

laden with ammunition, and containing their wounded. Among the latter were two privates of the 41st who had been too badly hit to be brought off, and being close to the Americans had fallen into their hands, at the first and feeble attempt made at pursuit.

As I have unconsciously been led into a much more explanatory account of the Maguaga affair than I had originally intended, I cannot take my leave of it without transcribing an anecdote related by the same writer which is so characteristic of the detestation entertained by the Indians for the Americans, and resembles so nearly the conduct of the noble Hancock, who fell at the Canard, that it cannot fail to be read with interest.

"Some time in the evening of the 9th (writes Major Dalliba) Captain Maxwell returned with his spies, having been sent forward to the village of Brownstown, and reported that the village was abandoned, and that no enemy could be discovered. Early next morning, August 10th, detachments were sent out by Colonel Miller, to scour the woods in search of one man who was ascertained to be still missing: he was, however, found dead. While the men were ranging over the woods, one of them was shot dead. A smoke of a piece was discovered at a distance, rising from the ground by the party—they approached the spot, and beheld an Indian lying on the ground wounded, and unable to stand. One arm and one leg were broken,—he had lain there, during the night, by his piece which was loaded when he fell. The cool deliberation with which he died (of course from this we infer the Americans killed the wounded man) proved the native fortitude of the savage to meet death when resistance is useless. Unwilling to endure his pains longer, and die by degrees, he determined to die by the hand of his enemies, and to sell his life as dear to them as possible. He summoned together the little strength which remained, and so steadily levelled his rifle at the approaching American, as to put the ball through his heart."

IV

BROCK'S CAPTURE OF DETROIT

Meanwhile General Brock, then at York (Toronto) fully sensible of the danger of Amherstburg, threatened as he knew it to be by an overwhelming, and professedly exterminating foe, lost no time in repairing to its assistance. The first detachment of the 41st pushed forward to its relief was, as has been seen, that which joined us at Maguaga—and consisting of sixty men. Forty more were sent to Long Point, for the purpose of collecting the Militia in that neighborhood, and fifty, under Captain Chambers,¹ were despatched into the interior with a view of encouraging and being joined by the Indians. The General himself embarked on the 5th of August, ² for Fort George and Long Point, doubtless having inwardly matured the daring object which he subsequently accomplished, so much to his own honor, and that of the troops who participated in his glory. Leaving Long Point on the 8th, with no other force than the 40 men of the 41st, who had been previously despatched thither, and about 260 militia, principally volunteers from Toronto, General Brock coasted the shore of Lake Erie, on his route to Amherstburg, which post he reached on the morning of the 13th.

The two subjoined orders, issued on this occasion, are not unworthy of record, not because they are important in themselves, but because they are eminently characteristic

¹ Captain Peter Latouche Chambers came to Canada with the 41st Regiment about the year 1800. He was frequently mentioned in despatches during the war and afterward became Lieut.-Colonel of the 41st. His death occurred in 1828.

² In Tupper's Life of Brock, p. 241, this date is given as the 6th of August.

of him, who was prudent only where recklessness were a fault and hazardous only where hesitation were disaster.

Head Quarters,
Banks of Lake Erie,
15 miles S.W. of Fort Talbot,
August 11th, 1812, 6 o'clock p.m.

General Orders,

The Troops will hold themselves in readiness, and will embark in the boats at twelve o'clock this night precisely.

It is Major General Brock's positive order that none of the boats go ahead of that in which is the Head Quarters, where a light will be carried during the night.

The Officers commanding the different boats will immediately inspect the arms and ammunition of the men, and see that they are constantly kept in a state for immediate service, as the troops are now to pass through a part of the country which is known to have been visited by the enemy's patrols.

A Captain, with a subaltern and thirty men, will mount as picquet upon the landing of the boats and a sentry will be furnished from each boat, who must be regularly relieved to take charge of the boats and baggage, &c.

A Patrole from the picquet will be sent out on landing to the distance of a mile from the Encampment.

By order of the Major Gen.

J. B. Glegg, Capt., A.D.C.

J. Macdonell, P.A. D . C . ,

Point Aux Pins,

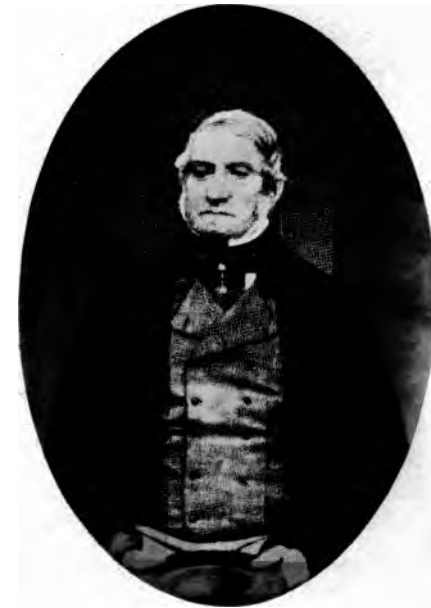
Lake Erie, August 12th, 1812 .

General Orders.

It is Major General Brock's intention, should the wind continue fair, to proceed during the night. Officers commanding boats will therefore pay attention to the order of sailing as directed yesterday. The greatest care and attention will be requested to prevent the boats from scattering or falling behind

A great part of the Bank of the Lake when the boats will this day pass is much more dangerous and difficult of

Fort Talbot is a misprint for Port Talbot the home of the Hon. Col. Thomas Talbot, a man who took a very prominent part in the settlement of the western district of Upper Canada.



From original photograph in possession of Mr. B. Glegg, Rackford Hall, Chester, England.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN B. GLEGG.

access than any we have passed. The boat therefore will not land, excepting in the most extreme necessity; and then great care must be taken to choose the best places for landing.

The troops being now in the neighborhood of the enemy, every precaution must be taken to guard against surprise.

By order of the Major-General,
J. B. Glegg, A.D.C.

The arrival of Gen. Brock at Amherstburg was the signal for an offensive demonstration in our turn. The bridge at the Canard—so often the scene and object of contention—had been repaired, immediately after the abandonment of the Western District of Canada, by General Hull, who had recrossed the river, with the whole of his army, during the 7th and 8th, and preparations had already been made for bombarding Detroit. Under the superintendence of Captain Dixon, of the Engineers, and Captain Hall of the Provincial Navy, batteries were already in a train of construction. The Queen Charlotte of twenty guns, and the brig General Hunter of twelve, had moreover been sent up the river for the purpose of covering their operations, and conveying such warlike munitions as were required for the siege. The position chosen for the batteries was an elevated part on the bank of the Detroit, immedi-

These officers were assisted by the Norfolk and Oxford Militia under Captain John Bostwick, First Lieut. George Ryerson and Second Lieut. George Rolph.

Lieut. Ryerson's narrative to D. Ginniff, published in *Bel-ford's Magazine*, Toronto, 1877.

2 Captain George B. Hall was next in command to Hon. Alexander Grant, the Commodore of the government fleet on the Upper Lakes. When the war broke out Commodore Grant was 85 years of age—too old for active service—consequently Captain Hall had charge of the marine department until the arrival of Captain Barclay. He was present at the Miami in May, 1813, and was mentioned in despatches. By order of Captain Barclay he was discontinued in the Provincial Marine. For this act Barclay was reprimanded because he had no authority to annul any appointment. Captain Hall was retained in the service as Superintendent of the dock-yard and naval stores at Amherstburg at the same pay as he formerly received.

In 1817 a George B. Hall (in all probability Captain Hall) was elected by Essex, as a member of the Legislative Assembly.

ately opposite to the fort of that name, and on the outskirts of, what has since become, the Village of Windsor. The distance across, at this point, is not quite a mile.

During the morning of the 15th, the batteries being ready to open their fire, General Brock, who had lost no time in repairing to Sandwich, and had ordered all the disposable force in Amherstburg to follow forthwith, despatched a flag, with a summons to the American commander.

Head Quarters, Sandwich, August 15th, 1812.

Sir —The force at my disposal authorizes me to require of you the immediate surrender of Fort Detroit.—It is far from my inclination to join in a war of extermination, but you must be aware that the numerous body of Indians, who have attached themselves to my troops, will be beyond my control the moment the contest commences. You will find me disposed to enter into such conditions as will satisfy the most scrupulous sense of honor. Lieut.-Colonel Macdonell, and Major Glegg are fully authorized to conclude any arrangement that may lead to prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood.

I have the honor to be,

Sir, your most obdt. Servant,

(Signed) ISAAC BROCK, Major Gen.

His Excellency, Brigadier Gen. Hull,
Commanding at Fort Detroit.

To which the subjoined answer was returned.

Head Quarters, Detroit, August 15th, 1812.

Sir —I have received your letter of this date. I have no other reply to make, than to inform you that I am prepared to meet any force which may be at your disposal, and any consequences, which may result from any exertion of it you may think proper to make.

I avail myself of this opportunity to inform you that the flag of truce, under the direction of Captain Brown, proceeded contrary to the orders, and without the knowledge of Col. Cass, who commanded the troops which attacked your picket, near the river Canard bridge.

I likewise take this occasion to inform you that Cowie's house was set on fire contrary to my orders, and it did not take place until after the evacuation of the Fort. From the best information I have been able to obtain on the

subject, it was set on fire by some of the inhabitants on the other side of the river.

I am, very respectfully,

Your Excellency's most obdt. Servant,

(Signed) W. Hull, Brig. Gen.

His Exc' y. Major Gen. Brock, Comm'g the N.W. Army.
Comm'g His Britannic Majesty's
Forces, Sandwich, Up. Canada.

On this refusal being made known, the batteries, on which were mounted one long eighteen, and two long twelve-pounders, with a couple of mortars, opened a well-directed fire upon the fort, which threw the enemy into evident confusion. Some heavy guns were brought forward by them to the bank to bear upon the batteries, but my impression is, although it may be wrong, as General Brock describes it in his Official Despatch as having been spirited, that their fire was very languidly returned. Certainly it produced no other effect upon the batteries, than to cause them to throw in their shot with increased rapidity and precision.

The refusal to surrender had of course been anticipated, and preparations for crossing, and attempting to carry Detroit by storm, having in the meantime been made—everything was in readiness by daybreak on the following morning. The batteries, which had kept up an irregular fire during the night, renewed it at the first dawn with unabated spirit, and the requisite boats having been provided, the crossing was effected without opposition, under cover of the guns of the Queen Charlotte and General Hunter, which lay anchored about half a mile above Sandwich. A soft August sun was just rising, as we gained the centre of the river, and the view, at the moment, was certainly very animated and exciting, for, amid the little squadron of boats and scows, conveying the troops and artillery, were mixed numerous canoes filled with Indian warriors, decorated in their half-nakedness for the occasion, and uttering yells of mingled defiance of their foes and encouragement of the soldiery.

Above us again were to be seen and heard the flashes and thunder of the artillery from our batteries, which, as on the preceding day, was but feebly replied to by the enemy, while the gay flags of the Queen Charlotte, drooping in the breezeless, yet not oppressive air, and playing on the calm surface of the river, seemed to give earnest of success, and inspirited every bosom.

The point of embarkation was nearly opposite to the low, stone building at Sandwich, which (then a school) is now used as a barrack, and the place of landing was a little above the Spring Wells—not far, indeed, from the spot where now stand the house and grounds of General Schwartz. From this to the fort is about three miles, and the road, occasionally winding, was commanded from the rising ground, which then crowned the immediate entrance to the town on the side by which we approached, but which has since been partially levelled. The whole of the force, including militia and Indians (most of these latter had preceded us during the night of the 15th) having landed, General Brock, who had crossed in one of the leading boats, ordered the reports to be collected, when it was found that there was but 550 men of all arms present. This return appearing extremely weak, Major Glegg assisted by Lieutenant MacLean, Brigade Major to General Procter, was again desired to see if a greater number could not be mustered. These officers finally made out 750 men, including the militia who were employed in rowing the boats, but who were not present upon the ground. I am particular in detailing this fact, because there have been so many versions of our strength, that it is important the correct one should be known.

The column having been formed, we moved forward by sections, at nearly double distance, in order to give to our little force a more imposing appearance. Lieut. Bullock commanded the advanced guard, and immediately in rear of this, and preceding the column, were the light artillery (three six and two three-pounders) with which only we

advanced against the enemy's fortress.' Nothing but the boldness of the enterprize could have ensured its success. When within a mile and a half from the rising ground to which I have just alluded, as commanding the approach to the town, we distinctly saw two long, heavy guns, (afterwards proved to be twenty-four pounders) planted in the road, and around them the gunners with their fuses burning. At each moment we expected that they would be fired, yet although it was evident the discharge must literally have swept our small, but dense column, there was neither halt nor indecision perceptible. This was fortunate. Had there been the slightest wavering, or appearance of confusion in the men, the enemy, who were closely watching us, and who seemed intimidated by the confidence of our advance, would not have failed to profit by the discovery ; and fearful, in such case, must have been the havoc ; for, moving as we were by the main road, with the river close upon our right flank, and a chain of alternate houses and close fences upon our left, there was not the slightest possibility of deploying. In this manner, and with our eyes riveted on the guns,

— Extract from District General Orders :

Head Quarters, Fort Amherstburg,

Aug. 14th, 1812.

Captains Muir, Tallon and Chambers of 41st Regiment, Captain Glegg, 49th Regiment, Captain Mockler, Newfoundland Regt., and Captain Dixon, Royal Engineers, are appointed to the rank of major so long as the local service on which they are employed continues.

The troops in the Western District will be divided into three brigades : The First, under Lieut.-Colonel St. George, to consist of detachments of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, and of the Kent and First and Second Regiments Essex Militia. The Second under the command of Major Chambers, consisting of 50 men of the 41st Regiment, and of the whole of the detachments of York, Lincoln, Oxford and Norfolk Militia. The Third Brigade, under the command of Major Tallon, will consist of the remainder of the 1st Regiment.

Colonel Procter will have charge of the whole line, under the orders of the Major-General.

James Givins, Esquire, late Capt. 5th Regiment, is appointed • Provincial Aid-de-Camp, with the rank of Major in the Militia.

By order of the Major-General.

J. B. Glegg, Major, A.D.C.

which became at each moment more visible, we silently advanced until within about three-quarters of a mile of the formidable battery ; when General Brock, having found this point a position favorable for the formation of the columns of assault, caused the whole to be wheeled to the left, through an open field and orchard, leading to a house about three hundred yards off the road, which he selected as his Headquarters. In this position we were covered.

While this was passing on the right bank of the river, our batteries had been performing good service on the left. The officers in charge had succeeded in getting the true range of their guns, which threw their shot with admirable precision, and in the early part of the morning an eighteen-pound ball had found its way into the fort through an embrasure, and passing into the mess-room, killed four officers (one of whom was Lieut. Hanks, the commandant at Michilimackinac on its recent surrender to Captain Roberts) scattering their brains and blood against the walls of the apartment, and filling the Americans within the fort, as we afterwards understood, with serious dismay. As soon as this circumstance was reported to General Hull, and about the time when the troops were crossing below, he despatched a white flag to the batteries, but Captain Hall, who commanded there, having stated, to the officer who bore it, that General Brock was by that time on his own shore, and was the only person by whom the flag could be received, the bearer immediately returned—the batteries discontinuing their fire, however, in the meantime. This, of course, was during our advance, and it might be reasonable to infer that it was in consequence of this flag being then in the act of passing from one shore to the other that the enemy had not opened his fire from the long twenty-four pounders pointed at our column, were it not that General Chss^{and} others have distinctly stated that they requested the sanction of General Hull to fire, but that such sanction was

peremptorily refused, from an apprehension of ulterior consequences. Whatever the cause, we certainly had reason to congratulate ourselves that we had escaped the threatened danger. I confess that I breathed much more freely when we had left the road, which was quite as bad as any *cul-de-sac*, and taken up our position near the farm-house.

At the moment when the white flag was seen advancing from the point at which the threatening twenty-four pounders—their muzzles turned from the batteries upon us—were yet planted, General Brock had advanced up the brow of the rising ground which concealed us from their view, for the purpose of reconnoitering the fort. He was soon apprized of this new and unexpected feature in the aspect of affairs, and promptly despatched Colonel Macdonell and Major Glegg to meet it. It was the latter officer, if I mistake not, who speedily returned by the main road *at* full gallop to communicate to the General, who in the meantime had returned to the column, that the object of the flag was to propose a surrender of the fort. Furnished with the instructions of his Chief, Major Glegg rode back at the same speed to the party who were awaiting his return, and all then entered the town for the purpose of arranging the terms of capitulation.

At the termination of an hour, during which the arms of the men who loitered indifferently about, were piled, while such of the Officers as were fortunate enough to be early in their application, were provided with an excellent breakfast by the people of the farm-house, one of the Aids-de-Camp was again descried hurrying from the town at full speed. He brought the gratifying intelligence that the capitulation had been completed ; and the order was then given for the troops to advance and form upon the glacis of the fort. The " fall in " was immediately sounded, and we moved as directed, not by the main road, but by the orchards and fields which inter-

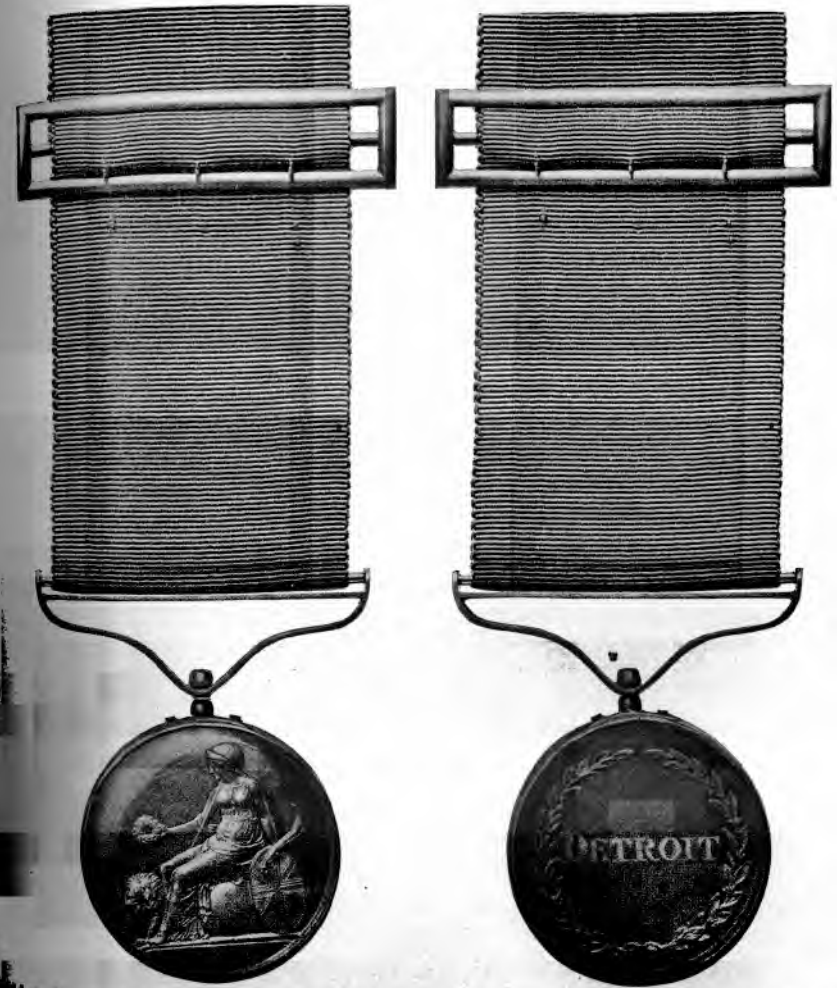
vened between our position and the fortress. As we approached, and beheld the numerous cannon frowning from their embrasures, it was impossible to avoid feeling mingled surprise and congratulation that so formidable a post should have been the fruit, apparently, more of a party of pleasure than of war.

The glacis gained, the column was halted, and on our arrival we found that the greatest portion of the regular troops had marched out of the garrison upon the esplanade, where they were now loitering about as we had a few minutes before, with piled arms. A guard of honor, consisting of an officer and forty men, was immediately formed to take possession of the fort. The command of this devolved upon the officer who had led the advanced guard—Lieutenant Bullock ; and among those of the Militia who were attached to his party, and had first the honor of entering the fortress, were the present Chief Justice Robinson,' Samuel Jarvis,' Esquire, Superintendent of Indian affairs, and Colonel William Chisholm,³ of Oakville.

Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bart., was born in Berthier, Quebec, July 26th, 1791. He was acting Attorney-General of Upper Canada, from the death of Col. John Macdonell in 1812, until the return of Hon. D'Arcy Boulton to Canada in 1815 ; Solicitor-General from 1815 to 1818 and Attorney-General from 1818 to 1829 when he was appointed Chief Justice of Upper Canada, an office he graced till 1862. His death occurred January 31st, 1863. He was the foremost of "The Fighting Judges," a term applied to those men who fought for their country, and who afterwards by their ability rose to the Bench.

'Colonel Samuel Peters Jarvis, the eldest son of William Jarvis, Secretary of Upper Canada from 1792 to 1817, was born at Newark (Niagara) November 15th, 1792. At Detroit he was attached to the 41st Regiment and was present as a lieutenant at Queenston Heights, Stoney Creek and Lundy's Lane. He was Clerk of the Crown in Chancery and Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs. During the rebellion of 1837-38 he raised the "Queen's Rangers." He died at Toronto, September 6th, 1857.

³ Colonel William Chisholm was the son of George Chisholm, who emigrated from Inverness, Scotland, to Nova Scotia, where Colonel Chisholm was born Oct. 15th, 1788. At the taking of Detroit he was Lieutenant of No. 1 Flank Company of Lincoln Militia, and



medal awarded to Lieut.-Col. John Macdonell, P.A.D.O , to commemorate the capture of Detroit,
now in possession of John Alexander Macdonell, K.C., Alexandria,

An error, which, in many similar circumstances, might have proved a fatal one, occurred on this occasion. The order for the advance of the guard of honor was given prematurely, by some officer of the Staff—whom however I do not now recollect—for no sooner had the head of the guard passed over the drawbridge into the fort, when it found itself almost hemmed in by a host of the Ohio Militia—many of them looking very fierce and very indignant at the surrender—who had not yet been marched out. As the entrance of the guard under these circumstances was a violation of an article of the capitulation, which expressly stipulated that the American Garrison were to march out before the British troops took possession, we were promptly faced to the rear, and marched back again to the glacis—where we waited patiently until the angry-looking riflemen found it convenient to move. We then entered in form, and lowering the American flag, hoisted, in default of the regular British ensign, an Union Jack which a stray blue-jacket had brought with him, tied round his body, and which he very cheer-

at Queenston Heights was in command of the flank company of York Militia. He was Colonel of Militia in 1824, and commanded the left wing of the Loyalists at Montgomery's Tavern (Gallow's Hill), Dec. 7th, 1837. For several years he represented the County of Halton in the Legislature, and in 1834 was appointed Collector of Customs at Oakville, where he died May 4th, 1842.

His son, George King Chisholm, was also Colonel of Militia, and took part in the defence of Fort Erie during the Fenian Raid of 1866. He represented Halton for one Parliament, and was for some time Sergeant at Arms of the Parliament of Canada. He died in April, 1874.

Another son Robert Kerr Chisholm succeeded his father as Collector of Customs and was elected to several Municipal offices.

Many of the descendants of Colonel Chisholm reside at Oakville.

Another officer of this name that served on the Niagara frontier during the war was Colonel George Chisholm, who was born at Fort Erie, Sept. 16th, 1792, the youngest son of George Chisholm, a U. E. Loyalist. He took part in the battle of Queenston Heights, and was in command of a company at Lundy's Lane. In 1837 he was made a Lieut.-Col., and Col. in 1838. He was one of the "Men of Gore" that accompanied Sir Allan N. MacNab to Toronto to quell the rebellion. His death occurred in 1872.

D. B. Chisholm, Mayor of Hamilton in 1872, was his youngest son.

fully gave up for the purpose. The sentinels were then planted around the ramparts, and **I** (at that time a young volunteer armed with a musket taller than myself) had the honor of mounting my first guard at the Flag Staff—not a little elated **I** confess at the very enviable position in which, as a young Warrior, I conceived myself to be placed on the occasion. Nor was the feeling at all diminished, as strutting most martially to and fro on my post, and, casting my eyes downward upon the esplanade, **I** saw, or fancied **I** saw, the American troops looking up with anything but satisfaction at the red-coats who had thus usurped their place.

The articles of capitulation having been finally settled, and the troops—the main body of which had soon followed the guard of honor—in possession of the fort, the first act of General Brock was to enter and liberate, in person, the gallant Dean who had been taken prisoner at the Canard and who then lay confined in the guard-room. Shaking him by the hand in presence of his comrades—while his voice betrayed strong emotion, he warmly approved his conduct, and declared that he was indeed an honor to the profession of a soldier. Such commendation, from such a man, was in all probability the happiest day of poor Dean's existence, and must have amply repaid him for all his sufferings in confinement.

Soon after our occupation of the fort, Lieut. Bullock the officer commanding the guard, discovered the colors of the 4th Regiment of Infantry, which had been left in a room contiguous to that in which the four American officers were killed by the fire from our batteries. When it became known to General Brock that the colors had not been delivered over with the usual formalities, an order was sent to the officer of the guard to take them down to the esplanade where the American prisoners were assembled, and hand them over to the officer in command of the 4th Regt., with a view to their proper delivery. The order

was promptly obeyed. Lieut. Bullock, taking with him a few files of his guard, conveyed the colors to the ground occupied by **the 4th, when, on enquiring for the officer commanding that Regiment, he was met by a Captain Cook**, who stated that in the absence of Colonel Miller—lying ill with ague at the time—the command had devolved on him. To this officer Lieut. Bullock communicated his errand. Captain Cook took from him the colors, and again presented them saying—"Sir! the fortune of tvar has placed these in your hands—they are yours." Lieut. Bullock simply bowed, and withdrew. It was evident that Captain Cook, and those around him felt much chagrin on the occasion.

On the afternoon of the surrender of Detroit the following order was published.

General Order,

Head Quarters, Detroit, 16th August, 18 12 .

Major-General Brock has every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Troops he had the honor to lead this morning against the enemy. The state of discipline which they so eminently displayed, and the determination they evinced to undertake the most hazardous enterprise, decided the enemy, infinitely more numerous in men and artillery, to propose a capitulation, the terms of which are herewith inserted for the information of the Troops.

The Major-General requests Colonel Procter will accept his best thanks for the assistance he derived from his experience and intelligence.

The steadiness and discipline of the 41st Regiment, and the readiness of the Militia to follow so good an example were highly conspicuous.

The ability manifested by Captain Dixon of the Royal Engineers in the choice and construction of the batteries and the high state of the Royal Artillery under Lieut. Troughton, afforded the Major-General much gratification, and reflect great credit on those officers.

The willing assistance given by Captain Hall and the Marine Department during the whole course of the service has been very conspicuous, and the manner the batteries

were served this morning evinced a degree of steadiness highly commendable.

Lieut. Dewar, Dpt. Ass. Qr.-Master-General, afforded strong proof by the local knowledge he had acquired of the country, of an unremitting attention to his duty ; and the care and regularity with which the troops were transported across the river, must in a like degree, be ascribed to his zeal for the service.

To Lieut.-Col. St. George, Majors Tallon and Chambers, who commanded brigades, every degree of praise is due for their unremitting zeal and attention to their respective commands. The detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, under the command of Major Mockler, is deserving every praise for their steadiness in the field, as well as when embarked in the King's vessels.

The Major-General cannot forego this opportunity of expressing his admiration at the conduct of the several companies of Militia who so handsomely volunteered to undergo the fatigues of a journey of several hundred miles to go to the rescue of an invaded district ; and he requests Major Salmon,¹ Captains Hatt,² Heward,³ Bostwick,

¹Major George C. Salmon was an officer of the 2nd Norfolk Militia. By a militia general order of July 22nd, 1812, Colonel Talbot was commanded to make up a detachment of 200 men from the 1st and 2nd Norfolk, and the Oxford and Middlesex militia, and place it under the command of Major Salmon, who was to proceed with this force to Moraviantown to await the arrival of Major Chambers, of the 41st Regiment, under whose command he was to place himself. It is doubtful whether this order was carried out, as some authorities say he accompanied General Brock. Major Salmon was an excellent officer, and was frequently mentioned in despatches.

Mr. Justice William Salmon, Judge of the County of Norfolk, who died Feb. 8th, 1868, was the second son of Major Salmon. He took an active part in the suppression of the Rebellion of 1837. The father of Judge Salmon and the father of Dr. Rolph emigrated together from near Bristol in England in 1809.

²Captain Samuel Hatt was appointed by General Brock to command the flank companies of the 5th and 6th Regiments of Lincoln Militia. At the repulse of General Smyth at Fort Erie, Nov. 28th, 1812, he was commended for his services by Col. Bishopp.

³Major Stephen Heward was in command of a company of the York Militia at Detroit. He was for many years a prominent citizen of York (Toronto).

⁴Colonel John Bostwick served in the war as a captain of the

and Robinson,' will assure the officers and men under their respective command, that their services have been duly appreciated and will never be forgotten.

The Major-General is happy to acknowledge the able assistance he has derived from the zeal and local information of Lieut.-Col. Nichol, acting Quarter-Master-General to the Militia.

To his personal Staff the Major-General feels himself under much obligation ; and he requests Lieut.-Colonel Macdonell, Majors Glegg and Givins,² will be assured that their zealous exertions have made too deep an impression on his mind ever to be forgotten.

Norfolk militia. His conduct at Fort Erie, November 28th, 1812, where he was slightly wounded, was specially mentioned in the official despatch of that event. He served as colonel during the rebellion of 1837-38.

There was a Lieut.-Col. Henry Bostwick of the Oxford Militia, who served during the war.

=Captain William Robinson, an officer in the Norfolk Militia, was born in New Jersey in 1776, his father having emigrated from Yorkshire, England, four years before. In 1802 he came to Upper Canada. His eldest son Richard enlisted at the beginning of the war although but 15 years of age and served till its close. Capt. Robinson died in 1829.

Colonel James Givins came to Canada when a young man as an officer in a British Regiment. For some years he was on the Detroit frontier and among the native tribes of the west picking up a knowledge of several Indian dialects which made his services afterwards so useful to the Lieut.-Governors and the government. In 1792 we find him at Newark (Niagara) as Lieutenant of the Queen's Rangers and afterwards as Aid to Simcoe on his journey to Detroit in February, 1793.

He accompanied Simcoe on his search for a new metropolis of the province, and when the site of Toronto was chosen he took up his residence there and was appointed a Superintendent in the Indian Department, an office which he held till 1842. When the war commenced he entered upon active service which lasted till its close. At the taking of Detroit he was Aid to Brock and Interpreter, and at the defence of Fort Erie, he commanded the Indians. When York was taken by the Americans in April, 1813, he, at the head of 25 Indians and 60 men of the Glengarry Fencibles stubbornly opposed the landing of Major Forsyth. In 1819 he asked to be granted the Gold Medal for Detroit, as a staff officer, his name being left off the list of recommendations by an oversight, but if he received this distinction to which he was justly entitled, I have seen no record of it.

Canon Saltern Givins, Judge Givins, sometime of London, Ontario, and Surgeon Major Givins, of the India Medical Staff, were his sons.

The conduct of the Indians under Col. Elliott, Capt. McKee,' and other officers of that department, joined to that of the gallant and brave Chiefs of their respective tribes, has since the commencement of the war been marked with acts of true heroism, and in nothing can they testify more strongly their love to the King, their Great Father, than in following the dictates of honor and humanity, by which they have been hitherto actuated. Two fortifications have already been captured from the enemy without a drop of blood being shed by the hands of the Indians ; the instant the enemy submitted, his life became sacred.

By order of Major-General Brock.
J. B. Glegg, Capt., A. D. C.

From Major-General Brock, to His Excellency, Sir George Prevost.

Head Quarters, Detroit,
Aug. 17th, 1812.

Sir, —I have had the honor of informing your Excellency, that the enemy effected his passage across the Detroit river on the 12th ult. without opposition ; and that, after establishing himself at Sandwich, he had ravaged the country as far as the Moraviantown. Some skirmishes occurred between the troops under Lieut.-Col. St. George and the enemy, upon the River Canard, which uniformly terminated in his being repulsed with loss. The occupation of Sandwich was evidently productive of considerable effect on the minds of a large portion of the inhabitants. The disaffected became more audacious, and the wavering more intimidated. I judged it therefore proper to

— Captain Thomas McKee, son of Colonel Alexander McKee, was in command of a party of Indians at the taking of Detroit, and in the several subsequent engagements. He was Superintendent of Indian Affairs for many years. The McKee family have occupied prominent positions in the western district since 1775. Colonel Alexander McKee was appointed Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs by Lord Dorchester, who expressed his satisfaction with his conduct. His death on January 14th, 1799, was a distinct loss to the British in their dealings with the Indians. Captain Thomas McKee was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly for Kent in 1796 and for Essex in 1801. Thomas McKee, who so long has honorably filled the office of County Clerk of Essex, is a grandson of Captain Thomas McKee. The present able representative of North Essex in the Ontario Legislature is W. J. McKee, great grandson of the representative of 100 years ago and son of the present County Clerk.

detach at every risk a force down the River Thames, capable of acting in conjunction with the garrison of Amherstburg offensively, but Captain Chambers, whom I had appointed to direct this detachment, experienced difficulties from the prevalent spirit of the moment that frustrated my intentions.

The intelligence received from that quarter admitting of no delay, Colonel Procter was directed to assume the command, and his force was soon after increased with sixty rank and file of the 41st regiment.

In the meantime, the most strenuous measures were adopted to counteract the machinations of the evil disposed, and I soon experienced the gratification of receiving voluntary offers of service from that portion of the embodied militia the most easily collected. In the attainment of this important point, gentlemen of the first character and influence shewed an example highly creditable to them ; and I cannot, on this occasion, avoid mentioning the essential assistance I derived from John Macdonell, Esq., His Majesty's Attorney-General, who, from the beginning of the war, has honored me with his services as my Provincial Aid-de-Camp. A sufficiency of boats being collected at Long Point for the conveyance of 300 men, the embarkation took place on the 8th instant, and in five days we arrived in safety at Amherstburg.

I found that the judicious arrangements which had been adopted immediately upon the arrival of Colonel Procter, had compelled the enemy to retreat, and take shelter under the guns of his fort ; that officer commenced operations by sending strong detachments across the river, with a view of cutting off the enemy's communication with his resources.

This produced two smart skirmishes on the 5th and 9th inst., in both of which the enemy's loss was very considerable, whilst ours amounted to 3 killed and 13 wounded ; amongst the latter, I have particularly to regret Captain Muir and Lieutenant Sutherland, of the 41st regiment ; the former an officer of great experience, and both ardent in His Majesty's service. Batteries had likewise been commenced opposite Fort Detroit, for one 18 pounder, two 12's, and two 5 A inch mortars ; all of which opened on the evening of the 15th (having previously summoned Brigadier Gen. Hull to surrender), and although opposed by a well directed fire from seven 24

pounders, such was their construction under the able direction of Captain Dixon of the Royal Engineers, that no injury was sustained from its effect.

The force at my disposal being collected in the course of the 15th in the neighborhood of Sandwich, the embarkation took place a little after day-light on the following morning, and by the able arrangements of Lieutenant Dewar, of the Quarter-Master-General's department, the whole was, in a short time, landed without the smallest confusion at Spring-Well ; a good position, three miles west of Detroit. The Indians, who had in the meantime effected their landing two miles below, moved forward and occupied the woods, about a mile and a half on our left.

The force which I instantly directed to march against the enemy consisted of 30 Royal Artillery, 250 41st Regiment, 50 Royal Newfoundland Regiment, 400 militia, and about 600 Indians, to which were attached three 6 pounders and two 3 pounders. The services of Lieutenant Troughton, commanding the Royal Artillery, an active and intelligent officer, being required in the field, the direction of the batteries was intrusted to Captain Hall, and the Marine department, and I cannot withhold my entire approbation of their conduct on this occasion.

I crossed the river, with an intention of waiting in a strong position the effect of our force upon the enemy's Camp, and in hopes of compelling him to meet us in the field ; but receiving information upon landing, that Colonel M'Arthur, an officer of high reputation had left the garrison three days before with a detachment of 500 men, and hearing, soon afterwards, that his cavalry had been seen that morning three miles in our rear, I decided on an immediate attack. Accordingly, the troops advanced to within one mile of the fort, and having ascertained that the enemy had taken little or no precaution toward the land side, I resolved on an assault, whilst the Indians penetrated his Camp. Brigadier Gen. Hull, however, prevented this movement, by proposing a cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of preparing terms of capitulation. Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonell and Captain Glegg were accordingly deputed by me on this mission, and returned within an hour with the conditions, which I have the honor to transmit. Certain considerations



MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK .

afterwards induced me to agree to the two supplementary articles.

The force thus surrendered to His Majesty's arms, cannot be estimated at less than 2,500 men. In this estimate, Colonel M'Arthur's detachment is included, as lie surrendered, agreeably to the terms of capitulation, in the course of the evening, with the exception of 200 men, whom he left escorting a valuable convoy at some little distance in his rear ; but there can be no doubt the officer commanding will consider himself equally bound by the capitulation.

The enemy's aggregate force was divided into two troops of cavalry ; one company of artillery regulars ; the 4th United States regiment ; detachments of the 1st and 3rd United States regiments, volunteers ; three regiments of the Ohio Militia ; one regiment of the Michigan territory.

Thirty-three pieces of brass and iron ordnance have already been secured.

When this contest commenced, many of the Indian nations were engaged in active warfare with the United States, notwithstanding the constant endeavors of this government to dissuade them from it. Some of the principal chiefs happened to be at Amherstburg, trying to procure a supply of arms and ammunition, which for years had been withheld, agreeably to the instructions received from Sir James Craig, and since repeated by your Excellency.

From that moment they took a most active part, and appeared foremost on every occasion ; they were led yesterday by Colonel Elliot and Captain M' Kee and nothing could exceed their order and steadiness. A few prisoners were taken by them, during the advance, whom they treated with every humanity ; and it affords me much pleasure in assuring your Excellency, that such was their forbearance and attention to what was required of them, that the enemy sustained no other loss in men than what was occasioned by the fire of our batteries.

The high sense I entertain of the abilities and judgment of Lieut.-Col. Myers, induced me to appoint him to the important command at Niagara ; it was with reluctance I deprived myself of his assistance, but had no other expedient ; his duties, as head of the Quarter-Master-General's department, were performed to my satisfaction

by Lieut.-Col. Nichol, Quarter-Master-General of the Militia.

Captain Glegg, my Aid-de-Camp will have the honor of delivering this despatch to your Excellency ; he is charged with the colors taken at the capture of Fort Detroit, and those of the 4th United States regiment.

Captain Glegg is capable of giving your Excellency every information respecting the state of this province, and I shall esteem myself highly indebted to your Excellency to afford him that protection, to which his merit and length of service give him a powerful claim.

I have the honor to be, with every consideration, &c.,
ISAAC BROCK, Maj.-Gen.

His Excellency,
Lt.-Gen'l. Sir G. Prevost, Bart., Etc.

P. S. I have the honor to enclose a copy of a proclamation, which I have issued immediately on taking possession of this country.

I should have mentioned, in the body of my despatch, the capture of the Adams ; she is a fine vessel, and recently repaired, but without arms.

Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Nichol, of the 2nd Regiment of Norfolk Militia, was appointed Quartermaster General of Militia at the beginning of the war, and performed the arduous and important duties of that office to the entire satisfaction of the commanding officers. In his young days he worked as clerk for Colonel John Askin, of Detroit, and after leaving this service he established a milling and mercantile business at Port Dover on Lake Erie.

When Brock resolved to go to Detroit, Col. Nichol was entrusted with the arrangements for moving the force by water from Long Point to Amherstburg. This duty was so well performed that it called forth the praises of the General. He directed the crossing of the troops on August 16th, 1812, and after the surrender of Detroit he remained to assist Colonel Procter to establish means of defence. He was present at Fort Erie, Nov. 28th, 1812; and at the battle of Fort George, May 27th, 1813, his horse was killed under him while acting as Aid to Colonel Myers. But the greatest service that Colonel Nichol did for his country during the war was to induce Colonel Bisshopp and afterwards Major-General Vincent to disobey the orders of Sir George Prevost to abandon western Canada. On every important question he was consulted by the officers in command, and his reports, such as on the possibility of building a new fleet on Lake Erie and on the state of affairs on the Detroit frontier—show a thorough knowledge of military matters. He sacrificed a great deal during the war. On May 15th, 1814, his houses, barns, mills and distillery were destroyed

Camp at Detroit, 16th Aug., 1812.

F Capitulation for the surrender of Fort Detroit, entered into between Major-General Brock, commanding his Britannic Majesty's forces, on the one part, and Brigadier General Hull, commanding the North-Western army of the United States, on the other part.

1st. Fort Detroit, with all the troops, regulars as well as militia, will be immediately surrendered to the British forces under the command of Major-General Brock, and will be considered prisoners of war, with the exception of such of the militia of the Michigan territory, who have not joined the army.

2d. All public stores, arms, and all public documents, including every thing else of a public nature, will be immediately given up.

3d. Private persons, and property of every description will be respected.

4th. His Excellency, Brigadier-General Hull, having expressed a desire that a detachment from the State of Ohio, on its way to join his army, as well as one sent from Fort Detroit, under the command of Colonel M' Arthur, should be included in the above capitulation, it is accordingly agreed to. It is, however, to be understood, that such part of the Ohio Militia as have not joined the army, will be permitted to return to their homes, on condition that they will not serve during the war; their arms will be delivered up if belonging to the public.

5th. The Garrison will march out at the hour of 12

by a marauding party under Colonel Campbell. Notwithstanding his valuable services and losses, his pay and allowances were struck off at the peace. In 1817 he memorialized Earl Bathurst to present his case to the Prince Regent for relief, but I am not aware that he received any compensation for his losses. He received the gold medal for Detroit. On three occasions he was honored by being elected member of the Legislative Assembly for the County of Norfolk—in 1813, 1817 and in 1820. His death was caused by falling over the precipitous bank of the Niagara river between Niagara Falls and Queenston one stormy night at the beginning of May, 1824, his funeral to Stamford cemetery taking place on the 6th. He was married to Theresa Wright on December 21st, 1811. I have not seen any record of his place or date of his birth, or that any of his descendants are living at the present time.

o' clock this day, and the British forces will take immediate possession of the Fort.

J. MACDONELL, Lieut.-Col. militia, P. A.D.0 . ,

J. B. GLEGG, Major, A.D.C.,

JAMES MILLER, Lieut.-Col. 5th U. S. Infantry,

E. BRUSH, Col. com'g 1st regt. of Michigan Militia,

Approved,

W. HULL, B. Gen'l. Com'g the N. W. Army,

Approved,

ISAAC BROCK, Major-General.

An article supplemental to the articles of Capitulation, concluded at Detroit, the 16th of August, 1812.

It is agreed that the Officers and soldiers of the Ohio Militia and Volunteers shall be permitted to proceed to their respective homes, on this condition, that they are not to serve during the present war, unless they are exchanged.

W. HULL, B. Gen'l. Com'g N. W. Army, U.S.

ISAAC BROCK, Major-General.

An article in addition to the supplemental article of the capitulation, concluded at Detroit, the 16th of August, A.D. 1812.

It is further agreed that the officers and soldiers of the Michigan Militia and Volunteers, under the command of Major Wetherell, shall be placed on the same principles as the Ohio militia and volunteers are placed by the supplemental article of the 16th instant.

W. HULL, B. Gen'l. Com'g N. W. Army, U. S.

ISAAC BROCK, Major-General.

Return of the Ordnance taken in the fort and batteries at Detroit, August 16th, 1812.

Iron Ordnance—nine 24 pounders, eight 12 pounders, five 9 pounders. Brass Ordnance—three 6 pounders, two

=Colonel Elijah Brush who signed the capitulation was Attorney-General of the North-West Territory, as well as commander of the 1st Regiment of Michigan Militia. In 1802 he married Adelaide Barthe Askin, daughter of Col. John Askin, and was consequently uncle of Major Richardson. Colonel Brush was granted special privileges after the capture of Detroit on the intercession of his Canadian relatives, and, when the fortunes of war inclined to his country after the defeat of Captain Barclay, he had an opportunity to repay this kindness. His letter to Colonel Askin given in the appendix shows how he interceded with Captain Perry for Doctor Richardson.

4 pounders, one 3 pounder, one 8 inch howitzer, one 3 A inch ditto.

Total of Ordnance' taken-33.

FELIX TROUGHTON, Lieut. Com. Royal Artillery.

Proclamation by Isaac Brock, Esquire, Major-General commanding His Britannic Majesty's Forces in the Province of Upper Canada, &c.

Whereas the territory of Michigan was this day, by Capitulation, ceded to the Arms of His Britannic Majesty, without any other condition than the protection of private property, and wishing to give an early proof of the moderation and justice of the Government, I do hereby announce to all the inhabitants of the said Territory, that the laws heretofore in existence shall continue in force until His Majesty's pleasure be known, or so long as the peace and safety of the said Territory will admit thereof; and I do hereby also declare and make known to the said inhabitants, that they shall be protected in the full exercise of their religion, of which all persons both civil and military will take notice, and govern themselves accordingly.

All persons having in their possession, or having any knowledge of, any public property, shall forthwith deliver in the same, or give notice thereof to the officer commanding or Lieut.-Col. Nichol, who are hereby duly authorised to receive and give proper receipts for the same.

Officers of Militia will be held responsible, that all arms in possession of militia-men be immediately delivered up, and all individuals whatever who have in their possession arms of any kind, will deliver them up without delay.

Given under my hand at Detroit, this 16th day of August, 1812, and in the 52d year of His Majesty's reign.

ISAAC BROCK, Major-General.

"There is a mistake in this copy of the return of the ordnance. The following is made up from the copy in the Canadian Archives.

Iron Ordnance—Nine 24 pounders, nine 12 pounders, five 9 pounders, four 6 pounders, one 3 9-10 inch howitzer.

Brass Ordnance—Three 6 pounders, two 4 pounders, one 3 pounder, one 8 inch howitzer, one 5 1 inch howitzer, three 2 9-10 inch howitzers.

Total, 39.

The 5 inch howitzer was surrendered at Saratoga by Burgoyne. The 3 pounder was surrendered by Cornwallis at Yorktown.

Four of the 12 pounders were on board the Detroit in the harbor of Fort Erie when it was recaptured by the Americans under Lieut. Jesse D. Elliot and destroyed on the morning of Oct. 9th, 1812.

Explanatory as are the above documents, in relation to the important capitulation of Detroit ; and indicative as they are of the high aspirings of him to whose firmness and decision its fall is alone attributable, the account would be incomplete, were mention not here made of the causes stated to have led to the surrender of so strong a position, by the American Commander. Every particular relating, not merely to the conquest of Detroit—the first and leading feat performed during the war—but to the Hero, its conqueror, cannot be viewed as being given in any spirit of prolixity. I shall therefore proceed to give, first General Hull's letter of exculpation, addressed to the American Secretary at War ; and secondly a somewhat lengthy document from Colonel Cass, (now the United States Minister at Paris,) highly condemnatory of the conduct of his Chief.

From Brigadier-General Hull to the American Secretary at War.

Fort George, August 26th, 1812.

Sir,—Enclosed are the articles of capitulation, by which the fort of Detroit has been surrendered to Major-General Brock commanding His Britannic Majesty's forces in Upper Canada, and by which the troops have become prisoners of War. My situation, at present, forbids me from detailing the full and particular causes which have led to this unfortunate event. I will, however, generally observe that after the surrender of Michilimackinac, almost every tribe and nation of Indians, excepting a part of the Miamis and Delawares, north from beyond Lake Superior, west from beyond the Mississippi, south from the Ohio and Wabash, and east from every part of Upper Canada, and from all the intermediate country, joined in open hostility, under the British standard, against the army I commanded, contrary to the most solemn assurances of a large portion of them to remain neutral : even the Ottawa chiefs from L'Arbre Croche, who formed the delegation to Washington the last summer, in whose friendship I know you had great confidence, are among the hostile tribes, and several of them distinguished leaders. Among the vast number of chiefs who led the hostile bands, Tecumseh, Marpot, Logan, Walk-in-the-water,

Split-log, i &c.; are considered the principals. This numerous assemblage of savages, under the entire influence and direction of the British commander, enabled him totally to obstruct the only communication which I had with my country. This communication had been opened from the settlements in the state of Ohio, 200 miles through a wilderness, by the fatigues of the army, which I had marched to the frontier on the river Detroit. The body of the lake being commanded by the British armed ships, and the shores and rivers by gun-boats, the army was totally deprived of all communication by water. On this extensive road it depended for transportation of provisions, military stores, medicine, clothing, and every other supply, on pack-horses—all its operations were successful until its arrival at Detroit, and in a few days it passed into the enemy's country, and all opposition seemed to drop before it. One month it remained in possession of this country, and was fed from its resources. In different directions, detachments penetrated 60 miles in the settled part of the Province and the inhabitants seemed satisfied with the change of situation which appeared to be taking place. The militia from Amherstburg were daily deserting, and the whole country, then under the control of the army, was asking for protection.—The Indians generally, in the first instance, had certainly appeared to be neutralized, and determined to take no part in the contest. The fort of Amherstburg was 18 miles below my encampment. Not a single cannon or mortar was on wheels suitable to carry before this place. I consulted my officers whether it was expedient to make an attempt on it with the bayonet alone, without cannon to make a break in the first instance. The council I called was of the opinion it was not. The greatest industry was exerted in making preparation, and it was not until the 7th of August that two 24 pounders, and three howitzers, were prepared. It was then my intention to have proceeded on the enterprise. While the operations of the army were delayed by these preparations, the clouds of adversity had been for some time, and seemed still thickly to be gathering around me. The surrender of Michilimackinac opened the northern hive of Indians, and they

—The Huron chief Split log and Chief Blackbird who were British allies in 1812 and 1813, went over to the Americans in 1814. Drummond's letter to Prevost, Kingston, May 31st, 1814.

were swarming down in every direction. Reinforcements from Niagara had arrived at Amherstburg, under the command of Col. Procter. The desertion of the militia ceased. Besides the reinforcements that came by water, I received information of a very considerable force under the command of Major Chambers, on the river Le Trench, with four field pieces; and collecting the militia on his route, evidently destined for Amherstburg. And, in addition to this combination and increase of force, contrary to all my expectations, the Wyandots, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatamies, Munsees, Delawares, &c, with whom I had the most friendly intercourse, at once passed over to Amherstburg, and accepted the tomahawk and scalping knife. There being now a vast number of Indians at the British post, they were sent to the river Huron, Brownstown, and Maguaga to intercept my communication. To open this communication, I detached Major Van Horn of the Ohio volunteers, with 200 men, to proceed as far as the river Raisin, under an expectation he would meet Captain Brush, with 150 men, volunteers from the State of Ohio, and a quantity of provisions for the army. An ambuscade was formed at Brownstown, and Major Van Horn's detachment was defeated, and returned to camp, without effecting the object of the expedition.

In my letter of the 7th instant, you have the particulars of that transaction with a return of the killed and wounded. Under this sudden and unexpected change of things, and having received an express from General Hall, commanding opposite the British shore on the Niagara river, by which it appeared that there was no prospect of any co-operation from that quarter, and the two Senior Officers of the artillery having stated to me an opinion that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to pass the Turkey-river, and river Aux Canard, with the 24 pounders, and that they could not be transported by water as the Queen Charlotte, which carried eighteen 24 pounders lay in the river Detroit above the mouth of the river Aux Canard; and as it appeared indispensably necessary to open the communication to the river Raisin and the Miami, I found myself compelled to suspend the operation against Amherstburg, and concentrate the main force of the army at Detroit. Fully intending at that time, after the communication was opened, to re-

I Now called Thames.

cross the river, and pursue the object at Amherstburg, and strongly desirous of continuing protection to a very large number of the Inhabitants of Upper Canada, who had voluntarily accepted it under my proclamation, I established a fortress on the banks of the river a little below Detroit, calculated for a garrison of 300 men. On the evening of the 7th, and morning of the 8th instant, the army, excepting the garrison of 200 infantry, and a corps of artillerists, all under the command of Major Denny of the Ohio volunteers, re-crossed the river and encamped at Detroit. In pursuance of the object of opening the communication, on which I considered the existence of the army depending, a detachment of 600 men, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Miller, was immediately ordered. For a particular account of the proceedings of this detachment, and the memorable battle which was fought at Maguaga, which reflects the highest honor on the American arms, I refer you to my letter of the 13th August instant, a duplicate of which is enclosed, marked G. Nothing, however, but honor was acquired by this victory; and, it is a painful consideration, that the blood of 75 gallant men could only open the communication as far as the points of their bayonets extended. The necessary care of the sick and wounded, and a very severe storm of rain, rendered their return to camp indispensably necessary for their own comfort. Captain Brush with his small detachment, and the provisions being still at the river Raisin, in a situation to be destroyed by the savages, on the 13th instant, in the evening, I permitted Colonels M' Arthur and Cass to select from their regiments 400 of their most effective men, and proceed by an upper route through the woods, which I had sent an express to Captain Brush to take, and had directed the militia of the river Raisin to accompany him as a reinforcement. The force of the enemy continually increasing, and the necessity of opening the communication, and acting on the defensive, becoming more apparent, I had previous to detaching Colonels M' Arthur and Cass on the 11th instant evacuated and destroyed the fort on the opposite bank. On the 13th, in the evening, General Brock arrived at Amherstburg, about the hour Colonels M' Arthur and Cass marched, of which at that time I had received no information. On the 15th I received a summons from him to surrender Fort Detroit of which the paper marked A. is a

copy. My answer is marked B. At this time I had received no information from Colonels M' Arthur and Cass. An express was immediately sent, strongly escorted, with orders for them to return. On the 15th as soon as General Brock received my letter his batteries opened on the town and fort, and continued until evening. In the evening, all the British ships of war came nearly as far up the river as Sandwich, three miles below Detroit. At daylight, on the 16th (at which time I had received no information from Colonels M'Arthur and Cass, my expresses, sent the evening before, and in the night, having been prevented from passing by numerous bodies of Indians) the cannonade re-commenced, and in a short time I received information, that the British Army, and Indians, were landing below the Spring-Wells, under the cover of their ships of war.

At this time the whole effective force at my disposal at Detroit did not exceed 800 men. Being new troops, and unaccustomed to camp life ; having performed a laborious march ; having been engaged in a number of battles and skirmishes, in which many had fallen, and more had received wounds, in addition to which a large number being sick, and unprovided with medicine, and the comforts necessary for their situation, were the general causes by which the strength of the army was thus reduced. The fort at this time was filled with women, children, and the old and decrepit people of the town, and country ; they were unsafe in the town, as it was entirely open and exposed to the enemy's batteries. Back of the fort above or below it, there was no safety for them on account of the Indians. In the first instance, the enemy's fire was principally directed against our batteries, towards the close it was directed against the fort alone, and almost every shot and shell had their effect.

It now became necessary either to fight the enemy in the field ; collect the whole force in the fort ; or propose terms of capitulation. I could not have carried into the field more than 600 men, and left an adequate force in the fort. There were landed at that time of the enemy a regular force of much more than that number, and twice the number of Indians. Considering this great inequality of force, I did not think it expedient to adopt the first measure ; the second must have been attended with a great sacrifice of blood, and no possible advantage, be-

cause the contest could not have been sustained more than a day for want of powder, and but a very few days for the want of provisions. In addition to this, Colonels M' Arthur and Cass would have been in a most hazardous situation. I feared nothing but the last alternative—I have dared to adopt it—I well know the high responsibility of the measure, and I take the whole of it on myself—it was dictated by a sense of duty, and a full conviction of its expediency. The bands of savages which had then joined the British force, were numerous beyond any former example. Their numbers have since increased, and the history of the barbarians of the north of Europe does not furnish examples of more greedy violence than these savages have exhibited. A large portion of the brave and gallant officers and men I commanded would cheerfully have contested until the last cartridge had been expended, and the bayonets worn to the sockets—I could not consent to the useless sacrifice of such brave men, when I knew it was impossible for me to sustain my situation. It was impossible, in the nature of things that an army could have been furnished with the necessary supplies of provisions, military stores, clothing and comforts for the sick, on pack-horses through a wilderness of 200 miles, filled with hostile savages. It was impossible, sir, that this little army, worn down by fatigue, by sickness, by wounds, and deaths, could have supported itself not only against the collected force of all the Northern Nations of Indians ; but against the united strength of Upper Canada, whose population consists of more than 20 times the number contained in the territory of Michigan, aided by the principal part of the regular forces of the province, and the wealth and influence of the North-West and other trading establishments among the Indians, which have in their employment and under their control more than 2,000 white men. Before I close this despatch, it is a duty I owe my respectable associates in command, Colonels M'Arthur, Findlay, Cass, and Lieutenant-Colonel Miller to express my obligations to them for the prompt and judicious manner they have performed their respective duties. If aught has taken place during the campaign, which is honorable to the army, these Officers are entitled to a large share of it. If the last act should be disapproved, no part of the censure belongs to them. I have likewise to express my obligation to General Taylor,

who has performed the duty of quarter-master-general, for his great exertions in procuring every thing in his department, which it was possible to furnish, for the convenience of the army ; likewise to brigade Major Jessup, for the correct and punctual manner in which he has discharged his duty ; and to the army generally for their exertion and the zeal they have manifested for the public interest. The death of Dr. Foster soon after he arrived at Detroit, was a severe misfortune to the army ; it was increased by the capture of the Chachago packet, by which the medicine and hospital stores were lost. He was commencing the best arrangements in the department of which he was the principal, with the very small means he possessed. I was likewise deprived of the necessary services of Captain Partridge by sickness, the only officer of the corps of engineers attached to the army. All the officers and men have gone to their respective homes, excepting the 4th United States regiment, and a small part of the 1st and Captain Dyson's company of Artillery. Captain Dyson's company was left at Amherstburg, and the others are with me prisoners ; they amount to about 340. I have only to solicit an investigation of my conduct, as early as my situation and the state of things will admit ; and to add the further request that the government will not be unmindful of my associates in captivity, and of the families of those brave men who have fallen in the contest.

I have the honor to be very respectfully,

Your Most obedient Servant,

W. HULL, Brig. Gen. Commanding

Hon. W. Eustis, Secretary N. W. -Army, U. S.
of the Department of War.

Letter of Col. Cass, of the army late under the command of Brig.-General Wm. Hull to the Secretary of War.

Washington, Sept. Loth, 1812.

SIR,—Having been ordered on to this place by Col. M' Arthur, for the purpose of communicating to the government such particulars respecting the expedition lately commanded by Brig.-Gen. Hull, and its disastrous result, as might enable them correctly to appreciate the conduct of the officers and men, and to develop the

causes which produced so foul a stain upon the national character, I have the honor to submit to your consideration the following statement.

When the forces landed in Canada, they landed with an ardent zeal, and stimulated with the hope of conquest. No enemy appeared within view of us, and had an immediate and vigorous attack been made upon Malden, it would doubtless have fallen an easy victory. I knew Gen. Hull, afterwards declared he regretted this attack had not been made, and he had every reason to believe success would have crowned his efforts. The reasons given for delaying operations, was to mount our heavy cannon and to afford to the Canadian militia, time and opportunity to quit an obnoxious service. In the course of two weeks, the number of their militia who were embodied had decreased by desertion from six hundred to one hundred men, and in the course of three weeks, the cannon were mounted, the ammunition, and every preparation made for an immediate investment of the fort. At a council, at which were present all the field officers, and which was held two days before our preparations were completed, it was unanimously agreed to make an immediate attempt to accomplish the object of this expedition. If by waiting two days, we could have the service of our heavy artillery, it was agreed to wait ; if not it was determined to go without it, and to attempt the place by storm. This opinion appeared to correspond with the views of the General, and the day was appointed for commencing our march. He declared to me, that he considered himself pledged to lead the army to Malden. The ammunition was placed in the wagons ; the cannon were embarked on board the floating batteries, and every article was prepared. The spirit and zeal, the order and animation displayed by the officers and men, on learning the near accomplishment of their wishes, were a severe and sacred pledge, that in the hour of trial, they would not be found wanting in duty to their country and themselves. But a change of measures, in opposition to the wishes and opinions of all the officers, was adopted by the General. The plan of attacking Malden was abandoned, and instead of acting offensively, we broke up our camp, evacuated Canada, and re-crossed the river in the night, without even the shadow of an enemy to injure us. We left to the tender mercy of the enemy, the

miserable Canadians who had joined us, and the protection we afforded them was but a passport to vengeance. This fatal and unaccountable step dispirited the troops, and destroyed the little confidence which a series of timid, irresolute, and indecisive measures had left in the commanding officer.

About the loth of August, the enemy received a reinforcement of 400 men. On the 12th, the commanding officers of three of the regiments (the fourth was absent) were informed through a medium which admitted of no doubt, that the General had said, that a capitulation would be necessary. They on the same day addressed to Gov. Meigs, of Ohio, a letter of which the following is an extract.

" Believe all the bearer will tell you. Believe it, however it may astonish you, as much as if told by one of us. Even a c is talked of by the . The bearer will fill the vacancy."

The doubtful fate of this letter rendered it necessary to use circumspection in its details, and therefore these blanks were left. The word " capitulation " will fill the first and " commanding general " the other. As no enemy was near us, and as the superiority of our force was manifest, we could see no necessity for capitulating, nor any propriety in alluding to it. We therefore determined in the last resort to incur the responsibility of divesting the General of his command. This plan was eventually prevented by two of the commanding officers of regiments being ordered upon detachments.

On the 13th, the British took a position opposite Detroit, and began to throw up works. During that and the two following days, they pursued their object without interruption and established a battery of two 18 pounders, and an 8 inch howitzer. About sunset on the evening of the 14th, a detachment of 350 men from the regiments commanded by Col. M' Arthur and myself, was ordered to march to the river Raisin, to escort the provisions, which had some time remained there, protected by a party under the command of Capt. Brush.

On Saturday the 15th, about one o'clock, a flag of truce arrived from Sandwich, bearing a summons from General Brock, for the surrender of the town and fort of Detroit, stating he could no longer restrain the fury of the savages. To this an immediate and spirited refusal

was returned. About 4 o'clock their batteries began to play upon the town. The fire was returned and continued without interruption and with little effect until dark. Their shells were thrown until 11 o'clock.

At daylight the firing on both sides recommenced ; about the same time the enemy began to land troops at the Spring-Wells, three miles below Detroit, protected by two of their armed vessels.

Between 6 and 7 o'clock, they had effected their landing and immediately took up their line of march. They moved in a close column of platoons, twelve in front, upon the bank of the river.

The fourth regiment was stationed in the fort ; the Ohio volunteers and a part of the Michigan militia, behind some pickets, in a situation in which the whole flank of the enemy would have been exposed. The residue of the Michigan militia were in the upper part of the town to resist the incursions of the savages. Two 24 pounders loaded with grape shot, were posted upon a commanding eminence, ready to sweep the advancing column. In this situation, the superiority of our position was apparent, and our troops in the eager expectation of victory, awaited the approach of the enemy. Not a sigh of discontent broke upon the ear ; not a look of cowardice met the eye. Every man expected a proud day for his country, and each was anxious that his individual exertion should contribute to the general result.

When the head of their column arrived within about 500 yards of our line, orders were received from Gen. Hull for the whole to retreat to the fort, and for the 24 pounders not to open upon the enemy. One universal burst of indignation was apparent upon the receipt of this order. Those whose conviction was the deliberate result of a dispassionate examination of passing events, saw the folly and impropriety of crowding 1, 100 men into a little work, which 300 men could fully man, and into which the shot and shells of the enemy were falling. The fort was in this manner filled ; the men were directed to stack their arms, and scarcely was an opportunity afforded of moving. Shortly after, a white flag was hung out upon the walls. A British officer rode up to inquire the cause. A communication passed between the commanding Generals, which ended in the capitulation submitted to you. In entering into this capitulation,

the General took counsel from his own feelings only. Not an officer was consulted. Not one anticipated a surrender, till he saw the white flag displayed. Even the women were indignant at so shameful a degradation of the American character, and all felt as they should have felt, but he who held in his hands the reins of authority.

Our morning report had that morning made out effective men present fit for duty 1,060, without including the detachment before alluded to, and without including 300 of the Michigan militia on duty. About dark on Sunday evening, the detachment sent to escort the provisions, received orders from General Hull, to return with as much expedition as possible. About 10 o'clock the next day, they arrived in sight of Detroit. Had a firing been heard, or any resistance visible, they would have immediately advanced and attacked the rear of the enemy. The situation in which this detachment was placed, although the result of accident, was the best for annoying the enemy and cutting off his retreat, that could have been selected. With his raw troops enclosed between two fires, and no hopes of succour, it is hazarding little to say, that very few would have escaped.

I have been informed by Col. Findlay, who saw the return of their Quarter-Master-General, the day after the surrender, that their whole force of every description white, red and black was 1,030. They had 29 platoons, 12 in a platoon, of men dressed in uniform. Many of these were evidently Canadian Militia. The rest of their militia increased their white force to about 700 men.

The number of their Indians could not be ascertained with any degree of precision ; not many were visible. And in the event of an attack upon the town and fort, it was a species of force which could have afforded no material advantage to the enemy.

In endeavoring to appreciate the motives, and to investigate the causes which led to an event so unexpected and dishonorable, it is impossible to find any solution in the relative strength of the contending parties, or in the measures of resistance in our power. That we were far superior to the enemy ; that upon any ordinary principles of calculation, we could have defeated them, the wounded and indignant feelings of every man there will testify.

A few days before the surrender, I was informed by Gen. Hull, we had 400 rounds of 24 pound shot fixed and



GENERAL LEWIS CASS.

about too,000 cartridges made. We surrendered with the fort, 40 barrels of powder and 2,500 stand of arms.

The state of our provisions has not been generally understood. On the day of the surrender we had 15 days' provisions of every kind on hand. Of meat there was plenty in the country, and arrangements had been made for purchasing and grinding the flour. It was calculated we could readily procure three month's provisions, independent of 150 barrels of flour, 1,300 head of cattle which had been forwarded from the State of Ohio, and which remained at the river Raisin under Captain Brush, within reach of the army.

But had we been totally destitute of provisions, our duty and our interest undoubtedly was to fight. The enemy invited us to meet him in the field.

By defeating him, the whole country would have been open to us, and the object of our expedition gloriously and successfully obtained. If we had been defeated we had nothing to do but to retreat to the fort, and make the best defence which circumstances and our situation rendered practicable. But basely to surrender without firing a gun—tamely to submit without raising a bayonet—disgracefully to pass in review before an enemy as inferior in the quality as in the number of his forces, were circumstances, which excited feelings of indignation more easily felt than described. To see the whole of our men flushed with the hope of victory, eagerly awaiting the approaching contest, to see them afterwards dispirited, hopeless, and desponding, at least Soo shedding tears because they were not allowed to meet their country's foe and to fight their country's battles, excited sensations which no American has ever before had cause to feel, and which, I trust in God, will never again be felt while one man remains to defend the standard of the union.

I am expressly authorized to state, that Col. M' Arthur, Col. Finlay and Lieut.-Col. Miller, viewed this transaction in the light which I do. They know and feel, that no circumstance in our situation—none in that of the enemy, can excuse a Capitulation so dishonorable and unjustifiable. This too is the universal sentiment among the troops : and I shall be surprised to learn, that there is one man, who thinks it was necessary to sheath his sword, or lay down his musket.

I was informed by General Hull, the morning after the

Capitulation, that the British forces consisted of 1,800 regulars and that he surrendered to prevent the effusion of human blood. That he magnified their regular force nearly five-fold, there can be no doubt. Whether the philanthropic reason assigned by him is a sufficient justification for surrendering a fortified town, an army and a territory, is for the government to determine.

Confident I am, that had the courage and conduct of the General been equal to the spirit and zeal of the troops, the event would have been as brilliant and successful, as it now is disastrous and dishonorable.

Very respectfully, Sir, I have the honor to be, your most obedient Servant,
Lewis Cass, Col. 3rd Regt. Ohio volunteers.

The Hon. Wm. Eustis,
Secretary of War.

Although it does not come strictly within the object of this narrative to comment upon the statements of the enemy, it should not be concealed that the apprehension, entertained by General Hull, of the increased danger to his troops, and to the comparatively defenceless town of Detroit, arising from the expected arrival of reinforcements of Indians from the West, was in a great degree well founded, and it was well known at the time, (although a sentiment of shame at the yielding up of a post of such strength as Detroit, has since repudiated the measure,) that this was a sentiment by no means confined to General Hull. Mr. Robert Dickson, a gentleman to whom long intercourse with the Indians had imparted a knowledge of their character, and influence over their minds, which proved highly beneficial to the British cause, was then actively engaged in collecting some of the most warlike tribes; while the present Colonel Askin of London, at that time in the Indian Department, was already within a few days' journey of Detroit, with a body of 270 Indian Warriors, under their Chief Big-gun. This little detachment had set out expressly for the relief of Amherstburg, and, on its passage down in birch canoes, encountered much peril and difficulty, having had to

cross Saginaw Bay, nearly fifty miles in extent, and for many hours, in their frail barks, even out of sight of the land. Such was the celerity of their movements, that they reached Amherstburg in the remarkably short period of six days from their departure from Michilimackinac, and about the same lapse of time from the surrender of Detroit. Thus it will appear, that General Hull was only wrong in as far as related to the actual position of the Indian reinforcements, on their way from the far West. Whether, however, this was an excuse for the abandonment of his strong post, without an effort in its defence, is a point of discussion which this narrative does not profess to entertain. Notwithstanding there are two strong features of dissimilarity between the letters of General Hull and Colonel Cass, to which it is impossible not to refer—namely the eagerness of the one to diminish his own force, and increase that of his adversary—and the not less evident desire of the other to show that, not only in the quantity, but the quality of his troops—in resources, and in means of defence of all kinds, the American General had decidedly the advantage. In truth, without absolutely adopting the opinion of Col. Cass, as expressed in regard to the inferiority of the British troops engaged on this occasion, the question which suggests itself on reading General Hull's Official declaration, that he had not more than 300 men on the day when General Brock appeared before Detroit naturally is—where were the 2,300 men who had been marched, little more than a month previously, through the State of Michigan, and the sound of whose drums, heard from Brownstown, as they passed through that village, was the first intimation the little garrison of Amherstburg had of the proximity of so formidable a force? True, 400 men had been detached under Colonel Cass, (those, as it has been seen, were included in the capitulation) but where were the remainder? Not one hundred suffered at Maguaga. Certainly not fifty during the whole

of the skirmishing at the Canard ; nor had the defeat of Major Van Home cost the Americans more than five and twenty men—in all, at the very utmost, zoo. Here then was a decrease of 600 men, leaving under the immediate orders of the American General, 1,700 men ,exclusive of the troops composing the garrison of Detroit' on his arrival, and the Michigan militia. General Hull alludes to his crowded hospitals. Did these contain, or had he on his sick list, 900 men ? Impossible. These strictures are necessary, because the gallant 41st and the equally gallant and patriotic volunteers who followed General Brock to the theatre of action, cannot submit to be deprived of the glory which was theirs, under their dis-

In 1694 Antoine de la Motte Cadillac, an enthusiastic young French officer, was rewarded by Frontenac, the Governor of New France, for his services in Acadia by being appointed to the command of Michilimackinac. He had passed through the Detroit river, and his quick eye saw its advantages as a site for a new post to command the trade of the west. When on a visit to France after his five years of command at Michilimackinac he represented to Count Pontchartrain, the Colonial Minister, the importance of building a new post on the Detroit. He was successful in his representations, and was given a grant of fifteen acres square of land anywhere on the Detroit and the commission of Commandant. In 1701 he built a stockade fort containing about three acres, with log blockhouses at the corners, and named it Fort Pontchartrain after his patron. Three years afterwards the Indians made an unsuccessful attempt to burn it. In Nov., 1760, Major Robert Rogers received its surrender to Great Britain. Pontiac besieged it in 1763, and after nearly fifteen months of weary but stubborn resistance the British were relieved. The story of this siege is told in the novel of " Wacousta " by Major Richardson. In the Fall of 1778 a new fort was laid out some distance farther from the river than the old stockade fort by Captain Henry Bird, and named Fort Lernoult after Major Lernoult of the 8th (King's) Regiment, the officer in command there. It was evacuated by the British in 1796, and the guns and garrison transferred to Fort Amherstburg, a new fort in the township of Malden on the Canadian side of the river, eighteen miles farther south. From its evacuation in 1796, until Procter's retreat in 1813, it appears to have been referred to simply as Fort Detroit, a name by which it was known when captured by Brock on August 16th, 1812. In the Canadian Archives a plan of this Fort is given as repaired in 1812, and it is called " Fort L'Arnaud," evidently an attempt to revive the original name by someone who knew the sound but not the correct orthography of Fort Lernoult. When taken possession of by Gen. Harrison it was called Fort Shelby in honor of the governor of

tinguished leader, on the occasion of the capture of Detroit. They believed, and with every reason (for they knew not of the departure of Col. Cass, for the River Raisin) that they were marching to the conquest of a post which was defended by at least two thousand men—and they have an undeniable right to impugn a statement which, incorrectly and for a sinister purpose, reduces that force, on paper, by two-thirds of the amount. Honor to whom honor is due.

In the capture of Detroit, General Brock has been termed the saviour of Canada, and most deservedly so. Had he not struck the blow he did, and at the time he did, at the American power in the West, Upper Canada—nay both the Canadas must have been yielded to the triumphant arms of the United States. At this period the whole force of the Province consisted of four Regiments of the

Kentucky, who accompanied Harrison in his victorious campaign. In 1826 it was given to the city of Detroit, and in the Spring of 1827, the embankments were taken away, the ground levelled and streets continued over its site.

Major James Dalliba, at the trial of Gen. Hull, gave the following description of the Fort at the time of its surrender in 1812.

" The fort lies on the highest ground in a circumference of three miles, was a regular half bastion fort, composed of 4 curtains and 4 half bastions, about 100 yards on each face, not including the half bastions ; about 75 yards being the extreme length of the curtain—that the fort was made partly of earth—the parapet eleven feet in elevation—the thickness of the top of the parapet about 12 feet, the banquet for Infantry six feet from the foundation or level of the fort, and five feet from the parapet—the whole width of the rampart at its base 26 feet—at the bottom of the exterior or slope of the parapet there was a horizontal space of ground about 2 or 3 feet in width, extending around the whole circumference of the work, the ditch upon an average was from five to six feet deep, and at the bottom 12 feet wide, beyond the exterior or slope of the ditch anscope, or & cis or esplanade. There was formerly a covert way, of which traces were remaining unhurt. In the bottom of the ditch around the fort there was a row of pickets of cedar, nearly new, (12) in diameter and 11 or 12 feet high; these pickets were fastened together by a rib—The gate was strongly made of plank with spikes ; over the gate was a look out house, also strongly built in the fall of 1811—cannon were mounted in the embrasures, most of which were repaired and put in good order in 1811, and the fort was, generally, in good order and in good repair."

line, namely, the 8th, 41st, 49th, and 10th, added to these, the Canadian and Glengarry Fencibles, and a few companies of Veterans, and of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment. So insignificant a force could have availed little against the hordes of American irregular troops which would have been poured in from the west, along the Delaware and Burlington routes, and which moving in rear of the centre and left divisions, must necessarily have cut off their communication with the interior of the country, and so straitened their supplies as to have rendered them an eventual conquest. That General Hull would have recovered from the temporary panic, which seems to have induced his relinquishment of his position at Sandwich there can be no manner of doubt ; but even if he had not done so, and reduced Amherstburg, which was of vital importance to the American interests, there were other leaders, and other armies, already on their way to reinforce him, and the subjugation of the Western District must, on their arrival, have been assured. What then would have been the result ? Half of the Indians, already bearing arms on our side, would either have seceded from a cause which they conceived us too helpless to defend, or have joined the American flag, while those who were undecided which party to join, would have thrown their influence and numbers into the opposite ranks. As General Hull has truly enough stated in his official letter, most of the Militia of the District—particularly the French Canadian portion of the population, were daily thinning our ranks, by returning to their homes, and it required but some strong and effective demonstration, on the part of the enemy, to have left the regular troops in the West to their own unaided exertions. Fortunately it was fated to be otherwise. General Brock, with that keenness of perception, and promptitude of action, which was so eminently characteristic of his brief but glorious career, at once saw the danger, and flew to meet and avert it. He

well knew that, on the destruction or discomfiture of the North Western Army, depended the safety of the Province committed to his charge, and the enterprise, which he himself has termed hazardous, was perilled only after profound reflection and conviction. He justly entertained the belief that while, on the one hand, the slightest delay and incertitude of action, would be fatal to the interests of Great Britain inasmuch as it must have a tendency to discourage, not only the inhabitants of the Province, but our Indian allies, there was, on the other, every probability that an immediate and vigorous attack, upon an enemy, who had already lost so much time in inactivity, and who had abandoned so many advantages, would be crowned with success. It was a bold—an almost dangerous measure ; but the danger of the country was greater, and he resolved to try the issue. He succeeded; from that hour Canada was saved.

Independently of " 400 rounds of 24 pound shot, already fixed : about 200,000 cartridges made up : 40 barrels of powder : and 2,500 stand of arms," which had been admitted by General Hull, to Colonel Cass, to have been in the fort on the day of the surrender, there was also a quantity of camp equipage such as tents, waggons, entrenching tools, etc., and moreover in the harbour, a very fine brig, the Adams? then unarmed, but hitherto employed in the transport of stores for the use of the garrison of Detroit. With this vessel a very gallant affair was connected, only a few days after the capitulation. Agreeable to the terms of this, the irregular forces of General Hull were transported by water to Buffalo, there to be disembarked preparatory to their return into their native State, Ohio, while the regular troops, principally the 4th U.S. Infantry, were landed at Fort Erie, with a view of being marched on, as prisoners of war, to Lower Canada.

The armed vessels already named, as having covered

our landing, on the 16th, were put in requisition for this service, and to these were added the Adams (re-named the Detroit) and the Caledonia, a fine merchant brig, the property of Angus MacIntosh, Esquire, of Moy, a few miles above Windsor. I do not recollect who was appointed to the command of the Detroit,' but the Caledonia had her own Captain—Mr. Irvine, a young Scotchman of a peculiarly retiring and amiable disposition and gentlemanly manners, yet endowed with great firmness and resolution of character. These two vessels, having reached their destination for landing the prisoners, were then lying, wholly unprotected and unsuspecting of danger, in the harbour of (Fort) Erie when, one dark night, they found themselves assailed by two large boats, filled with American sailors and troops which had dropped alongside without being perceived, until it was too late for anything like effectual resistance. The Detroit was almost immediately carried, but the young Captain of the Caledonia, which lay a little below her, aroused from his bed

*The commander of the Detroit on this occasion was Lieutenant Frederic Rolette, who was born in Quebec in 1783. At an early age he enlisted in the British navy, and soon had the honor of taking part in the two greatest naval battles ever fought, and under the most illustrious naval officer that ever lived. At the Battle of the Nile he received five wounds, and was present at Trafalgar, where the combined naval power of France and Spain was annihilated by Nelson. Soon after this he returned home, and was appointed a second Lieutenant in the Provincial Marine on Oct. 4th, 1807, and on April 25th, 1812, was promoted to a first Lieutenantcy and given command of the brig Hunter on Lake Erie. On July 1st, 1812, Gen. Hull put his sick, the officers' baggage and some supplies on board of the Cayahoga or Cayuga Packet at the rapids of the Miami to be taken to Detroit, but on passing up the Detroit river this vessel was captured by Lieut. Rolette on the 3rd of July. At the battle of the river Raisin, when the marines acted with land forces, Lieut. Rolette was wounded on the head. Robert Reynolds, of Amherstburg, who was Deputy Assistant-Commissary General, says Rolette's life was saved by a thick handkerchief tied around his head for the headache. He was second officer of the Lady Prevost, one of the vessels of Captain Barclay's fleet that was defeated on Sept. 10th, 1813, by the fleet of Captain Perry. Taken prisoner on this occasion, he remained in captivity till the fall of 1814. At the close of the war he was presented with a sword by the people of his native city. He died at Quebec on the 17th of March, 1831.

by the confusion on board his consort, prepared for a vigorous, although almost entirely personal, resistance. Hastily arming himself, and calling on his little and inexperienced crew (scarcely exceeding a dozen men) to do the same, he threw himself in the gangway, and discharged a loaded blunderbuss into the first advancing boat, now dropping from the re-captured Detroit to board the Caledonia. The enemy were staggered, but still they pursued their object, and Mr. Irvine had barely time to discharge a second blunderbuss into the same boat, when he was felled to the deck by a cutlass-stroke from one of the crew of the second party which had boarded him on the opposite gangway. The Caledonia was then secured by her captors, but the Detroit, having grounded, was destroyed.

The intrepidity and self-devotion of Mr. Irvine, whose single arm it appeared, had killed and wounded no less than seven of his assailants, met with that reward it so richly merited. The heads of the *Naval Department, anxious to secure so gallant an Officer to the service, tendered to him on his exchange, which took place shortly after, the commission of a Lieutenant in the Provincial Navy, in which capacity he continued to serve during the whole of the naval operations connected with the Right Division. But I shall have occasion again to refer to the gallant bearing of Mr. Irvine.

The surprise of the Detroit and Caledonia was considered by the Americans, at that time, a very brilliant feat, and contributed in some degree to dissipate the gloom which the surrender of General Hull and his army had occasioned. But without in the slightest way seeking to impeach the American character for bravery, it is impossible to look on the exploit in the light in which they would have it considered. Both vessels having been simply employed in cartel service, were without other than the commonest means of defence peculiar to mer-

chantmen, while their crews were not only weak in number, but composed of a class of men—French Canadian sailors and voyageurs—who were ill-qualified to compete with two full boat-loads of practised and resolute American sailors and soldiers. Moreover both vessels lay in perfect security, and utter absence of preparation. They did not conceive it necessary to be on the alert, because they imagined that the present pacific character in which they appeared, would have shielded them from all hostile attempt. At the moment of the surprise, both vessels had on board the prisoners with whom they had left the fort of Detroit for the purpose of being landed at Buffalo. However inclined to aggression, the Americans were not justified in violating the sanctity of the flag which, of course, continued to float as long as there were American prisoners on board, remaining to be landed. It is true, it must be admitted that an unusual feeling of exasperation had been induced by the surrender of General Hull and his army, for when the 4th Regiment, with the other broken corps of the American line, were marched from Fort Erie, where they had been landed from the Queen Charlotte, on their route for the Lower Province, and escorted only by a portion of the detachment which had joined us at Maguaga, they were fired upon by stragglers from the masses of men who were seen lining the opposite banks of the Niagara river, remarking with evident displeasure the march of the captured troops, and thus giving vent to their indignation.

An accident, at one time promising results far more serious than any which could spring from the capture of the vessels just named, occurred about the same period. General Brock, anxious to assume the offensive on the Niagara frontier, lost not a moment in returning across the lake, ordering down at the same time, not only the Toronto Militia, but those troops of the 41st, who had preceded and accompanied him to Detroit. The

Queen Charlotte, principally laden with the regulars of the captured army, had sailed on the very evening of the surrender, and General Brock the next day embarked in a very small trading schooner, on board which were about 70 Ohio Riflemen, guarded by a small party of militia rifles, which composed a portion of the volunteers from Toronto. During the passage none of the guard were on any account permitted to go below, either by day or by night, and not more than half a dozen Americans were allowed to be upon deck at the same time—the hatches being secured above the remainder. It was a duty of some fatigue, and requiring the exercise of the utmost vigilance on the part of the little guard. One morning, about day break, when by their reckoning they judged they were close to the harbor of Fort Erie, they found themselves suddenly becalmed, and in the midst of a fog which had commenced during the night. As the sun rose the fog began to disperse, but the calm prevailed, and gradually, as the wreathing mists rolled upward, the guard discovered, to their dismay, that they were close upon the American shore near Buffalo. The danger was imminent, for a number of persons were already assembled, evidently at a loss to discover to what flag the vessel belonged, and wondering what had brought her into a position entirely out of the usual course of navigation. In this emergency, the officer commanding the watch (Lieut. Jarvis, now Superintendent of Indian affairs) hastened below to acquaint General Brock, who was lying on his bed, with the danger which threatened the vessel, which it was 'impossible, by reason of the calm, to get farther from the shore. General Brock immediately sprang to his feet, and rushing upon deck, saw the situation of the vessel was precisely what has been described. He was extremely angry, and turning to the master of the schooner, said, "You scoundrel, you have betrayed me, let but one shot be fired from the shore and (pointing to it) I will run you up on the instant to

that yard-arm." The master, though innocent of all design, was greatly alarmed by the stern threat of the General, and as the only possible means of extricating the vessel from her perilous situation, ordered several of his crew into a small punt, attached to her stern, the only boat belonging to her. In this they attempted to tow her, but made so little progress that one of the guard asked permission of the General to discharge his rifle, in order to attract the attention of the Queen Charlotte, then lying at anchor between point Abino and Fort Erie, to a signal which had been previously hoisted. Apprehensive that the shot might not be heard by their friends, while it might be the means of informing the enemy of their true character, General Brock at first refused his sanction, but as the man seemed confident that the report of his rifle would reach the other shore, he finally assented, and the shot was fired. Soon afterwards the answering signal was run up to the masthead of the Queen Charlotte, and that vessel, seeing the doubtful situation of the schooner, on board which however they were not aware the General had embarked, immediately weighed her anchor, and standing over to the American shore, under a slight breeze which was then beginning to rise hastened to cover the little bark with her battery. Taking her in tow she brought her safely into the harbour of (Fort) Erie, greatly to the joy of those who, aware of the invaluable freight with which the schooner was charged, had, on the weighing of the Queen Charlotte's anchor, entertained the utmost apprehension for the safety of the becalmed vessel, and watched with deep interest the vain attempts of her crew to bring her off.

EXPEDITION TO PORT WAYNE

The fall of Detroit having secured the tranquillity of Amherstburg and its contiguous districts, an expedition was projected into the interior of the enemy's country, the object of which was the destruction of Fort Wayne, a post distant several hundred miles, and serving as a depot for stores, from which the various troops of the enemy, pushed forward to the frontier, were supplied. The garrison, according to the intelligence received was closely invested, by the Indians, and consisted merely of a few hundred men, and a few pieces of cannon indifferently mounted. Towards the close of September, a small detachment of troops, a howitzer, and two field pieces, under the command of Brevet Major Muir, were embarked in boats, and proceeded across the lake to the Miami village, situated about fifteen miles beyond the entrance of the river of the same name. Being there joined by the body of Indians destined to form a part of the expedition, the detachment continued its route by land, and along a tract of country bearing no mark of civilization whatever. Our only covering was the canopy of Heaven or rather the arches formed by the intermingling boughs of the forest through which we moved, and not even the wigwam of the savage arose to diversify the monotony of the scene. The difficulty of conveying the guns by land caused their transportation to be a work of much time ; and the river from the point where we had disembarked, was so extremely low as to render the progress of the boats, following the sinuosities of its course, tedious to the last degree. Having at length, after much toil,

gained that part of the Miami, where it was intended to disembark their stores, every obstacle appeared to be removed, and the capture of Fort Wayne, then at no great distance, an event looked forward to with confidence. Fate, however, had ordained otherwise. About nine o'clock on the evening of our arrival, the shrill cry of our scouts was heard echoing throughout the forest, and soon afterwards seven Indians issued from the wood on the opposite shore, and, leaping through the river, reached our encampment with the scalps of several Americans. The account they gave of their adventure was to the following effect. At a distance of a few leagues, while advancing cautiously along the road, they observed a party, five in number, in a glen, and seated round a large fire, where they were busily occupied in preparing their food. After a slight consultation they proceeded towards the group, and had approached within a few paces before they were perceived by the Americans, who instantly flew to their arms, and assumed a posture of defence. The Indians, however, held out their hands in token of amity, and were suffered to enter the circle. Here, pretending to be in the American interest, and describing themselves as hunters on their way to one of their villages, they succeeded in lulling the suspicions of the officer, who, in return, communicated to them that the party he commanded were scouts preceding the advanced guard of an army of 2,500 men, then on their march for the Miami village, and only distant a few miles. This disclosure obtained, the Indians, satisfied that they had no time to lose, and throwing off the mask, desired them to deliver up their arms. The astonished party thus entrapped, and unwilling to risk a contest with a superior force, consented to accompany them as their prisoners, but positively refused to relinquish their rifles. They all therefore proceeded in silence towards our encampment, three Indians on each flank of

their prisoners, and one in the rear. On the approach of evening, the Americans were again desired to deliver up their rifles, and on refusing to do so, at a signal given by one of the Indians, the whole of his party dropped, one by one, and apparently without premeditation, behind. Each then selected his victim, and four of these unhappy men fell to rise no more. The officer alone, slightly wounded, made an ineffectual attempt to escape, but closely pursued through the intricacies of the forest by two of his foes, he was at length overtaken, and felled to the earth by a blow from a tomahawk. This cruel scene must have taken place at no great distance from our encampment, the shots having been distinctly heard about half an hour before the appearance of the Indians, who, on being questioned, excused their conduct, under the plea of the Americans being nearly equal in numbers to themselves, and obstinately refusing to deliver up their arms—circumstances which rendered their destruction, at the approach of evening, a measure of self-security—especially so, as having been sent in advance four or five days before, they were not aware of our being encamped at so short a distance.

In consequence of the foregoing intelligence, all idea of continuing the expedition against Fort Wayne was abandoned, and the boats were ordered the same evening to descend the river. Major Muir having, however, resolved to await the approach of the enemy, a position was taken up early on the following morning on the heights overlooking the ford at which the Americans were expected to cross. Having passed the whole of the day in the vain expectation of his appearance, it was at length decided on, that the enemy apprised of our vicinity by the view of the bodies of their scouts slain the evening before, had taken a different direction, and instead of traversing the river at the usual ford, had forced their march by a less frequented route on the opposite shore. Such a manoeuvre on the part of the American general would neces-

sarily have cut off our retreat, and we must have combated an enemy infinitely superior in numbers, under every disadvantage, in the heart of his own country and, in the event of our boats falling into his hands, destitute of every resource. The detachment was consequently ordered to retire on the old fort of Defiance, situated about half way between the Miama village and the point from whence we commenced our retreat, formerly garrisoned by the British troops, during the celebrated Pontiac war, so fatally waged against us by the confederated tribes of Indians, but then in a state of utter ruin and dilapidation. Having crossed the river at this place, a position was again taken up at a point beyond which the enemy could not effect his passage unperceived. Here, however, we did not long remain. Early on the morning after our arrival, a party of Indians appeared along our line, conducting a prisoner they had found straying in the woods, at a short distance from the enemy's camp. From his account it appeared that the information given by the American officer was perfectly correct. The force of the enemy consisted of 2,500 men, under the command of General Winchester ; and were destined for the Miami, where it was intended to construct a fortification. On arriving at the spot where their slaughtered scouts lay unburied along the road, an alarm was spread throughout their columns, and 'deeming a numerous enemy to be in their front, it was thought prudent to entrench themselves where they were. For this purpose trees were immediately felled, and in the course of a few hours, with that expedition for which the Western Americans, with whom the axe is almost as indispensable a weapon as the rifle, are remarkable, an enclosure with interstices for musquetry, and sufficiently large to contain their whole force, together with their baggage and waggons, was completed. It being evident from this intelligence, that the object of our enterprise was entirely frustrated, and that an attack

on the enemy's entrenchment with our feeble force, if unsuccessful, must necessarily compromise the safety of our own posts, Major Muir decided on returning to Amherstburg, which fortress the detachment at length reached after a fruitless absence of three weeks.

Although little or no mention has ever been made of our retreat from Fort Wayne, before so overwhelming a force as that which we so unexpectedly encountered, and by which we ought to have been annihilated, the utmost praise is due to Major Muir for having accomplished it, not only without the loss of a man of his detachment, but even without the abandonment of any of his guns or stores, which, as has already been stated, were being transported with great toil and difficulty. Every thing was brought off, and at no one moment was our march precipitate. Indeed, of the bold front assumed by the detachment, some idea may be formed from the following brief accounts which appeared in the American papers, even during the time we were retiring upon Amherstburg.

Chillicothe, Oct. 6th, 1812.

Col. James Dunlop, who returned last evening from St. Mary's, reports that an express arrived from that place to General Harrison from General Winchester, urging him to repair immediately to Fort Defiance. That Harrison marched with all expedition at the head, of 2,500 or 3,000 mounted rifles. The express stated that General Winchester was at or near Fort Defiance, with about 3,000 Ohio and Kentucky volunteers, and that a body of Indians and British amounting to 2,000 or 3,000 with six pieces of Artillery, lay encamped about three miles from him. Winchester was hourly expecting an attack.

Chillicothe, October 7th, 1812.

The vanguard of the North Western army, under General Winchester, arrived some days ago at Isidonia from Fort Defiance. It was composed of Payne's. Brigade of Kentucky Volunteers, Gerrard's troop of Dragoons, and about 400 of the 17th Regiment of regulars.

They advanced to within three miles of Fort Defiance (on which we had retired) and there found 3,000 British and Indians with six pieces of artillery who had fortified themselves in the Fort. Winchester also fortified his camp and waited for reinforcements.

Now as I was on this, as well as every other expedition undertaken by the Right Division, during its military existence, I can, from my own personal knowledge, aver that there were not more than 150 regular troops of every description, (principally the 41st) and the same number of militia, composing the detachment under Major Muir, on this occasion. My impression—and it is a very strong one—is that it did not exceed two-thirds of that number, but as, unfortunately, all official papers connected with the Regiment were lost at the Moravian town, it has been utterly impossible to ascertain the correct embarkation return of the troops employed on this, as well as on various other similar occasions. If I admit 300 men, I do so, not from a belief that there was so many, but from an apprehension of underrating our actual strength. Our Indian force did not exceed 500 men, and our artillery, as has been stated, consisted of one small howitzer—(the calibre I forget) – and two three-pounders. We did not fortify ourselves in Fort Defiance, but occupied it one day, during the greater part of which we continued on the skirt of the surrounding wood, provoking the enemy to attack us, by the occasional advance and retreat of the Indians. Three days, at different periods, during the time it took us to retire, covering our guns and stores, we halted and formed, in order to give the enemy time to come up, and of the position we had assumed on the very last day, after crossing the Miami at the ford near the Rapids, some idea may be formed, from the following extracts from a report from General Tupper, who commanded the Kentucky riflemen of General Winchester's Division.

General Tupper to General Harrison,

Urbana, Oct. 12th, 1812.

SIR,—On receiving your order of the 4th inst., to proceed to the Rapids, with the whole force of mounted men under my command, whose horses were in a condition to perform the service ; I caused an examination to be immediately had, and found that there still remained 960 men, including officers, in a condition to march, including also Captain Bacon's and one other company which left us the morning following.

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I ordered returns to be made so that each man should be furnished with 12 rounds ; this return amounted to 4,500 cartridges for the musket men, exclusive of Major Roper's battalion ; the ammunition of the riflemen having received very little damage. Quarter-Master Bassay called on the Quarter-Master in General Winchester's camp, and returned without a supply. About one o'clock this day, a man belonging to Captain Manary's company of Rangers, was killed and scalped across the Miami, within two hundred yards of our camp. I gave immediate orders to arm, and in five minutes, to horse, but owing to our being compelled to confine our horses during the night, and graze them by day, for want of forage, the greater part, at this moment, were under keepers, nearly one mile from camp up the Auglaise. In the meantime I permitted Major Brush to cross over with about 50 foot, to examine the bank, and see in what direction the Indians had retired, but before he reached the opposite shore, every horseman whose horse was in camp, was mounted to follow over. It was in vain that I made an attempt to keep them back, till they were formed—they broke off in numbers from 20 to 30, mostly without their officers and crossed the woods in every direction ; a party of 15 fell upon the trail of the Indians, and at 7 or 8 miles distance, overtook them, but finding them halted and formed, our men, without waiting for a discharge from the enemy, returned to camp.

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When it was found that General Winchester had suspended me in the command, the whole force from Ohio broke off, crossed the Auglaise, and refused to march as directed by General Winchester.

With the then remaining force I proceeded to this

place, where I directed Col. Findlay and Major Roper to discharge such men as had continued to their duty.

Thus, Sir, has terminated an expedition, at one time capable of tearing the British flag from the walls of Detroit, wherein our troops might have returned, with the pleasing reflection of having done their country an essential service.

It is a duty, Sir, I owe to the officers of the Kentucky force, to Colonel Findlay and the officers of the first Battalion, to say that they were zealous in pressing forward the expedition ; while the officers of the second Battalion, commanded by Major Taylor, with a few exceptions, were shrinking from their duty, and shamefully deserting the cause of their country.

The detachment of Colonel Simral's Regiment from our force, stands prominent among the causes of our failure ; already was there panic in some parts of our camp ; the enemy that had retired at General Winchester's approach, had been greatly magnified. The day succeeding the alarm, he drew in one wing of his lines, and strengthened his camp with a breastwork—even this circumstance was noticed and urged as an evidence that he apprehended a force superior to his own. Thus, when imaginary obstacles unite with those that are real, to oppose the movements of a force so insubordinate, as that every man's will is his law, little can be expected by the officers, but a plentiful harvest of mortification and disgrace.

At the period of this expedition, to my young and unpractised military eye, the movements of our little force had appeared scarcely worthy of remark, because we had had no actual fighting, but, of later years, and particularly after having had access to the American accounts of our retreat, my impression of its extreme military tact and judiciousness has been greatly increased. In truth it is the only affair during the whole of the War of 1812, in which anything approaching to manoeuvre was displayed, for the simple reason that no other opportunity had ever been afforded. Here however was a ten days' retreat, conducted by the leader of a handful of men, before a vastly superior force of the enemy, to whom battle had been

offered on three several occasions during that period, and that in a manner to reflect a credit upon the gallant Major Muir, which should not be lost sight of by the future historian of this country.

James, in his History of the War, despatches the subject of Fort Wayne in a very summary manner. He states that it was contemplated to send an expedition against it, but that the idea was abandoned in consequence of General Brock having communicated to Colonel Procter at Amherstburg, information of the armistice which had been concluded with General Dearborn, by Sir George Prevost, expressing at the same time a desire, that although the armistice did not extend to General Hull's recent command, the Indians should be restrained as much as possible, from the commission of any act of hostility. Now, not only, as it is seen, was the idea not abandoned, but the expedition had penetrated a greater distance (nearly two hundred miles) into the enemy's country, and were longer absent from the garrison, than any other that subsequently left the harbor of Amherstburg.

A day or two before our return from this long and tedious expedition, we saw the prisoner who had been taken by the Indians, soon after we commenced our retrograde movement. He had been with the person alluded to in General Tupper's report to General Harrison, as having been killed and scalped within two hundred yards of their encampment, and to avenge whose death the Kentucky mounted riflemen had evinced so much fruitless alacrity. The captive was already adopted in that tribe of Indians, to which his captors belonged, and was habited after their manner. His head was partly shaved, and covered with a handkerchief, rolled in the form of a turban. His face was painted several colors, and so complete was the metamorphosis, that but for the whiteness of skin visible through several parts of his dress, it would have been difficult to distinguish him from



those by whom he was surrounded. At the moment we saw him, he was seated in a tent, sharing the evening meal of his new countrymen, with much appetite and unconcern. He expressed himself as being quite reconciled to his new condition, and spoke with warmth of the kind treatment he had received ; nor did he seem to attach much consequence to the assurance given him that every exertion would be made on our return to obtain his liberation. We saw him some weeks later at Amherstburg; and strange as it may appear, he assured us that he preferred the idle life he had led among the Indians, to a repetition of active service in the American army.

About this period Mr. Robert Dickson arrived at Amherstburg with a number of canoes, filled with warriors of the fiercest character and appearance. Among the most remarkable of these tribes were the Sawkies, a race of men, whose towering height, athletic forms, and nobleness of feature, might recall the idea of the Romans in the earlier stages of their barbarity ; and another tribe whose Indian name I do not recollect, but who were known among ourselves by their assumed appellation of *devoted men*. The costume of the latter was a dress of white leather, extremely pliant, and curiously embroidered with the stained quills of the porcupine, in the preparation of which the natives evince much taste and ingenuity. They were few in number, and, professing to hold death in derision, were looked upon by the other warriors much in the same light that we regard our forlorn hope, the post of danger being reserved for them. One of their chiefs having been invited to breakfast with several officers of the garrison, was at much pains, in the course of the meal, to impress upon the minds of his hosts the particular virtues of his tribe; and in order to demonstrate more fully the extent to which they carried their disregard of pain or death, drew a sharp knife from its sheath,

Sacs or Sauks from the vicinity of the Sac River, Missouri.

and, having cut a piece of flesh out of one of his thighs, threw it contemptuously away, exclaiming that " he gave it to the dogs."

The arrival of this reinforcement increased our Indian force to about three thousand warriors. The small detachment of the 41st Regiment not 300 strong, and a company of the Newfoundland Fencibles, composed the whole of our regular force. The latter were, however, employed as Marines on board the different vessels of war, so that the defence of the two fortresses of Detroit and Amherstburg was entrusted to the 41st alone.

Major Muir's report of the Expedition to Fort Wayne is given in the appendix.

