as an agent, vested with full powers to negotiate for an exchange of prisoners of war, as well Hostages as others. His Excellency was also pleased to nominate Colonel Baynes as an Agent vested with similar powers, on the part of the British army.

The negotiation commenced under the most favorable auspices. The basis and conditions of the convention being left to the discretion of the two officers above mentioned, it was agreed that all prisoners of war, Hostages or others (with the sole exception of the British subjects taken from the ranks of the enemy and sent to England for legal trial) should be released in conformity to the regulations of the cartel, General Winder pledging himself that his Government entertained the most liberal sentiments, and that the great disparity of prisoners, both with respect to rank and numbers, which the United States would receive, and for which they had no equivalent to return, should be withheld from service on parole, until duly exchanged.

This agreement was on the point of being ratified, when a despatch from the American Secretary of State, dated Washington, the 22nd March, was received by Brigadier-General Winder, and was verbally represented by him to convey a positive prohibition to his consenting to the release of the twenty-three British soldiers held in confinement as Hostages for the British subjects sent to England for trial, unless it was stipulated that they also should be released, and sent to the United States.

This proposition was instantly answered by a note informing Brigadier-General Winder, that as a new basis had been substituted by the Secretary of State, inadmissible in principle, the negotiation was in consequence at an end, and that his partial exchange as a preliminary measure was also void, and of no effect as emanating

from an act which had from the conduct of the proposing party become a nullity.

The introduction of this new pretension on the part of the Government of the United States had arrested the progress of the negotiation, when a note from Brigadier-General Winder came (No. 3) which was acceded to by Colonel Baynes as the basis of a convention (No. 4).

To ascertain the existence of the power of final ratification on the part of Brigadier-General Winder, the Commander of the Forces was pleased to direct Colonel Baynes to address to that officer the note (No. 5) and although the answer of Brigadier-General Winder, as contained in note (No. 6) did not completely accord with the spirit of candor professed by him, and manifested by His Excellency, nevertheless the fair construction of it was such as to carry to his mind the conviction which it must impress on every honorable man who peruses it, that Brigadier-General Winder possessed the power of finally ratifying any new agreement for the exchange of prisoners into which he might think proper to enter.

Under this impression the Commander of the Forces was pleased to declare his assent to the immediate release and exchange of Brigadier-General Winder ; the negotiation for the exchange of prisoners, on the contracted basis imposed by Brigadier-General Winder, was recommenced, and the conditions being arranged, a convention was concluded on the 15th April last, and ratified by the contracting parties.

It is under this convention, so begun and ratified, and carried into effect according to the tenor of it, with promptitude and good faith on the part of the Commander of the Forces, and to which no objection has been specified by the American Government, in any of their communications to His Excellency, since the conclusion of it, but which, on the contrary, must have been accepted, since it has been in part executed by that Government, that His Excellency, the Commander of the Forces, has been pleased thus publicly to absolve all the officers and others who have recently returned from the United States from a parole which His Excellency conceives to be inconsistent with the terms of that convention, and which he considers to have been enacted by persons ignorant of its existence, or misconceiving its conditions.

By His Excellency's Command,  
Edward Baynes, Adj.-General,  
British North America.

## No. i.

Montreal, Toth April, 1814.

Colonel Baynes has communicated to His Excellency the Commander of the Forces the purport and extent of the alterations explained by Brigadier-General Winder to exist, between the instructions of the 19th March, addressed to him by the Secretary of State, and those of the 22nd, of the same date received yesterday, and that the omission of the same in the first copy was owing to an error in transcribing it.

His Excellency, however, on reference to the letter of the Secretary of State of the 19th March, addressed to him, as it is stated, " with the view, and in the sincere desire to restore to the mildest practice of civilized nations the treatment of prisoners on both sides," and authorizing Brigadier-General Winder, on the part of the United States Government, to conclude an arrangement which may embrace the exchange, as well as those held as hostages, as of other prisoners ; and His Excellency learning from that officer that his instructions fully comported with the unqualified tenor of the proposal made in the Secretary of State's letter to him, did not hesitate a moment in acceding to the other arrangements therein suggested, and was prepared to waive just grounds which he conceived he had of complaint against the Government of the United States, on the subject of the exchange of prisoners of war, in the hopes of promoting an arrangement so desirable for the cause of humanity and the honor of both nations ; and he is much disappointed to find his hopes frustrated by the introduction, at this period of the negotiation, of a claim so totally inadmissible, that had the Secretary of State's letter borne the most distant allusion to it, His Excellency would have felt himself, as he now does, prohibited from proceeding any further on the subject.

The British view the confinement of twenty-three soldiers as the first act of aggression : for the undoubted right which every free nation possesses of investigating and punishing the crimes committed by her own natural-born subjects, in a due course of law, is too self-evident to require a comment, nor can it, by any distortion of sense or justice, be construed into a just ground for an act of fair retaliation exercised on twenty-three British soldiers : the latter are characterized by their patriotism

and loyalty, the former stigmatized for their treason and rebellion.

It would be wasting time to enter into any further discussion on this subject. Great Britain has successfully maintained her national rights unsullied for twenty years against the whole world combined : it is not to be supposed that it is reserved for the United States to stop the course of justice, and to dictate to England what procedure she shall observe towards her own natural-born subjects, in her own courts of civil judicature, arrested in her own territories, in the commission of acts of treason and rebellion.

It is to be remarked, that as the exchange of prisoners of war now proposed by the United States no longer has the general character that was at first proposed, but is specifically to restore quota for quota, it becomes on this ground, incumbent on the part of the British Government, to demand, as a preliminary step, a detailed statement of about three thousand prisoners of war, of which the third were of the United States' regular service, captured in Canada during the first campaign, and given up in good faith to the United States, who at that period had no British prisoners,—and as all subsequent exchanges on the part of the United States, have been acquitted by an equivalent number of prisoners simultaneously exchanged, it is insisted that the American Government is bound by honor and good faith to make full and complete satisfaction for the above debt, in conformity to the 14th article of the cartel, before she can in justice retain, or ask an equivalent for a single British prisoner now in her possession ; and for this purpose returns will be prepared, not only of the number of prisoners remaining unchanged in the possession of either power, but of those given up in good faith by the British Government to the United States, and for which no return has yet been made, or satisfaction offered ; and as it appears from the documents now transmitted, that the United States are adding to the number of prisoners placed in restraint as Hostages, His Excellency is left no alternative, and is under the imperious necessity of ordering into close confinement, all the American officers remaining in his possession, not heretofore considered as Hostages.

If the instructions of the Secretary of State leave to the discretion of Brigadier-General Winder no latitude

on the subject of the twenty-three British soldiers considered by Great Britain as the sole just origin of the system of retaliation, the further prosecution of this negotiation, for an exchange of prisoners, must be unavailing as His Excellency, although prepared to waive all minor considerations, to meet the American Government on a fair and liberal basis, is at the same time unalterably firm in his determination not to compromise in the slightest degree, that principle of justice and equity upon which the measures of his Government have been framed.

On a former occasion, Colonel Baynes communicated to Major Melville that if the prisoners of war in Canada were not exchanged previous to the arrival of the transports expected early in the Spring, it would become a necessary measure to relieve the Canadas of that charge, and that they would be sent to England; and on the opening of the river navigation, the prisoners now at Montreal will be sent to Quebec for that purpose.

(Signed) **Edward Baynes,**  
Colonel, and Adjt.-General.

No. 2.

Brigadier-General Winder has received Colonel Baynes' note of this morning, and has read it with close and profound attention, not without considerable surprise and the deepest regret—surprise because it seems to have been expected that the discussions depending between Colonel Baynes and himself were in fact to have settled and adjusted a principal question which will no doubt occupy the Congress at Gottenburg—regret because he fears that the beneficial consequences which would result from making exchanges, as far as was practicable under the powers held by General Winder, must be defeated by persisting in the Views held out by the note of Colonel Baynes—exchanges which would restore to liberty so many brave and honorable men of both nations, who may otherwise linger out a tedious protracted confinement, finally to be terminated by an inglorious death, and which beside, would have left untouched in the fullest extent, the pretensions of Great Britain, on the question from whence the system of retaliation has arisen.

It appears to Brigadier-General Winder, from the note of Colonel Baynes, that he considered an exchange made under the restriction in Brigadier-General Winder's power,

as an abandonment or compromising the principle in question by the British Government. Surely, if this were the case, as according to Brigadier-General Winder's conception it certainly is not, it would have been an abandonment of it on the part of the American Government, if this restriction had not existed in the power, and would have been an extent of power which, it is confidently believed, His Excellency did not expect would be conferred on the occasion—nor indeed could it be supposed that a power to treat relative to the adjustment of this principle would have been conferred upon a person in the situation, and under the circumstances which Brigadier-General Winder was when he received the power.

Brigadier-General Winder further supposes that His Excellency had and can have, in the ordinary course of things, no power to settle and adjust this question unless by special delegation, and this, if known to the Government of the United States, would have drawn from them a correspondent delegation of power with a view to its adjustment.

But the Government of the United States were aware that His Excellency possessed as incidental to his military command, the power of making exchanges relative to the prisoners made from and by his command, which did not compromise the principle of the British Government on this point, and therefore had in view to delegate a corresponding power to Brigadier-General Winder, as it is considered they have entirely done.

The Government of the United States conceived that a relinquishment of the twenty-three original Hostages taken by them would be compromising the principle on their part, and declined to give a power to this extent—they, on the contrary, do not ask a release of the twenty-three men sent to England, because that would be relinquishing it on the part of the British Government. The power to negotiate upon this question, it is presumed, has been delegated to the commissioners about to assemble at Gottenburg.

But General W. is at a loss to perceive, that because he does not possess this power a negotiation is to stop, which could originally only have contemplated, and been expected to contemplate, the exchange, as far as could be done without broaching that question. And the letter of the Secretary of State to His Excellency, of the 19th

March, and his contemporaneous instructions to Brigadier-General Winder, while they look to the largest possible exchange, yet reserve, and express to do so whole and entire, the right on this system of retaliation, and he most sincerely believes his propositions of yesterday's date entirely attain this object' to both parties.

Brigadier-General Winder, conscious it would be useless to submit any observation on the other parts of Colonel Baynes' note, as he believes them completely embraced in one of the propositions of his note of yesterday, entirely conformable to Colonel Baynes' wishes; and because, possessing no other powers or instructions than those already communicated, he supposes it more important, at the present moment, to obviate the objections to proceed in the negotiation, which he flatters himself the foregoing remarks will have a tendency to effect, and which unless he can effect, would be time uselessly spent, as no result could flow from it.

Brigadier-General Winder submits these remarks in a spirit of unreserved candor and cordiality, and without the loss of a moment; —and flatters himself, that, viewed by Colonel Baynes with the same spirit, they will be found entitled to strong and conclusive weight.

(Signed) **Wm. Winder,**

Brig.-Gen. U. S. Army.  
No. 3.

Montreal, April 11th, 1814.

Brigadier-General Winder has received Col. Baynes' note of this morning and has read it with all the attention which the subject of it was calculated to awaken, and however much he regrets that he is not able to accomplish all that he hoped and wished, yet he is gratified in believing, that much may be accomplished in strict conformity with the principles upon which His Excellency feels himself bound to act as detailed in Col. Baynes' note of to-day, and also entirely within the powers and instructions which Brigadier-General Winder has received and submitted from his Government. Colonel Baynes' note states, " that the confinement of the twenty-three American officers, and an equal number of non-commissioned officers, is considered as the first stage of retaliation, on the part of the British Government, and will be persevered in so long as the twenty-three soldiers, for which they are held as Hostages are

kept in confinement, and cannot be effected by any exchange that does not emancipate the twenty-three British soldiers."

What Brigadier-General Winder proposes, therefore in entire conformity to this principle is, that the British officers put into confinement in retaliation for the confinement of the above forty-six American officers and non-commissioned officers shall be released and exchanged to such an extent as an equivalent value of American officers confined in retaliation for them, or who may be prisoners of war, other than the above forty-six, shall be released and exchanged.

Brigadier-General Winder, in his note of the 9th made his proposition as extensive as he was allowed, but considered at the same time, that if, in its whole extent, it was not acceptable to His Excellency he would hold himself ready to embrace any modification of them, which might be more acceptable, and within Brigadier-General Winder's power.

This proposition appearing to Brigadier-General Winder to be so entirely within the principles contained in Colonel Baynes' note he feels the most sanguine assurance of its acceptance, and, without incumbering it with anything else, he hastens to submit it without delay.

(Signed) Wm. Winder,  
Brig-Gen. U.S. Army.

No. 4.

Headquarters, Montreal,  
Adjutant-General's Office,  
April. 2th, 18 14.

Colonel Baynes has to acknowledge Brigadier-General Winder's note of the it th inst., and is commanded to acquaint him, that the Commander of the Forces consents to an exchange of Hostages, and all others, prisoners of war, in conformity to the scale of the cartel, under the previous stipulated conditions recited in his note, viz.— That the twenty-three British soldiers first confined as hostages, and the forty-six American officers and non-commissioned officers confined as Hostages, in retaliation for the same, remain untouched and be not included in the present proposed exchange.

It appearing that the American Government assert to

have placed seventy-seven British officers in confinement as Hostages, and the right to retaliate in an equal number being assumed by the Commander of the Forces, it would be necessary to place thirty-one American officers in similar restraint, in order to hold seventy-seven to restore in exchange, but to avoid the performance of so unpleasant a task, it is proposed that it be taken for granted that this further act of retaliation has been carried into effect, and that the number of Hostages on both sides, being equal in number, amounting to seventy-seven are declared released as Hostages, and placed on the footing of ordinary prisoners of war, to be exchanged as such, in conformity to the cartel.

That this measure take place immediately in Quebec, and with the least possible delay in the United States and Halifax.

The exchange contemplated is to include every individual held as a prisoner of war connected with the Army of British North America, commencing from the first act of hostilities on either side, excepting only twenty-three British soldiers, and the forty-six American officers and non-commissioned officers to be reserved as Hostages, it being further stipulated that the last mentioned forty-six will be placed on the footing of ordinary prisoners of war, and exchanged as such whenever the twenty-three British soldiers are so released or delivered over for exchange.

The details contained in Brigadier-General Winder's note of the 9th inst. are accepted of, as forming the outline for mutual arrangement for carrying this exchange into effect.

(Signed) **Edward Baynes,**  
Adjutant-General, N. A.

No. 5.

Headquarters, Montreal,  
Adjutant-General's Office,  
April 12th, 1814.

Colonel Baynes has to acknowledge Brigadier-General Winder's note of this day, and is commanded to acquaint him that the Commander of the Forces has no objection to the principle upon which his exchange is proposed by the Secretary of State as a preliminary measure to his entering upon the proposed negotiation, provided that

the basis upon which that negotiation is to be conducted is in its principle admissible, and holds out a fair and a reasonable prospect of producing the desired end.

His Excellency considered the proposal as stated in the Secretary of State's letter of 19th March as coming under that description, and the accompanying letter of instructions of the same date, comporting with the same, he did not hesitate to grant his consent to the proposed exchange of Brigadier-General Winder, as a proper preliminary measure—but a subsequent communication from the Secretary of the United States being received by Brigadier-General Winder, and represented by him to have been introduced into the first instructions, alterations in themselves inadmissible in principle, and that the same had been omitted by error in transcribing the first copy, and were therefore to be considered as forming the text and spirit of the proposition. The Commander of the Forces considered himself absolved from his assent to a document, which had, from the act of the proposing party, become a nullity; and thereby cancelling whatever might have emanated from it, and that he was at liberty to revert to the alternative suggested in the Secretary of State's first letter, and reject the proposal *in toto*.

Colonel Baynes is directed to inform Brigadier-General Winder that it is not His Excellency's intention to sanction any partial exchange, except for the express purpose stated in the Secretary of State's letter, with which he thinks it highly expedient and proper to comply, but he must require from that officer a most direct and unequivocal assurance that he is *authorized to treat and ratify, without further reservation on the part of his Government, a negotiation on the principles stated in Colonel Baynes' note of the 11th and 12th, and in General Winder's note of the 11th instant—in which case his exchange will be declared full and complete.*

Brigadier-General Winder will excuse this demand, which has become necessary from the doubts which he has himself created, as to the nature and extent of the restriction recently placed upon him by his Government.

(Signed) **Edward Baynes,**  
Adjutant-General N.A.

No. 6.

Montreal, April 13th, 1814.

Brigadier-General Winder very much regrets that he should have failed in communicating to Colonel Baynes in the last interview the extent of the powers communicated to him with requisite precision.

It was the intention of Brigadier-General Winder to have stated that his powers extended without restriction, to propose and agree to an exchange of all British prisoners of war taken from the command of Sir George Prevost, except the twenty-three men put into confinement in retaliation for the twenty-three men sent to England, to which extent he now assures Colonel Baynes his powers extend, embracing all the subjects contained in Colonel Baynes' notes of the 11th and 12th, and Brigadier-General Winder's of the 11th.

As it was not the intention of Brigadier-General Winder that His Excellency should have the least question as to the extent of his powers, he cannot but feel mortified, that an idea should have been entertained for a moment that he intended to render them in the least degree doubtful, and he trusts this avowal will remove all such impressions, and enable Colonel Baynes and himself, upon the adjustment of Brigadier-General Winder's exchange, to proceed without delay to the arrangement.

(Signed) **Wm. Winder**,  
Brigadier-General, U.S. Army.

General Order.

Adjutant-General's Office,  
Headquarters, Montreal,  
July 18th, 1814.

His Excellency the Commander of the Forces announces to the troops under his command, that having at the invitation of the American Government, deputed Colonel Baynes, Adjutant-General, and Lieutenant-Colonel Brenton, Provincial Aide-de-Camp, to meet on Thursday last at Champlain, Colonel Lear, late Consul General of the United States at Algiers—for the purpose of reconsidering the convention for the exchange of prisoners which had been entered into on the 15th of April last, between Colonel Baynes and Brigadier-General Winder ; and of removing whatever objections might be made to the due

execution of it :—and the said meeting having taken place accordingly, all objections to the said convention were then and there completely removed ; and the same was, on the 16th instant, fully and definitely ratified by Colonel Lear, on the part of the United States ; (he having full power for that purpose) with a supplementary clause, by which the twenty-three British soldiers, and the forty-six American officers, the Hostages mentioned in the first article of the said convention, are declared to be included in that convention, and are to be released and exchanged, in the same manner as other prisoners of war, mentioned in the same articles, notwithstanding the exception to them therein contained ;—and His Excellency is pleased hereby to direct that this General Order be considered in explanation and confirmation of the said General Orders issued on the 16th and 2nd July, 1814.

Edward Baynes, Adjt. Gen. N.A.

The morning of our actual departure from Frankfort was, as will be believed, one of joy and exultation to us all ; and at an early hour most of the officers were already up, and with light hearts and cheerful countenances preparing for their journey.

Our horses were at length brought to the entrance of the hotel, before which nearly half the town of Frankfort had collected to witness our departure. Habited in our light and neatly-fringed Kentucky frocks, fastened by silver buckles attached to broad red morocco belts, we soon vaulted into the saddle ; and escorted by Lieutenant Mitchell of the rifle service, and Colonel Crocket, the Marshal of the state, a consequential gentleman, who had often vainly sought to subdue our refractory spirits into something like submission to his authority, we commenced our journey. The hand of kindness and the voice of gentlemanly consideration were extended to us by a few, among whom stood principally conspicuous Major Madison and the banker Mr. Sproule ; but on the countenances of the many might be traced very different feelings. Even while detesting our presence, they seemed to regret the approaching removal of their victims, and

the insolence of their looks and observations bore sufficient testimony of their hostility.

Pursuing a route different from that by which we had reached Frankfort, we soon arrived at Newport,' a small town situated at the confluence of the Kanaway and Ohio rivers, and immediately opposite to Cincinnati, in the neighborhood of which latter place the prisoners from Chillicothe were awaiting the arrival of their officers. Large boats were procured for the passage of our horses, and having crossed the river the same evening, we were conducted to our old quarters, the principal hotel in Cincinnati.

On joining the men, we found, that independently of those whom the Americans had successfully employed every art to seduce from our service, two individuals were missing, in whose fate we had become previously interested. At the moment of departure from the harbour of Amherstburg, Captain Barclay had received two young Indian warriors, anxious to witness a naval combat, on board of the Detroit ; and on engaging the American fleet, they were stationed in the tops with their rifles. This position, however, they found less secure than the trees of their native forests, and were soon assailed by showers of grape and canister which filled them with dismay. They instantly relinquished their rifles, and hastened to decamp. Too much frightened to adopt the safer and more usual mode of descent by the ladder of the rigging, they each grasped a loose rope pending from the yards, and in this manner glided with fearful rapidity to the deck, lacerating their hands in a cruel manner, and no doubt secretly regretting their spirit of adventure. Nor did they stop until they reached the bottom of the hold, where they were subsequently found by the Americans, lying within a large coil of rope, and in company with a pet bear, belonging to one of the crew, who had

'Newport is at the confluence of the Licking river and the Ohio. There is a Kanawha river, another branch of the Ohio, farther east. See map.

conveyed him there, as a place of perfect security from the enemy's shot. In our occasional visits to the encampment at Chillicothe, we always saw and conversed with them, and at the last which preceded our close imprisonment, we found them busily engaged in making bows and arrows—a work in which they were not interrupted by their guard, who probably saw nothing more in the occupation than amusement, or an agreeable employment of their time, but they told us in their own tongue, a little of which was understood by one or two of the party, that they were meditating their escape, and that the bows and arrows were to provide them with food in the woods. The intelligence now received was, that they had succeeded in effecting their design shortly after our departure, having managed to scale the picketing on a dark night, which they had selected for the purpose. **What** the final result of their enterprise was, we had no future opportunity of ascertaining ; but with the knowledge we possessed of the extreme facility with which the Indians find their way through the deepest and most extensive forests, we did not entertain a doubt of their having rejoined their tribe in safety.

The morning of our departure from Cincinnati was the last of Colonel Crocket's " guardianship " ; for we were handed over to an old friend, Mr. Steele, the Marshal of Ohio, a man as gentle, considerate, and unassuming, as the other was harsh, exacting, and overbearing. From this gentleman we received an account of the death of our old persecutor, Colonel Campbell.' This officer had been

'Lieut.-Col. John B. Campbell was in command of the 11th U.S. Infantry at the battle of Chippawa, July 5th, 1814, where he was severely wounded in the knee, from the effects of which he died. On May 14th, 1814, with a force of about 800 men, he landed at Long Point, Upper Canada, without opposition, burnt the village of Dover, Ryerson's Mills, Finch's Mills, killed the cattle and hogs of the settlers and burnt their dwellings. For this act he was brought before a Court of Inquiry at Buffalo composed of Brigadier-General Scott, Major Jessup and Major Wood. The verdict of the Court was, that Lieut.-Col. Campbell was justified in burning the flour mills and distilleries by the usage of war, but that he erred



desperately wounded on the Niagara frontier, whither he had been ordered with his regiment, soon after our departure from Chillicothe. The cap of his knee had been carried away by a cannon shot, and he died in extreme agony. If we had humanity enough not to rejoice at this intelligence, we certainly did not indulge in any very immoderate grief ; for the unfeeling conduct of that individual was still fresh in the recollection of many, and, above all, the insult of exposing us to public curiosity in the principal streets of a town in which he held the first military command—an insult we had every reason to believe originated with himself.

Our route from Cincinnati lay through the same dull region we had traversed the preceding autumn ; but with feelings far different from those we then experienced, did we now measure back our steps. The season too was changed, and instead of chill damps and penetrating rains, over the face of nature was spread the genial warmth of summer. It was the middle of July ; and though the ardent rays of a burning sun threw their oppressive lustre on our heads, while traversing the more open parts of the country, we much more frequently found shelter in thick and extensive woods where a solitary, winding and imperfect wagon-road alone marked the progress of civilization. Each moment of our journey brought us nearer to the more fortunate companions of our toils, and the final termination of our anxieties ; and with this heart-cheering perspective we reconciled ourselves to the privations incident to our more immediate position.

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in burning the private dwellings, and that the active opposition of the inhabitants to the American interests was no justification.

Richardson is not the only writer who condemns the inhumanity of this officer. Alexander McMullen, a private in Col. Fenton's Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, censures him for his acts on his descent on Dover.

For documents connected with the acts of this officer in Upper Canada, see " The Documentary History of the Campaign on the Niagara Frontier in 1814," by Lieut.-Col. E. Cruikshank.

Towards the close of August we again arrived at Sandusky, and during nearly the whole of the succeeding month, were compelled to remain encamped on the small marshy plain extending from the base of the hill on which that fort is situated, to the edge of the river from which it derives its name. Owing to the unjustifiable neglect of those to whom that office was entrusted, not a boat was in readiness for our transportation across the lake, and we beheld this new and unlooked-for evil with dismay. The finishing stroke was put to our calamities by the introduction of intermittent fever into the camp, a malady which necessarily arose from constant exposure to heavy fogs and noxious exhalations from the stagnant waters around us. Few of the officers escaped this cruel and distressing scourge, and nearly one-half of the men were attacked by it. With the view of having the former more immediately at hand, the medical officers in the fort caused them to be conducted to a small building contiguous to one of the gates, which had been previously used as a stable, and admitted the air and rain on every side. A handful of hay, covered with a blanket, composed our couch ; and here, in a state of inexpressible misery, did we languish beneath the effects of accumulating privation and disease. Nourishing or refreshing aliment we were utterly unable to obtain, and the absence of necessary medicaments was severely felt. Either from ignorance or indolence, —but we were given to presume the former, —the medical officers, while they prescribed bleeding, would not perform that office themselves, but entrusted it to a drummer of the garrison, who certainly, to his credit be it said, opened our veins with admirable dexterity. This operation being performed on the arm of each patient, half a pint of raw whisky was given us to drink. If this potation was administered with an idea of burning the disease out, the effect did not answer the intention, for our stomachs were long inflamed in consequence of this draught, and the fever raged with unceasing violence.

Heartily sick of our present abode, we begged to be removed to the tents we had lately occupied. This request was accorded ; but here we were visited by another severe inconvenience. The neighbourhood of Sandusky abounded in wolves, and our ears were nightly assailed with their dismal howlings. The noise generally commenced from one pack at no great distance from the fort, and was repeated by several others in succession, and from opposite directions, until the whole extent of surrounding woods appeared to be alive with them. There was something fearfully gloomy in this association of wild sounds, particularly when the night was far advanced, and the encampment hushed into silence and repose, yet, but for the danger actually apprehended, we should have been disposed to find amusement in their discordant yellings ; for these bold animals came frequently down from the adjacent hills, and by the pale light of the dying embers, we could distinctly see and hear them craunching the bones and fragments remaining from our meals. At our repeated solicitation? however, fire-arms were accorded us ; and though we made no actual use of them, they inspired us with a feeling of greater confidence and security. Yet were we not even then entirely free from alarm, especially as our tents were detached at some distance from each other ; and more than one sleepless night did we pass with our fingers on the triggers of our muskets, and momentarily expecting to be attacked by these ravenous prowlers, against whose fury we invariably took the precaution to secure the entrance to our tents in every possible manner.

Our situation was now become truly pitiable, and some of the officers were compelled to part with their scanty wardrobe, in order to procure the common necessaries of life, from the few miserable settlers who had taken up their abode in the neighborhood of the fort, which they partially supplied with milk and vegetables. The former article was that most in requisition with the

invalids, and, in addition to the wild fruits which we ate with avidity, contributed not a little to the increase of our malady. At length when nearly worn down by vain expectation and undermining fever, a solitary boat was seen slowly emerging from one of the angles formed by the windings of the narrow and unhealthy river, and in this we were embarked for Cleveland, a small harbour on the American shore opposite to Long Point, in Canada, where we were to be finally delivered up. During this coasting voyage we were assailed by a tempest which upset our boat ; but as we had fortunately kept close to the land, the accident occurred in water not beyond our depth, and we easily succeeded in righting and dragging the vessel to the shore. Every article of clothing was, however, completely wet through, and no habitation being near, we were compelled to throw ourselves for the night on the damp beach, covered with blankets still dripping with recent wet, and suffering the extremes of cold and heat, as the various stages of our disease were developed. It required more than ordinary constitutions to resist these attacks, and one officer (Lieutenant Jones, of the 41st) subsequently perished. Our provisions had been utterly destroyed by the water, and our only dependence was on the scanty pittance obtained from the impoverished inhabitants along the coast. A few potatoes and a small quantity of rancid butter were all that could be procured by the American officer escorting us, and these we devoured with all the keenness and rapacity of famished wolves ; yet was our hunger never wholly appeased. At length the heights of Cleveland, where were at that time two solitary and miserable houses, appeared in sight, and we were now landed on the beach, where several of the officers imprudently ate large quantities of peaches which grew uninclosed and in abundance around. The accession of fever produced in consequence was great, and the night was passed in the ray-

ings of a delirium little short of madness. On the following morning we were re-embarked in a small vessel lying in the harbour ; and leaving an officer behind to await the arrival, and superintend the transportation of the men who were advancing by land, we again set sail. Long Point, the place of our destination, was soon gained ; but with what altered feelings did we now behold that soil which, one short month before, would have been hailed with rapturous exultation ! Disease had worn away our persons, and our minds were deeply tinged with that morbid melancholy which is a characteristic feature in the complaint. Existence itself had nearly lost its value with its charms, and, in our then tone of feeling, liberty or captivity were situations of indifference. **I**t had rained without intermission during the passage, and on the vessel being brought to anchor, we were summoned from the small filthy cabin, into which we had been thrown, to the boats waiting for our reception. In a few minutes we were landed, exhibiting to those by whom we were received on the beach the most distressing images of poverty, disease, exhaustion, and discontent. **W**e arrived in Canada on the 4th of October, 1814, making just one year from the date of our captivity.

On my arrival in Canada I lost no time, dispirited and emaciated as I was from the effects of an ague which continued upon me for five consecutive months, without a single day of intermission, in parting from those with whom I had shared so many toils and vicissitudes, and hastening to join the King's Regiment (then stationed at Montreal and Laprairie), to which I had been gazetted some months previous to my capture at the Moravian-town. Nor is it uninteresting to add that my passage from Toronto to Kingston, was made in the St. Lawrence, Sir James Yeo's flag-ship, during the very last trip performed by that magnificent vessel, the vast dimensions of which will be understood, when it is known that she

mounted not less than 112 guns, of various heavy calibre, and was manned by a crew, including all branches of the service, of one thousand souls. There were, also, if I do not greatly err, a seventy-four and two fifty gun ships, with numerous smaller craft, following in the wake of this Leviathan ; but war had now been so long carried on in the country as a matter of course, and on so extensive a scale of preparation, that these latter were scarcely regarded as anything extraordinary, even on the small and inland fresh water sea of Lake Ontario.

At length spring with her cheerful and invigorating attributes once more appeared, bringing with it a cessation of hostilities between Great Britain and the United States ; and intelligence having soon afterwards reached this country of Bonaparte's escape from Elba, and the consequent renewal of the war in Europe, we were hurriedly ordered for embarkation, to join the British Army in Flanders. The Headquarters of my regiment left Montreal for Quebec in the first steamer' (the John Molson), that ever navigated these waters, and we were speedily embarked in a transport waiting to receive us, and forming one of sixty sail, under the convoy of Sir George Collier in the Newcastle. Our route was to Ostend, but we were too late—as the battle of Waterloo, to have participated in which was worth the sacrifice of all our previous service, was fought before we were half way across the Atlantic.

Since that period, I had never revisited Canada, until the astounding and unexpected events of 1837 and 1838 again brought me to my native land, to aid if necessary in vindication of her wounded honor.

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\*The first Steamer on the St. Lawrence was called the Accommodation, not the John Molson. The name of the owner however, was Honorable John Molson.

THE END.