

# WAR Of

1812.

**FIRST SERIES,**

CONTAINING A FULL AND DETAILED NARRATIVE

OF THE

**OPERATIONS OF THE**

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OF THE

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BY

MAJOR RICHARDSON, K. S. F.

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**1842**

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Facsimile of the title page of the original edition.

" Entered according to Act of the Provincial Legislature, in  
" the year 1842, by MAJOR RICHARDSON, K. S. F., in the Office  
"of the Registrar of the Province of Canada."

## DEDICATION

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To the present United Legislature of Canada, in whom has originated, and by whom has been carried into partial operation, one of the most beneficent measures which can be conferred upon a young country—that of a salutary provision for Education—this Historical Narrative, the first of an important series, (the completion of which must depend upon the countenance and support extended to the commencement) and compiled with a view to the furtherance of their object, **Is Dedicated,**

By Their Very Obedient,

And Humble Servant,

The AUTHOR.

July 16th, 1842.

## PREFACE

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In preparing this first of a series of Historical Narratives for the use of Schools in Canada, the Author has been influenced by considerations, which he conceives will, more or less, govern the minds of those to whom the Education of the youth of the country is entrusted.

It is a humiliating, yet undeniable fact, that there are few young men of the present generation who are at all aware, except by vague and inaccurate report, of the brilliant feats of arms, and sterling loyalty displayed by their immediate progenitors, during the stern but brief struggle with the neighboring Republic, wherein numbers were fearfully against them, but in which, supported by true courage, and the consciousness of a good cause, they rode triumphant over every obstacle, and came forth unconquered from the strife. Or, if they have read of these matters, their information has been derived through the corrupt channel of American party publications bearing on the subject, all which have a tendency to pervert facts, and to instil into the youthful mind that diffidence and mistrust which operate as a check upon the generous aspirings, and weaken the energies of the national character.

Recovering as this country is, at this moment, from the severe shock which, although but of temporary duration, has deeply tested its general attachment and fealty to the British throne, and lapsing into that state of tranquillity

from which it never should have departed, it will without difficulty be conceded that no compilation could, with greater propriety or consistency, be placed in the hands of Canadian students, than that which records the gallant deeds performed by their Fathers, fighting side by side, with the troops of England in defence of their invaded firesides : when, actuated by a devoted spirit of loyalty, and a generosity of emulation never exceeded, they won golden opinions from their Sovereign, and stood boldly forth in the hour of the country's greatest need—nor, although the youth of Western Canada have the greatest reason to feel pride in this fact, should it fail to be a source of satisfaction to the French Canadian pupil, whose Sire was, at the epoch treated of in the following narrative, ever forward in the demonstration of his attachment to British Institutions, and unwavering in his resolution to defend them with his life. These were, indeed, happy and well-remembered days, when but one sentiment actuated the French and English races, who were knit together in one common bond of good fellowship, and knew rivalry only in their desire to tender to the parent, who had cherished and nursed them, the grateful evidence of their love. This is no over-charged picture of the feeling which *then* existed in the Canadas, and on the direction given to the minds of its youth of the present day, French and English, must depend its utter extinction or revival.

In adopting the familiar style of the narrative, the Author has had two distinct inducements in view—firstly, because that species of composition relieves history of the dryness which is so great a barrier to interest with the student ; and secondly, because, in identifying himself with his subject, the reader is necessarily led to do the same. There are few Canadian youths who will fail to be inspired by a generous spirit of emulation, as they bear vividly before them the fact that the Author whom they are perusing, and who has written their instruction and infor-

oration, was even himself a student I when summoned by the trumpet of War, from a perusal of the military exploits of the most renowned warriors of by-gone days, to range himself in the next hour under the victorious banner of a modern Chief not less daring, and scarcely less celebrated than any of those and to defend, with his feeble yet willing arm, the soil which gave him birth, and the Standard to which he owed allegiance.

That the lot which was the Author's may be that of the Reader, is a reflection which can never be lost sight of by the generous of character whose rallying cry, whenever domestic rebellion or foreign invasion stalk throughout the land their Sires have consecrated to England with, their blood, will assuredly ever be " Aut vincere aut mori." The past has pledged, the future will redeem the bond.

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I had first breathed the breath of life near the *then* almost isolated Falls of Niagara—the loud roaring of whose cataract had, perhaps, been the earnest of the storms—and they have been many—which were to assail my after life. My subsequent boyhood, up to the moment, when at fifteen years of age, I became a soldier, had been passed in a small town (Amherstburg), one of the most remote, while, at the same time, one of the most beautifully situated in Canada. I had always detested school, and the days that were passed in it were to me days of suffering, such as the boy alone can understand. With the reputation for some little capacity, I had been oftener flogged than the greatest dunce in it, perhaps as much from the caprice of my tutor as from any actual wrong in myself—and this had so seared my heart—given me such a disgust for Virgil, Horace, and Euclid, that I often meditated running away, and certainly should have gratified the very laudable inclination, had I not apprehended a severity from my father—a stern, unbending man, that would have left me no room for exultation at my escape from my tutor. It was, therefore, a day of rejoicing to me when the commencement of hostilities on the part of the United States, and the unexpected appearance of a large body of their troops, proved the signal of the "break up" of the school, or college, (for by the latter classical name was known the long, low, narrow, stone building, with two apertures for wings springing at right angles from the body), and my exchange of Csar's Commentaries for the King's Regulations and Dundas. The transition was indeed glorious, and in my joy at the change which had been wrought in my position, I felt disposed to bless the Americans for the bold step they had taken.

Eight Years in Canada, by Major Richardson, p. 87.

OPERATIONS.  
OF THE  
RIGHT DIVISION  
OF THE  
ARMY OF UPPER CANADA  
DURING THE  
AMERICAN WAR  
OF 1812  
&c., &c., &c.

I

INDIANS IN BRITISH WARS—RIOTS OF THE  
WAR-HAWKS"

Much has been said and written in respect to the Red-men of the forest ; but I do not recollect having ever met with a detail sufficiently accurate to convey a just idea of the character of these people. As they will occupy a tolerable portion of my attention, and frequently appear under circumstances which may incline the reader to incredulity, I will merely observe, that no one incident will be found committed to these pages, which may not be attested by every officer who served with the Right Division of the Canadian army. In fact, to that division alone were the more savage of the Indian race attached ; and when it is considered, that among the warriors of at

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" War-hawks " was a name given to a portion of the Republican party that clamored for war against Great Britain. Madison secured his second nomination for the Presidency by agreeing to their demands. The principal leaders of the war party were Henry Clay of Kentucky, Felix Grundy of Tennessee, Langdon Cheves, William Lowndes and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, and Peter B. Porter of New York, having seats in the House of Representatives and William H. Crawford, in the Senate.

See *The United States, an Outline of Political History* by Goldwin Smith, D.C.L., p. 170.

least twenty different tribes, there were those who had scarcely ever any previous intercourse with whites, and had seldom approached a fortified place but in open hostility, the indomitableness of their natures will cease to excite surprise. As it is my intention to give a faithful account of the various cruelties committed during our struggle in Canada—cruelties we had not power to prevent, since perpetrated by an ally over whom we had no control—it may not be improper to advert to the motives for their employment. The Americans have invariably been loud in their condemnation of a measure which alone secured to us the possession of Upper Canada : with how little reason, however, will appear from the well-known fact, that every possible exertion was used, by the agents of their Government, to detach the Indians from our cause. Embracing the system adopted and followed by England for years, presents of all descriptions were issued to the warriors ; while, in the council, the most flattering promises were made, the most seducing offers held forth, to induce them to make common cause with the invader. The wary chieftains, however, were not to be tempted by professions of friendship from those whose perfidy had long been proverbial with the Indian race. The bounties of England had been heaped on them with no sparing hand—the faith of the Government had never been violated—no spirit of interest or domination had chased them from the homes of their forefathers—the calumet of peace had never once been dashed from the lips of those they were called on to abandon ; and they remained true to the faith they had pledged, staunch to the cause in which they had embarked. The natives must have been our friends or our foes : had we not employed them the Americans would ; and although humanity may deplore the necessity imposed by the very invader himself, of counting them among our allies, and combating at their side,—the law of self-preservation was our guide, and scrupulous indeed must be the power that

would have hesitated at such a moment in its choice. The act of aggression was not ours—we declared no war, against America—we levied no armies to invade her soil, and carry desolation wherever they came :—but we availed ourselves of that right, common to every weak power—the right of repelling acts of aggression by every means within our reach. Yet though it is admitted that the Indians, while our allies, were in some instances guilty of those atrocities peculiar to every savage people ; let it not be supposed that these atrocities were sanctioned either by the Government or by individuals. On the contrary, every possible means were tried by the officer commanding at Amherstburg, and Colonel Elliott, z superintendent of Indian affairs for that post, to soften down the warlike habits of the natives. The most likely method of preventing the unnecessary effusion of blood

Col. Matthew Elliott, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, whose name is inseparably associated with the events on the Detroit frontier from 1775 till his death on the 7th May 1814, entered the Indian Department as a captain. The influence that Britain exercised over the Indians was in a great measure due to his prudence, tact and firmness. Many of the hardships incident to a border warfare were much ameliorated by the power this officer possessed over the wildest and most savage tribes. The treacherous murder of his eldest son, a promising young lawyer, by some American Indians, his prisoners, was a sad blow to the Colonel. His humanity was well-known and Gen. Harrison bears testimony to his efforts to prevent the slaughter of American prisoners.

When he removed to Upper Canada he built a large house, still standing in part, on the Detroit river opposite the southern end of Bois Blanc island. This point is still called Elliott's Point.

Col. Elliott was exceedingly active during the first years of the war. On the evacuation of Amherstburg, he retreated with Procter to Moraviantown, and it is said he saved Procter's life there by throwing up the rifle of Tecumseh, who was going to shoot Procter for his contemplated retreat before the battle was decided. In this engagement, had he been less intent on his public duties, he might have saved both his personal baggage and his valuable plate which were captured by the Americans. The hardships of the trying campaign of 1813 told heavily upon him at his advanced age and hastened his death. He was M.P.P. for Essex from 1801 to 1812.

Frederick E. Elliott, the present representative of the family, lives on part of the land grant given to his grandfather for his services.

was that of offering rewards for prisoners. This, however, except in a very few instances, was found to be ineffectual ; for the character and disposition of the savage were not to be tamed by rewards, nor the impression of ages to be removed by such temptations. To have employed force, would have been to have turned their weapons against ourselves ; and a body of five hundred troops, composing the utmost strength of the garrison, could have effected little against three thousand fiery warriors, unused to restraint, and acknowledging no power but their own will. The Americans themselves had Indians employed in their service—a few only it is true—but if they had not more, it was not owing to any want of exertion on their parts ; and if it is admitted on the one hand, that they conducted themselves with more humanity, it cannot at the same time be denied on the other, that the feebleness of their numbers rendered them more immediately subject to the authority of the American commanders, neither can it be disputed, that compulsion alone bound them to the adverse cause, their families having been often detained as hostages to answer for their fidelity.

On the 18th of June, 1812, a formal declaration of war against Great Britain and her dependencies was passed by both Houses of Congress, and approved by Mr. Madison, the President—on the 20th it was officially notified by General Bloomfield to the American army, and in what spirit received by the war-party may be inferred from the following account which appeared in the American papers of that period.

Gazette Office, Boston, August 2nd, 1812.

This morning's mail gives us a few particulars of a most barbarous riot in Baltimore, instigated by the friends, of

The majority for war was 30 in the House of Representatives and but 6 in the Senate. The country divided almost geographically on the question. The vote on the Act declaring war with

the Administration, and completed by French Democracy.

Our blood stagnates with cold horror at the enormity of the scenes ; while our indignation is roused at the passive, and therefore encouraging deportment of the Police ; and our grief is deep and most painful from the loss of the eminent, the patriotic and the worthy characters who have fallen a sacrifice to the fury of the friends of War, and upholders of the Administration.

Baltimore, July 29th, 1812.

" The peace of our city has been again disturbed by the mob, the effects of which have been dreadful. On Monday morning, the ' Federal Republican ' was again issued from the press in this city. Mr. Hanson, one of the Editors, expecting an attack, had collected his friends in the New office (which is a brick house in Charles Street) to the number of from 50 to 75, completely armed with muskets, pistols, daggers, etc., determined to defend the house at all hazards. The mob collected and commenced the attack between 9 and 10 o'clock in the evening, by breaking all the windows with brick-bats ; and attempting to

Great Britain was as follows :—

	IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES		IN SENATE	
	Yeas.	Nays.	Yeas.	Nays.
New Hampshire .....	3	2	1	
Massachusetts ..	6		1	
Rhode Island .....	0	2	0	2
Connecticut .....	0	7	0	2
Vermont .....	3	1	1	0
New York.....	3	11	1	1
New Jersey ..	2	4	1	1
Pennsylvania. ....	16	2	2	0
Delaware .....	0		0	2
Maryland .....	6	3	1	1
Virginia .....	14		2	
North Carolina ...	6		2	0
South Carolina ...	8		2	0
Georgia .....	3		2	0
Kentucky .....	5		1	1
Tennessee .....	.3		2	0
Ohio .....	1	0	0	
<b>Majority for war</b> .....	<b>79</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>13</b>

force the door. The Garrison, after warning them of the consequences, fired a few rounds of blank cartridges, which had no other effect than to exasperate them. They then commenced firing with ball and slugs. Two or three were killed, and numbers were desperately wounded. The mob then retreated, and marched to Fell's Point and procured a cannon, with which they returned about 2 o'clock in the morning. The piece was loaded, and placed before the house ; but through some defect in the management of the gun they could not get her to go off. Partial attacks were in this way kept up until morning when the garrison, seeing no practicability of being rescued by the civil authority, found means to escape privately : all except about 25 who were determined to hold out. About 7 in the morning the Mayor of the City, and General Stricker, having collected a force of horse and infantry, amounting in all to about one hundred men, marched them to the scene of action, and paraded them in front of the house, but took no pains to disperse the mob by which they were surrounded. The small band of heroes who still garrisoned the house, now offered to give themselves up to the Mayor and General Stricker, if they would promise to protect them from the mob. This was acceded to by the Mayor and the General, who gave them their word of honor that they should have ample protection from all harm. They were accordingly taken from the house, surrounded by the military, who formed a hollow square, and in this manner marched to the City prison, where they were lodged and left without any guard, the troops being immediately dispersed, notwithstanding they were followed by try mob (often pelting them with brick-bats and paving-stones) and swearing that the prison should not protect the damned Tories, but that they should all be killed in 24 hours. At noon verbal orders were issued for the 5th Regiment of Infantry to turn out at 3 o'clock, P.M., and after the utmost exertions of some spirited officers, at 4 o'clock but about 30 or 40 men were collected ; they continued under arms about an hour, when orders came from the Mayor, as the mob had dispersed, to dismiss them. About 8 o'clock in the evening the mob again collected, attacked the prison, and forced the outer door, when the Sheriff it is said delivered them the keys of the inner apartments, which they opened, and brought the unfortunate men out two at a time, and beat them with clubs

until they thought them dead—one they carried away, tarred and feathered him, beat him until he was almost dead; pricked him with sharp irons, and carded him with a wool-card. At 10 o'clock I saw five lying in front of the prison apparently lifeless, while these horrid savages were prowling over them, and exulting in their worse than savage barbarity ; it was indeed a horrid sight, and it makes my blood boil when I think of it.

" I am informed this morning, that there is but one actually dead, that some can live but a few hours, and the lives of the greatest part are despaired of. They were secured, I am told, by meritorious exertions of the doctor who persuaded the butchers that they were dead, and had them conveyed away in carriages, as fast as they could get them out of their hands. The one who is ascertained to have been killed was General Lingau, an old Revolutionary Officer. General S. Lee of Virginia was also among them ; the rest were chiefly young men whose connections were the most respectable in the City. The inhabitants are in the utmost consternation : all business is suspended : people collect in small groups in the streets, with a settled gloom upon their countenances, and every man looks with suspicion on his neighbor, for no man thinks himself safe whose *political* creed does not agree with that of the mob ; lest that an unguarded expression may subject him to their fury. The number stated to have been massacred in the gaol exceeds twenty, and among these are Captains Murray and Lingau of the United States army."

Such is the picture drawn of American feeling on the occasion, by an American himself. Let me place in relief to it kindlier relations which existed at that period along the border, as exhibited in a letter dated

Niagara, (American side) June 28th.

" The news of war reached the British at Niagara Fort George the 24th by express, two days before it was received at our military station. General Brock, the British Governor, arrived at Fort George the 25th. Several American Gentlemen were there on a visit, who were treated very politely by the Governor, and sent under the protection of Captain Glegg, his aid, to Fort Niagara with a flag. The news of war was very unwelcome on both sides of the river. They have been for six



years in habits of friendly intercourse, connected by marriages and various relationships. Both sides were in consternation ; the women and children were out on the banks of the river, while their Fathers, husbands, sons, etc., were busily employed in arming. It was said Captain Glegg also bore a summons for the surrender of Fort Niagara, but this was contradicted by Captain Leonard commanding that post, who said the message was merely to inquire if he had any official notice of the war ; and that he answered in the negative."

A more remarkable illustration of this feeling is the following Answer of the Men of New York Inhabiting the Western District, to the proclamation of Gen. Smyth addressed to them :

GENERAL. — We have seen your Proclamation. We have seen this Country, not many years ago, the sole habitation of the beasts of the forest and their prowling Enemy. We see it the habitation of many thousand souls, rich in all the necessaries and in many of the comforts of life. Till the day that the sound of war burst on our ears from the Capitol at Washington, we scarcely experienced one moment of anxiety for the safety of our persons and property.

The clamor of avaricious traders, and of factious office-seekers trouble not our quiet. It reached us, but at the period of the elections, and it was then but like a blast of wind on our lakes, variegating but for a moment the placid uniformity of the surface.

Why should our Swords be drawn in redress of injuries which we have never felt, or which, if they exist, am beyond our reach ? Why appeal to our valor for the destruction of our own happiness or of that of others ?

We are the descendants of the men that fought at Bennington and at Saratoga. The labors of the field are proof, alike, against degeneracy, and the rage of contending factions. You, General, have been more exposed to their influence. The men who fought at Bennington and Saratoga fought for the liberties of their Country. Foreign Mercenaries had set foot upon the soil which their hands had redeemed from the desert and rendered fertile ; they had entered the sanctuaries of their wives and children. Our Fathers fought and conquered. You, General, who are taking the place of these mercenaries, you cannot appeal to us.

The renown which you seek is not our renown. It is the renown of Europ. not of America. The wrath of God precedes it, and desolation follows in its footsteps. It delights in blood, and in fields strewn with carnage, in the tears of the widow, and the plainings of the orphan perishing of want and disease. This is your glory. Ours has upon it the primeval blessing of the Almighty ; our Victories are Victories over the unproductive face of nature ; our renown is in fertile fields, in peaceful homes and numerous and happy families.

Go, General, if you will. Should you ever reach the Walls of Quebec, the shade of Montgomery will reproach you for not having profited by his example ; and when you fall, the men of New York will lament that folly has found new victims.

## II

### HULL'S INVASION — CAPTURE OF MICHILIMACKINAC

The garrison of Amherstburg, at the commencement of the war, consisted of about zoo men of the first battalion of the 41st Regiment, a very weak detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Fencibles, and a subaltern's command of artillery. Situated at the head of Lake Erie, and forming the key to our relations with the Western Indians, this post became an object of additional interest to the enemy. With every opportunity of ascertaining the weakness of its defences, and the almost utter impossibility of its obtaining supplies, the fall of Amherstburg was looked forward to by the Americans, as an event which admitted not of doubt. With this view, the division under General Hull, consisting of two thousand three hundred men, had been urged forward with all possible despatch to Detroit, at a distance of eighteen miles beyond Amherstburg, an attack on which latter place was immediately contemplated. Having collected his boats, and made every other necessary preparation, the American General, on the 7th of July, = landed three miles above Sandwich, a small town nearly opposite to Detroit, and within view of a corps of observation, which, in conformity with its instructions, retired on his approach. Colonel St. George, Inspecting Field officer, and then commanding at Amherstburg, with that spirit and activity by which he was distinguished throughout

I This date should be 12th of July. Every authority that I have seen places it on this date. Anthony S. Baker in a despatch to Lord Castlereagh dated Washington, August 1st, 1812, says :

" General Hull entered Canada on the night of the 11th ult."

It is probable that the landing was on the night of 11th and morning of the 12th.

the war, made every judicious disposition for his reception. The militia were called out, and, through the exertions of the various agents of their department, a body of 600 Indians was soon collected. At a distance of eight miles from Amherstburg, and traversing the high road, is the Canard River, which empties itself into that of the Detroit, and is impassable even by cavalry. Over this, and near its mouth, a bridge composed entirely of timber had been constructed. Seizing at once the advantage of this position, and determining to profit by the delay the enemy must consequently experience, Colonel St. George instantly caused the bridge to be destroyed, and a body of marksmen to be posted among the long grass and weeds with which the banks of the river are covered, for the purpose of annoying such of the enemy as appeared for its reconstruction. The Queen Charlotte, a vessel of twenty guns, was at the same time anchored at the mouth of the river, for the purpose of keeping them more effectually in check.

Meanwhile, General Hull amused himself and his enemy by the following piece of rhodomontade, in the shape of a

PROCLAMATION.

Inhabitants of Canada !

After thirty years of peace and prosperity, the United States have been driven to arms. The injuries, and aggressions, the insults and indignities of Great Britain, have once more left them no alternative but manly resistance or unconditional submission. The army under my command has *invaded your country*, and the standard of Union now waves over the territory of Canada. To the peaceable, unoffending inhabitant, it brings neither danger nor difficulty. I come to find enemies, not to make them. 'I come to protect, not to injure you.

Separated by an immense ocean, and an extensive wilderness from Great Britain, you have no participation in, her councils, no interest in her conduct—you have felt her

tyranny, you have seen her injustice ;'but I do not ask you to avenge the one, or redress the other. The United States are sufficiently powerful to afford you every security consistent with their rights and your expectations. I tender you the invaluable blessings of civil, political and religious liberty, and their necessary result, individual and general prosperity—that liberty which gave decision to our councils and energy to our conduct, in a struggle for independence, and which conducted us safely and triumphantly through the stormy period of the revolution—that liberty which has raised us to an elevated rank among the nations of the world, and which has afforded us a greater measure of peace, and security, of wealth and improvement, than ever fell to the lot of any country.

In the name of my country, and by the authority of Government I promise you protection to your persons, property and rights. Remain at your homes ; pursue your peaceful and customary avocations, raise not your hands against your brethren. Many of your fathers fought for the freedom and independence we now enjoy. Being children, therefore, of the same family with us, and heirs to the same heritage, the arrival of an army of friends must be hailed by you with a cordial welcome. You will be emancipated from tyranny and oppression, and restored to the dignified station of freemen. Had I any doubt of eventual success, I might ask your assistance, but I do not. I come prepared for every contingency—I have a force which will look down all opposition, and that force is but the vanguard of a- much greater. **I**f contrary to your own interests and the just expectations of my country, you should take part in the approaching contest, you will be considered and treated as enemies, and the horrors and calamities of war will stalk before you. If the barbarous and savage policy of Great Britain be pursued, and the savages let loose to murder our citizens, and butcher our women and children, this war will be a war of extermination. The first stroke of the tomahawk, the first attempt with the scalping knife, will be the signal of one indiscriminate scene of desolation ! *No while man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner, instant destruction will be his lot.* If the dictates of reason, duty, justice and humanity cannot prevent the employment of a force which respects no right, and knows no wrong, it will be prevented by a severe

and relentless system of retaliation. I doubt not your courage and firmness—I will (not) doubt your attachment to liberty. If you tender your services voluntarily, they will be accepted readily. The United States offer you peace, liberty and security—your choice lies between these, and war, slavery and destruction. Choose then, but choose wisely ; and may He, who knows the justice of our cause, and who holds in His hand the fate of nations, guide you to a result the most compatible with your rights and interest, your peace and happiness.

W. HULL.

H.Q. Sandwich,  
July 8th, '1812.

By the General,  
A. P. Hull,<sup>2</sup>  
Captain of 13th U.S. Regt.  
of Infantry & Aid de Camp.

As every thing relating to General Brock is, or ought to be, of undying interest to the people of Canada, the counter proclamation, issued by that officer, on receipt of intelligence of the course which was being pursued by

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This proclamation is found in several documentary histories of the war, and all differ in several minor particulars, such as capitalization and punctuation, but the *sense* of all, however, is the same. The author was, no doubt, Gen. Hull, but after his death the authorship was claimed for Gen. Cass. Hull's grandson, James Freeman Clarke, in his *History of the Campaign of 1812*, says : " Whenever the proclamation is condemned, Gen. Hull is treated as the author—when it is praised it is said to have been written by Gen. Cass." Anyone acquainted with the various accounts must come to the same conclusion. A copy was sent to Washington and approved by the President ; but the American Commissioners at the Treaty of Ghent declared the proclamation to have been unauthorized and disapproved by the Government. The date has been given as the 12th and as the 13th of July. Hull in his memoirs says the 12th, so does Brannan in his *Military and Naval Letters*, while the copy from the Archives of Canada given in Vol. 15 of the *Michigan Historical Collections* is dated the 13th. The date given by Richardson is certainly not correct.

<sup>2</sup> The Aid to Gen. Hull and the signer of this proclamation was his son, Abraham Fuller Hull. The second initial is a misprint that appears in several copies of the proclamation. A. F. Hull was a captain in the 13th U.S. Infantry, taken prisoner with the army at Detroit, Aug. 16th, 1812, and exchanged on Jan. 18th, 1813. He was given a company in the 9th U.S. Infantry, and was killed at its head at the battle of Lundy's Lane on July 25th, 1814. A small stone marks his grave in Lundy's Lane graveyard.

General Hull, cannot be more appropriately introduced than at this point of the narrative. It is a striking specimen of manly eloquence, and firmness, and compared with that which precedes it, is as sterling gold to tinsel. Both proclamations, as will be seen hereafter, are singularly characteristic of the men who framed them.

PROCLAMATION.

The unprovoked declaration of War, by the United States of America, against the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and its dependencies has been followed by the actual invasion of this Province, in a remote frontier of the Western District, by a detachment of the armed force of the United States. The Officer Commanding that detachment has thought proper to invite His Majesty's subjects, not merely to a quiet and unresisting submission, but insults them with a call to seek voluntarily the protection of his Government. Without condescending to repeat the illiberal epithets bestowed in this appeal of the American Commander to the people of Upper Canada, on the administration of His Majesty, every inhabitant of the Province is desired to seek the confutation of such indecent slander, in the review of his own particular circumstances ; where is the Canadian subject who can truly affirm to himself that he has been injured by the Government in his person, his liberty, or his property ? Where is to be found in any part of the world, a growth so rapid in wealth and prosperity, as this colony exhibits ? Settled not thirty years by a band of veterans, exiled from their former possessions on account of their loyalty, not a descendant of these brave people is to be found, who, under the fostering liberality of their Sovereign, has not acquired a property and means of enjoyment superior to what were possessed by their ancestors. This unequalled prosperity could not have been attained by the utmost liberality of the Government or the persevering industry of the people, had not the maritime power of the mother country secured to its colonies a safe access to every market where the produce of their labor was in demand

The unavoidable and immediate consequence of a separation from Great Britain must be the loss of this inestimable advantage ; and what is offered you in

exchange ? to become a territory of the United States, and share with them that exclusion from the ocean which the policy of their present government enforces—you are not even flattered with a participation of their boasted independence, and it is but too obvious that once exchanged from the powerful protection of the United Kingdom, you must be re-annexed to the dominion of France, from which the Provinces of Canada were wrested by the arms of Great Britain, at a vast expense of blood and treasure, from no other motive but to *relieve* her ungrateful children from the oppression of a cruel neighbour ; this restitution of Canada to the Empire of France was the stipulated reward for the aid afforded to the revolted colonies, now the United States ; the debt is still due, and there can be no doubt but the pledge has been renewed as a consideration for commercial advantages, or rather for an expected relaxation in the tyranny of France over the commercial world. Are you prepared, Inhabitants of Upper Canada, .., to become willing subjects, or rather slaves, to the Despot who rules the Nations of Europe with a rod of iron ?—If not, arise in a body, exert your energies, co-operate cordially with the King's regular forces, to repel the invader, and do not give cause to your children, when groaning under the oppression of a foreign master to reproach you with having too easily parted with the richest inheritance of this Earth—a participation in the name, character, and freedom of Britons.

The same spirit of justice, which will make every reasonable allowance for the unsuccessful efforts of zeal and loyalty, will not fail to punish the defalcation of principle ; every Canadian freeholder is, by deliberate choice, bound by the most solemn oaths to defend the monarchy as well as his own property ; to shrink from that engagement is a treason not to be forgiven : let no man suppose that if, in this unexpected struggle, His Majesty's arms should be compelled to yield to an overwhelming force, that the Province will be eventually abandoned ; the endeared relation of its first settlers, the intrinsic value of its commerce, and the pretensions of its powerful rival to repossess the Canadas, are pledges that no peace will be established between the United States, and Great Britain and Ireland, of which the restoration of these Provinces does not make the most prominent condition.

Be not dismayed at the unjustifiable threat of the

commander of the enemy's forces to refuse quarter should an Indian appear in the ranks. The brave bands of natives which inhabit this colony were, like His Majesty's subjects, punished for their zeal and fidelity, by the loss of their possessions in the late colonies, and rewarded by His Majesty with lands of superior value in this Province ; the faith of the British government has never yet been violated, they feel that the soil they inherit is to them and their posterity protected from the base arts so frequently devised to overreach their simplicity. By what new principle are they to be prevented from defending their property ? If their warfare, from being different from that of the white people, is more terrific to the enemy, let him retrace his steps—they seek him not—and cannot expect to find women and children in an invading army ; but they are men, and have equal rights with all other men to defend themselves and their property when invaded, more especially when they find in the enemy's camp a ferocious and mortal foe, using the warfare which the American commander affects to reprobate.

This inconsistent and unjustifiable threat of refusing quarter for such a cause as being found in arms with a brother sufferer in defence of invaded rights, must be exercised with the certain assurance of retaliation, not only in the limited operations of war in this part of the King's Dominions, but in every quarter of the globe, for the national character of Britain is not less distinguished for humanity than strict retributive justice, which will consider the execution of this inhuman threat as deliberate murder, for which every subject of the offending power must make expiation.

God Save the King.

ISAAC BROCK,'

Head Quarters, Fort George <sup>aj</sup> <sup>Gen,</sup> <sup>18d</sup> 1 President.  
 By order of His Honor the President, <sup>2n</sup> 2.

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

"Brock's admirable production is generally believed to have been prepared by Mr. Justice Powell, then Senior Puisne Judge of the Court of King's Bench, of which Court he became Chief Justice in the year 1816."

Sketches of Glengarry in Canada by J. A. Macdonell. p, 188.

The activity with which General Hull commenced his offensive operations gave indication that they would be followed up with vigor, and that, having once effected his landing, he would afford not time for his enemies to collect the few resources they could command, or place themselves in an attitude of defence. The fort of Amherstburg could not have sustained a siege of any duration. Quadrangular in its form, four bastions alone flanked a dry ditch, offering little obstacle to a determined enemy. This passed, a single line of picketing, perforated with loop holes for musketry, and supported by a slight breast work, remained to be carried. A prudent commander would, however, have chosen a less uncertain mode of dislodging the garrison. A few shells properly directed would have answered the purpose, since, with the exception of the magazine, all the buildings within were of wood, and covered with pine shingles of such extreme thinness, as would have been found incapable of resisting missiles of far less weight. The disadvantage of awaiting the enemy in this position, Colonel St. George well knew. He consequently preferred giving him battle with the trifling force he had at his disposition. With this view, the garrison received orders to be under arms at a moment's warning, and the approach of the invader was anxiously awaited. Satisfied, however, with having effected his landing, and deriving no other advantage than that of having his troops quartered on his enemy, the American General appeared to have forgotten altogether the object of his mission. Instead of descending the river Detroit in boats, or attempting to throw a bridge across the Canard, at a point where we had no outpost, he contented himself with despatching workmen, supported by bodies of cavalry and infantry, to repair that already partially destroyed. Repulsed in every attempt, the daily skirmishes which ensued led to no action of a decisive nature.

Here was poured forth the first British blood shed in

the American War, and that in a manner so honorable to the fallen, that it would be, in the highest degree unjust, to omit insertion here of the most flattering official attestation that ever was penned and published, in approval of the heroic conduct of a private soldier of the British Army. Enduring honor to the 41st Regiment to which corps these gallant and devoted fellows belonged. Their names, which, from some unaccountable cause, have not been given in the General Order, were Hancock and Dean, the former killed, the latter taken prisoner,' as shown in the following extract from that order dated Quebec, August 6th, 1812.

" The Commander of the Forces takes great pleasure in also announcing to the troops, that the enemy under Brigadier General Hull have been repulsed in three attacks made on the 18th, 19th and 20th of last month, upon part of the Garrison of Amherstburg, on the River Canard, in the neighborhood of that place ; in which attacks His Majesty's 41st Regiment have particularly distinguished themselves. In justice to that corps His Excellency wishes particularly to call the attention of the Troops to the heroism, and self-devotion displayed by two privates, who being left as sentinels when the party to which they belonged had retired, contrived to maintain their station against the whole of the enemy's force, until they both fell, when one of them, whose arm had been broken, again raising himself, opposed with his bayonet those advancing against him, until overwhelmed by numbers. An instance of such firmness and intrepidity deserves to be thus publicly recorded, and His Excellency thinks that it will not fail to animate the Troops under his command with an ardent desire to follow so noble an example, whenever an opportunity shall hereafter be offered them."

Nor, among the very many daring exploits performed at the Canard river, during the brief period of General Hull's occupation of the Western District of Canada, must omission be made of the gallant conduct of 22 War-

<sup>2</sup>This event took place on the 16th of July. Procter to Brock, July 26th, 1812.

rriors of the Minoumini tribe of Indians, who defeated and drove in a detachment of zoo Americans, under the command of Major Denny, who had advanced as far as the mutilated bridge, with a view of forcing a passage. The river, as it is called, is not more than three or four rods in width.

While these unimportant events were passing in the neighbourhood of Amherstburg, the small Garrison of St. Josephs, the most remote of our North Western defences, was not idle. Information having been conveyed to Captain Roberts of the loth Royal Veteran Battalion, commanding that post, that war had been declared by the American Government, that officer lost no time in availing himself of the advantage afforded by the ignorance of the fact, and consequent absence of preparation on the part of the adjacent American Post of Michilimackinac, and marched his disposable force to compel a surrender of that fortress. Captain Roberts' official despatch' on the subject has, we believe, never

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= The modern spelling of this name is Menomoni. Their home was along Green Bay, Lake Michigan.

= Capt. Charles Roberts to Colonel Baynes :

FORT MICHILIMACKINAC, 17th July, 1812.

SIR,—On the 15th instant I received letters by Express from Major General Brock, with orders to adopt the most prudent measures either of offence or defence which circumstances might point out, and having received intelligence from the best information that large reinforcements were daily expected to be thrown into this garrison, and finding that the Indians who had been collected would soon have abandoned me if I had not made the attempt, with the thorough conviction that my situation at St. Joseph's was totally indefensible, I determined to lose no time in making the meditated attack on this Fort.

On the sixteenth, at Ten o'clock in the morning, I embarked my few men with about one hundred and fifty Canadian Engagues, half of them without arms, about three hundred Indians and two Iron Six-pounders. The boats arrived without the smallest accident at the place of Rendezvouz at three o'clock the following morning. By the exertions of the Canadians one of the Guns was brought up to a height commanding the garrison, and ready to act, about Ten o'clock. A summons was then sent in, a copy of



been published, but the following letter from a gentleman connected with the Indian Department, to Colonel Claus, the Superintendent-in-Chief of Indian affairs, sufficiently details the nature of the operations of the little detachment.

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which, as well as of the capitulation which followed, I have the honor to enclose. At twelve the American Colors were hauled down and those of His Majesty were hoisted.

A Committee has been appointed to examine into the state of the Public stores. Enclosed also are the Returns of the Ordnance and Military stores found in the Fort, and the strength of the garrison. The greatest praise is due to every individual employed in this expedition. To my own officers I am indebted in particular for their active assistance in carrying all my orders into effect.

The Indians are flocking in from all Quarters, but in a few weeks I shall be left in a great measure to my own resources, and I trust His Excellency the Governor-General will see the necessity of adding to my force.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

CHARLES ROBERTS,

Captain Commanding.

The Adjutant-General,  
&c., &c., &c.

HEIGHTS ABOVE FORT MICHILIMACKINAC,

17th July, 1812.

CAPITULATION agreed upon between Captain Charles Roberts, commanding His Britannic Majesty's forces on the one part, and Lieutenant Hanks, commanding the forces of the United States of America, on the other.

ARTICLE.

1st. The Fort of Michilimackinac shall be immediately surrendered to the British force.

2nd. The garrison shall march out with the Honours of war, lay down their arms and become prisoners of War, and shall be sent to the United States of America by His Britannic Majesty not to serve this war until regularly exchanged, and for the due performance of this article the officers pledge their word of honour.

3rd. All the merchant's Vessels in the Harbour with their cargoes shall be in possession of their respective owners.

4th. Private property shall be held sacred as far as in my power.

5th. All Citizens of the United States Who shall not take the oath of Allegiance to His Britannic Majesty shall depart with their property from the Island in one month from the date hereof.

Signed  
LIEUT. HANKS  
Commanding  
the forces of the  
United States at  
Fort Michilimackinac.

Signed  
CHARLES ROBERTS  
Captain commanding  
His Britannic Majesty's  
Forces.

Mackinac, I 18 July, 1812.

Dear Sir,

I am happy to have it in my power to announce to you that Fort Mackinac capitulated to us on the 17th inst., at II o'clock A.M. Captain Roberts at our head with part of loth R.V. Battalion. Mr. Crawford had the command

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The first mission station in this district was established by Father Marquette in 1670 or 1671. The site of this mission was Point St. Ignace, *north* of the strait. In 1673 the French built, near the mission church, a palisaded fort which was the *first* Fort Michilimackinac. When De la Motte Cadillac was in command it was called Fort Buade in honor of Count Frontenac, Governor of New France. In 1701 Cadillac built Fort Pontchartrain on the Detroit River, and through his influence the garrison from Michilimackinac was withdrawn and the missionaries followed soon afterwards. In 1714 a post was re-established but the site of this fort was on the peninsula *south* of the strait. It remained in the hands of the French till 1761, when it was handed over to the British. It was before this fort on the 4th of June, 1763, that that great game of "ball" was played between the Chippawas and Sacs, which ended in the capture of the fort and the massacre of nearly all the whites,—an incident described in Major Richardson's novel "Wacousta." For the sake of security a new fort was built on the island of Mackinac, bought from the Chippawas for £5,000. On July 13th, 1780, this fort was occupied by the British under Captain Patrick Sinclair, who had the title of Lieut.-Governor and Superintendent of the Post. In 1796 it was handed over to the United States to fulfil a clause in Jay's treaty of 1794 and consequently the British garrison was removed to the Island of St. Joseph. Captain Charles Roberts, commanding at St. Joseph, invested Fort Michilimackinac or Mackinac on July 17th, 1812, with a force of whites and Indians, and received its surrender from Lieut. Hanks on the same day. It was held till the close of the war, although the United States made strenuous efforts to retake it. To prevent surprise the old fort was strengthened and a new one built on higher ground farther inland, and named Fort George in honor of the King; but when the island was again ceded to the United States this new fort was renamed Fort Holmes after Major Andrew Hunter Holmes, second in command of the American force, who had been killed in the attack on it on Aug. 4th, 1814. On July 18th, 1815, Lieut.-Col. Robert McDouall, the British commander, handed it over to Col. Anthony Butler, representing the United States. It remained a garrison post until 1895, when it was abandoned and given by Congress to the State of Michigan.

of the Canadians which consisted of about 200 men. Mr. Dickson 113 Scioux, Fallsowines, r & Winnebagoes; myself about 130 men, Ottawas and Chippawas: part of Ottawas of L'Arbre Croche had not arrived. It was a fortunate circumstance that the Fort capitulated without firing a single gun, for had they done so, I firmly believe not a soul of them would have been saved. My Son, Charles Langlade, Augustin Nolin, and Michel Cadotte, Junr., have rendered me great service in keeping the Indians in order, and executing from time to time such commands as were delivered to me by the Commanding Officer. I never saw so determined a set of people as the Chippawas and Ottawas were. Since the Capitulation, they have not tasted a single drop of liquor, nor even killed a fowl belonging to any person, a thing never known before, for they generally destroy everything they meet with.

The Hon Col. W. Claus, I am Dear Sir,  
 &c. &c. &c. Your most o' bt Servant,  
 Fort George. (Signed) JOHN ASKIN, 2 Junr.  
 Store Kr. Dept.

This name is variously spelled as Fallesavonies, Folavoines, Fallovines, Fallsovines. The word is the French designation of the Menomoni tribe and should be spelled Folleavoine. Menomoni and Folleavoine each means the plant called wild oats by the French and wild rice by the English.

<sup>2</sup>John Askin, Jr., was son of Colonel John Askin, of "Strabane," by his first wife, and consequently uncle of Major Richardson. I believe his descendants live at London, Ontario, where he died November 15th, 1869.



## III

## BROWNSTOWN AND MAGUAGA

On the 6th of August,' informatiOn having been conveyed to Colonel Procter, that a body of the enemy were then on their march to convoy a quantity of provisions for the use of the garrison of Detroit, Brevet-Major Muir, with a detachment of about a hundred men of the forty-first regiment, and a few militia, received orders to cross the river and occupy Brownstown, a small village on the American shore, through which they were expected to pass ; and thither we repaired accordingly.

It was on this occasion, that one of these rigid customs peculiar to the Indians was observed. Previous to our arrival at Brownstown a detachment of American troops, consisting of zoo Riflemen of the Ohio Volunteers, under the command of Major Van Horne, had been sent from Detroit to escort the Mail, and to open a communication with Captain Brush who, on his way with a supply of provisions for the army of General Hull, had been compelled to halt at the River Raisin, thirty-six miles below Detroit, his route having been intercepted by the Indians. The spies or scouts of these latter, having given intimation to Tecumseh, who was then at Brownstown at the

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z This should be 5th August. Procter in his despatch of Aug. 11th, 1812, to Brock, says the date of the skirmish at Brownstown was Aug. 5th. Gen. Hull, in his despatch of Aug. 7th, says that Major Van Horne was detached from his army on Aug. 4th ; but as the American army was on the Canadian side of the Detroit river on this date, Van Horne crossed the river on the 4th and encamped that night about eleven miles beyond the Ecorces river. On the 5th they fell into the Indian ambuscade. Both officers in command, therefore, agree as to the date.

head of a small force, of the approach of Major Van Horne, he took with him a party of 24 warriors, and with these formed an ambuscade about three miles from the village, and lining the thick woods on either side of the road which passed through them, as far as his little band would permit, there awaited the advance of the enemy. Major Van Horne, having neglected to throw out skirmishers or an advanced guard of any kind, came suddenly, with the main body of his riflemen chiefly mounted, within reach of the Indians, who opened upon them a most destructive fire, killing many men' and horses, and compelling the remainder to wheel about and seek their safety in flight. The Indians rose from their ambush and, uttering fierce yells, pursued them for a considerable distance, but without much subsequent loss to the enemy, the fleetness of whose horses enabled them soon to distance their pursuers.

The only loss sustained by Tecumseh was one man killed, and that by almost the last shot fired, in their confusion, by the enemy. This individual was a young Chief named Logan, who often acted as an interpreter, and who, from partially understanding the English language, and being in frequent communication with them, was nearly as great a favourite with the Officers and men of the Right Division, as he was with his own people. At the close of the action, Logan's dead body was brought in, and placed in a long, low, log building which the Indians chiefly used as a council room. Here the recently engaged warriors now assembled, taking their seats in a circle, with an air of great solemnity, and in profound silence. Up to that moment one prisoner only

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The American loss at Brownstown, according to Hull's despatch of Aug. 7th, 1812, was 7 officers and 10 privates killed ; the number of wounded, unknown. Major Van Home, in his evidence at Hull's trial, put his loss at 18 killed, 12 wounded and 70 missing, which may be considered as correct. Colonel Procter, in his letter to Brock on Aug. 11th, 1812, puts the American loss at " about 50 killed." The British loss was not more than stated, as Major an Horne made scarcely any resistance.

of the American detachment had fallen into their hands. This poor fellow had been wounded, although not in such a way as to disable him from walking, and he was made to take his seat in the circle. Added to the 24 Warriors selected by Tecumseh, was the eldest son of Colonel Elliott, the Superintendent of Indian affairs, a very fine young man who was afterwards killed, (and scalped I believe) and who, dressed as an Indian throughout the day, now took his station as one of the war-party, among his late companions in arms. It chanced that the prisoner was placed next to him. After having been seated some little time in this manner, Mr. Elliott, observing the blood to flow from some part of his neighbor's body, involuntarily exclaimed—" Good God, you are wounded." The sound of an English voice operated like magic upon the unhappy man, and his look of despair was in an instant changed for one of hope. " Oh Sir," he eagerly exclaimed, " if you have the power to save me do so." Mr. Elliott, who related the whole of the above circumstances to us later, stated that he had never experienced such moments of mental agony as he felt during this short appeal. Bitterly repenting the indiscretion which had been the means of exciting an expectation, which he well knew he had not the slightest power to realize, he was compelled to reply somewhat harshly that he had no more voice there than the prisoner himself, which indeed was the fact. The American said no more ; he bent his head upon his chest, and remained silent. Soon afterwards a bowl with food was placed before him, evidently with a view (as the result proved) of diverting his attention. Of this he slightly partook or seemed to partake. While occupied in this manner, a young warrior, obeying a signal from one of the elders, rose from his seat, and coming round and behind the prisoner, struck him one blow with his tomahawk on the uncovered head, and he ceased to live. Not a yell, not a sound beside that of the crashing tomahawk was heard, not a muscle of an Indian

face was moved. The young warrior, replacing his weapon, walked deliberately back, and resumed his seat in the circle. The whole party remained a few minutes longer seated, and then rose to their feet, and silently withdrew—leaving to those who had not been of the war-party, to dispose of the body of the victim. Tecumseh was not present at this scene.

Nor was this the only melancholy sacrifice offered to the *manes* of the lamented and unconscious Logan. On the very morning after this occurrence, as the Officers sat grouped together on the grass, literally imbedded in letters, the contents of the mail from Detroit, which had been captured by the Indians, and which were now being opened for the purpose of ascertaining the intended movements of the enemy, the wild and peculiar yell of several Warriors announced that another captive was being brought in. We immediately rose and advanced toward the low, log building already described, when we beheld several Indians approaching it, preceded by a prisoner whom they had secured by a long leathern thong, made fast to another which confined his hands. He was a finely-proportioned young man, and the air of dejection which clouded his brow, gradually gave way to a more cheerful expression, when, on approaching the encampment, he perceived those from whom he expected protection. Several of the men advanced to meet and converse with him, and the poor fellow had apparently banished all feeling of apprehension for his future fate, when an aged aunt of the deceased issued from her tent, and stole cautiously behind him. Even at the moment when the mind of the prisoner was lulled into confidence, and without any previous admonition, the heartless woman drew a tomahawk from beneath her mantle, and buried its point in the skull of her victim. Stunned but not felled by the wound, the unhappy man—his whole countenance expressing horror and despair—grasped at the first soldier near him for support ; but the blow was repeated so

suddenly, and with such violence, that he soon fell panting and convulsive to the earth. Fortunately he was not suffered to linger in his agony. The Indians around instantly despatched and scalped him, stripping the body of its clothes, and committing violations on his person in which the cruel aunt of Logan bore a principal share. The indignation of the men was excessive ; but any attempt to interfere, could they even have foreseen the occurrence in time to render interference effectual, would not only have cost them several lives, but produced the most alarming consequences to our cause. Their displeasure was, however, expressed by their murmurs, and the atrocity of the act became the theme of conversation throughout the camp. At the moment of its perpetration, I had myself approached within a few paces of the group, and became an unwilling spectator of the whole transaction. The wild expression of the sufferer's eye : the supplicating look which spoke through the very distortion of his features, and the agony which seemed to creep throughout his every limb, were altogether indescribable.

In these two several sacrifices of human life, the motives for action, it will be seen, were wholly different. In the first case the Indians simply followed up a custom which had prevailed among them for ages, and indeed, if proof were required of this fact, it is at once to be found in the absence of all ferocity, or excitement, or disposition to insult the prisoner who had already been doomed to death. The very fact of their having placed food before him, with the manifest object of absorbing his attention, and quieting his mind at the very moment of infliction of the death blow, was an evidence of mercy—not mercy, it is true, as understood by the Christian—but still mercy—the mercy of the child of nature, whom the stern habits of his forefathers have taught the lesson of sanguinary retribution, yet who, in the midst of its accomplishment, seeks to spare all unnecessary pang to its victim.

The features of the second tragedy bore no resemblance

to those which characterized the first. *There*, it was literally a religious immolation to the ashes of the deceased, whose spirit, it was presumed, could not rest in quietness, unless an enemy had been offered up as a propitiatory sacrifice. *Here*, it was a piece of wanton revenge, and perpetrated under circumstances of peculiar atrocity. Not a sound of triumph escaped from the band of Warriors met to avenge the death of their recently-fallen friend and comrade, although they might have been supposed to have been inflamed and excited by the action in which each had borne so prominent a part, in the early part of the day—not a look of levity derogated from the solemnity of their purpose. On the contrary, loud shouts and yells, and menacing looks and gestures, accompanied the actions of those, who, taking their tone from the cruel relative of Logan, scalped and otherwise mutilated the body of the second prisoner.

The demeanor of the first party was that of a Christian tribunal, which sits in solemn judgment upon a criminal, and beholds, without emotion, the carrying into effect of its sentence by the executioner. The bearing of the second was that of a Christian mob, to whose infuriated passions a loose has been given, and who, once excited, by the sight of blood know not where to set a bound to the innate and aroused cruelty of their nature.

In justice, however, to the Indians, it must be admitted these seeming evidences of cruelty were not confined to them. The American backwoodsmen were in the habit of scalping also ; and indeed it is singular enough that, although General Hull's famous, or rather, infamous proclamation awarded death to any one of the subjects of Great Britain, found combating at the side of, and therefore, assumed to be a participator in the barbarities attributed to the Indians, the very first scalp should have been taken by an officer of his own army, and that within a few days after the proclamation was issued.—James, in his History of the War, relates—founded on a vague

rumor of the day—that at the action fought at Brownstown, where Major Van Home was defeated, a letter was found in the pocket of Captain McCulloch (who was among the slain on that occasion) addressed to his wife, and stating that he had shot an Indian near the Canard bridge, on the 15th of July, and had the pleasure of *tearing of his scalp with his teeth*. Now of the fact itself there can be very little doubt, for we had one Indian (and one only) killed and scalped at the Canard. But, although Captain McCulloch is entitled to all the credit of this feat, there is reason to infer that James is incorrect in stating this information was obtained from a letter found in his pocket. In the first instance it is extremely unlikely that the Indians, in rifling and stripping the body, would have brought off anything so valueless to them as a letter, and secondly, it is much more probable that such communication from McCulloch to his wife, had been placed in the mail, which the party, to which he belonged, were escorting from Detroit with the correspondence of General Hull's army, and which, it will be recollected, was captured by the Indians. The whole of the letters passed through our hands, and it is highly probable the disclosure was made in this manner. I rather think it was, although I have no distinct recollection of the fact. There is another grave error into which James has fallen, in regard to the defeat of Major Van Horne's detachment. He states the force under Tecumseh to have amounted to 70 Warriors. As has already been shown here, there were but 25 including Tecumseh, and, added to these, young Elliott.

I call it a grave error, not only because it diminishes the extraordinary merit of the action, but because it detracts from the glory and influence of Tecumseh, the prestige of whose name and presence as much as anything else, by inspiring the utmost confidence in his little band of followers, contributed to the signal defeat sustained by the enemy on that memorable occasion. James

has, moreover, fallen into another error, in stating the first British blood shed, to have been spilt at Maguaga. It has already been shown that Hancock, one of the two gallant sentinels forgotten at the Canard by Lieut. Clemow, on withdrawing his picket, was the first British soldier killed in the war. James incidentally alludes to the matter, but writes of both sentinels as having simply been wounded ; whereas Hancock was cut down, while desperately wounded in two places, and on his knees, (on which he had sunk from inability to support himself otherwise) opposing a fruitless resistance to the advance of a body of men, who had not magnanimity enough to spare the life of so valiant and resolute, yet so helpless a foe. **But** these are not the only objections to James, on the ground of inaccuracy. There is not one action, fought by the Right Division, which he has described with that fidelity that alone can render history of importance to posterity ; and, moreover, he betrays too much of the spirit of partizanship. Instead of adopting the calm and dignified style befitting the historian, half his pages are filled with bitter, though perhaps merited enough, sneers against the one-sided American accounts of the war, and, in his eagerness to refute these, he is often led into the very error he attributes to them—namely, mis-statements of force and circumstance. Of this, numerous instances might be adduced, but as it does not come within the object of this narrative to notice these, I shall not enter upon the enumeration. After these incidental remarks, it may not be unimportant to add, that I never read James' History of the War until the first number of this compilation was completed.

On the morning of Sunday, the 9th, the wild and distant cry of our Indian scouts gave us to understand that the enemy were advancing. In the course of ten minutes afterwards they appeared issuing from the wood, bounding like wild deer chased by the huntsman, and uttering that peculiar shout which is known among themselves as

the *news-cry*. From them we ascertained that a strong column of the enemy, cavalry and infantry, were on their march to attack us, but that the difficulty of transporting their guns rendered it improbable they could reach our position before night, although then only at a distance of eight miles. It being instantly decided on to meet them, the detachment was speedily under arms, and on its march for Maguaga, a small Indian village distant about a league. The road along which we advanced was ankle-deep with mud, and the dark forest waving its close branches over our heads, left no egress to the pestilential exhalations arising from the naked and putrid bodies of horses and men killed of Major Home's detachment, which had been suffered to lie unburied beneath our feet. No other sound than the measured step of the troops interrupted the solitude of the scene, rendered more imposing by the wild appearance of the warriors, whose bodies, stained and painted in the most frightful manner for the occasion, glided by us with almost noiseless velocity, without order and without a chief ; some painted white, some black, others half black, half red ; half black, half white ; all with their hair plastered in such a way as to resemble the bristling quills of the porcupine, with no other covering than a cloth around their loins, yet armed to the teeth, with rifles, tomahawks, war-clubs, spears, bows, arrows, and scalping-knives. Uttering no sound, and intent only on reaching the enemy unperceived, they might have passed for the spectres of those wilds, the ruthless demons which War had unchained for the punishment and oppression of man.

Having taken up a position about a quarter .of a mile beyond Maguaga, our dispositions of defence were speedily made, the rustling of the leaves alone breaking on the silence which reigned throughout our line. Following the example of the Indians, we lay reclined on the ground, in order to avoid being perceived, until within a few yards of the enemy. While awaiting, in this manner, the

approach of the column, which we knew to be at no great distance advancing upon us, our little force was increased by the arrival of Lieut. Bullock of the 41st Grenadiers who, with a small detachment of twenty men of his own company, twenty Light Infantry, and twenty Battalion men had been urged forward by Gen. Brock, from the Headquarters of the Regiment, then stationed at Fort George, for the purpose of reinforcing the little Garrison of Amherstburg, and who having reached their destination the preceding day, had been despatched by Col. Procter, (lately arrived to assume the command) to strengthen us. Shortly the report of a single shot echoed throughout the wood ; and the instant afterwards the loud and terrific yells of the Indians, followed by a heavy and desultory fire, apprised us that they were engaged. The action then became general along our line, and continued for half an hour, without producing any material advantage ; when unluckily, a body of Indians that had been detached to a small wood about five hundred yards distant from our right, were taken by the troops for a corps of the enemy endeavouring to turn their flank. In vain we called out to them that they were our Indians. The fire which should have been reserved for their foes was turned upon their friends, who, falling into the same error, returned it with equal spirit. The fact was, they had been compelled to retire before a superior force, and the movement made by them, had given rise to the error of the troops. That order and discipline which would have marked their conduct as a body in a plain, was lost sight of, in a great measure, while fighting independently and singly in a wood, where every man, following the example of the enemy, was compelled to shelter his person behind the trees as he could. Closely pressed in front by an almost invisible foe, and on the point of being taken in the rear, as was falsely imagined, the troops were at length compelled to yield to circumstance and numbers.

Although our retreat, in consequence of this unfortunate misapprehension, commenced in some disorder, this was soon restored, when Major Muir, who had been wounded early in the engagement, succeeded in rallying his men, and forming them on the brow of a hill which commanded a short and narrow bridge intersecting the high road, and crossing a morass over which the enemy's guns must necessarily pass. This was about a quarter of a mile in rear of the position we had previously occupied. Here we remained at least fifteen minutes, when finding that the Americans did not make their appearance as expected, Major Muir, whose communication with Tecumseh had been cut off, and who now heard some smart firing in the woods beyond his left, naturally inferred that the enemy were pushing the Indians in that quarter, with a view of turning his flank, gaining the high road in our rear, and thus cutting off our retreat. The order was then given to retire, which we certainly did at the double quick, yet without being followed by the enemy, who suffered us to gain our boats without further molestation.

In this affair, which we never then regarded as anything more than a sharp skirmish, yet to which the Americans have since attached an undue importance, their loss was 18 killed and 63 wounded'; ours, one rank and file killed, two Officers, two Sergeants, nineteen

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I Gen. Hull, in his despatch of Aug. 13th, 1812, puts the American loss at 10 non-commissioned officers and privates killed, and 45 wounded of 4th U.S. regiment, 8 killed and 12 wounded of Ohio and Michigan volunteers. He estimates the British loss at—Indians, about 40 killed, number wounded not known ; Major Muir and two subalterns wounded, one since dead ; 15 of the 41st killed and wounded, 4 made prisoners.

Col. Procter, in his letter of Aug. 11th, 1812, says the 41st lost 3 killed, 13 wounded and 2 missing ; the militia 1 killed, 2 wounded ; Indians, 2 killed and 6 wounded. He does not give the American loss, but says it was considerable.

Major Dalliba states the American loss to be 18 killed and 63 wounded, and the British 58 killed and wounded, Indians 102 killed and wounded.

Major Richardson evidently accepted Major Dalliba's report of

rank and file wounded, and two rank and file missing, but afterwards recaptured by the Indians. The wounded officers were Major Muir, and Lieutenant Sutherland. They were near each other when the attack commenced, and Major Muir having observed an American taking a deliberate aim at them, hastily placed a short rifle, which he usually carried with him on these occasions, on the shoulder of his companion, and levelled it at his enemy. Both fired at the same instant. The ball of the American, entering Lieut. Sutherland's cheek, came out at the back of his neck, and passed through one of Major Muir's wings (he commanded the Light Company of the 41st), while the rifleman himself fell dead on the spot, from his adversary's bullet. Major Muir soon afterwards received another ball in the leg, yet without being disabled. Severe as proved the wound of Lieut. Sutherland, (who was borne off the field when the retreat commenced, on the back, if I do not greatly mistake, of one of the Messrs. Caldwell of Amherstburg) he would have recovered had he not imprudently, some ten days afterwards, made premature use of his tooth-brush. This opened the wound, brought on hemorrhage, and before medical assistance could be procured, (the main body of the force being then in occupation of Detroit) he bled to death. Tecumseh was also slightly wounded, by a buckshot, on this occasion.

Here it was that we had first an opportunity of perceiving the extreme disadvantage of opposing regular troops to the enemy in the woods. Accustomed to the use of the rifle from his infancy—dwelling in a measure amid forests with the intricacies of which he is wholly acquainted, and possessing the advantage of a dress

the American loss, but gives no authority for his statement of the British loss, which he certainly must have underestimated, as Procter had better means of knowing than any other British officer. The safest guide is to accept the statement of each commanding officer for his own casualties, as they would know more about their own loss than that of their opponents.

which renders him almost undistinguishable to the eye of an European, the American marksman enters with comparative security into a contest with the English soldier, whose glaring habiliment and accoutrements are objects too conspicuous to be missed, while his utter ignorance of a mode of warfare, in which courage and discipline are of no avail, renders the struggle for mastery even more unequal. The principal armies to which the Right Division was opposed during the war, consisted not of regular and well-disciplined troops, but levies of men taken from the forests of Ohio and Kentucky, scarcely inferior as riflemen to the Indians. Dressed in woollen frocks of a gray color, and trained to cover their bodies behind the trees from which they fired, without exposing more of their persons than was absolutely necessary for their aim, they afforded us, on more than one occasion, the most convincing proofs that without the assistance of the Indian Warriors, the defence of so great a portion of Western Canada, as was entrusted to the charge of the numerically feeble Right Division, would have proved a duty of great difficulty and doubt.

I have stated that the Americans subsequently attached an undue importance to the affair of Maguaga. The following is an extract from a most voluminous account, written by Major James Dalliba, and published under the immediate inspection of Gen. (then Colonel) Miller, who on this occasion commanded the American forces which, by their own admission, consisted of the whole of the 4th Regiment of United States Infantry, except one company left at Sandwich to garrison a small fort, built by order of General Hull : a small detachment of the 1st Infantry, and a small number (enough to man two pieces of cannon) of Artillerists from Captain Dyson's company stationed in Fort Detroit. This composed the regular force, in all 300 men. Then there were, according to the same authority, " 60 men of the Michigan Militia, 40 Dragoons and Mounted Spies, and 300 Riflemen of the Ohio Volun-

teers, making in all 600 men." But now for Major Dalliba's extract.

" The position which the enemy had chosen, lay in an open oak wood, just at the declivity of a rising ground over which the Americans had to pass. He had thrown up breastworks of trees, logs, etc., behind which he lay concealed in force, and in order of battle. His works were thrown up in form of a *courtine* with two flanks. The line of the *courtine* lay across the road and perpendicularly to it. The banks formed an angle with the *courtine* of about  $120^{\circ}$ . The *courtine* was lined with British regular troops, two deep, of the 41st Regiment of foot, under the command of Major Muir, of that regiment, who had long been in command at Malden. The flank of the *courtine*, on the enemy's right, and American left, was lined with Canadian militia and Indians, commanded by Walk-in-the-water and Marpot. This line was flanked by the river Detroit. Most of the militia were dressed and painted like their ' brethren in arms,' the savages. The left flank of the *courtine* was lined entirely by savages, under the command of the celebrated warrior, Tecumseh, of the Shawanee nation. The number of the British regulars and militia amounted to about 500 ; about 200 regulars. The Indians amounted to 450 ; making the enemy's force about 750 men.

" The position and strength of the enemy were entirely unknown to Colonel Miller and to the army, at this time.

" At 12 o'clock, meridian, the detachment arrived at a large opening which contained 4 or 5 Indian houses, gardens and orchards. The army halted to take some refreshment, and bury the man who had been killed ; where they lay about one hour. The village was deserted, and nothing left in the houses of consequence.

" The march was again resumed at 1 o'clock P.M. and continued without interruption. The troops marched over the ground on which Major Van Home had been defeated four days before ; and passed the dead bodies of

several of the slain, and some dead horses. The body of Captain M'Culloch lay under an Indian bark. The columns having arrived at the oak woods near Brownstown, at half past three, some guns were heard ahead by them. In a few seconds a volley was heard from Captain Snelling's advance guard, and another instantly returned from a great number of pieces. The troops, by this time completely awake, were ordered to halt. Colonel Miller rode towards the centre at full speed, halted, and with a firm voice, ordered the columns to 'form the line of battle,' which was executed with that order, promptness, and zeal, which he had expected : after the first volleys, the firing became incessant in front. Captain Snelling stood his ground till the lines were formed, and moved to his relief. He stood within pistol shot of the enemy's breastworks, in a shower of balls from the regular troops in his front, who shewed themselves after the first fire, and set up the Indian yell. When the first line appeared before the breastwork, they received the fire of the whole front and a part of the flanks : at this instant Colonel Miller discovered that the enemy outflanked him, when the second line and flank guards were brought upon the flanks of the front line, and extended to meet the whole line of the enemy. The savages, in unison with the British troops, set up a horrid yell, and a severe conflict ensued. The incessant firing in the centre ran diverging to the flanks ; from the cracking of individual pieces it changed to alternate volleys ; and at length to one continued sound : and while every thing seemed hushed amidst the wavering roll, the discharge of the six-pounder burst upon the ear. The Americans stood !—At this instant Colonel Miller was thrown from his horse which took fright at the discharge of the artillery ; he was supposed to be shot. Those near him flew to his aid. The savages who saw him fall sprang over the breastwork to take his scalp, but were driven back. Colonel Miller

instantly remounted and returned to continue his orders. The fire from the Indians, who were screened by their breastworks, was deadly. The soldiers saw the advantage it gave them, and Colonel Miller, throwing his eye along the line, discovered one or two edging to place themselves behind a tree. He saw the instant must be improved, and ordered ' *charge !* ' which instantly ran through the line : the men whom he saw edging, with every other, brought down their pieces, struck up a huzza ! and marched directly into the breastworks. The effect of the grape from the six-pounder, and the approach of the bayonet, caused the British line to yield, and then to break, and the troops fled in disorder ! At nearly the same instant the Indians and militia on their right flank, being charged in their work, by the Michigan legion, under Captain De Cant, and a part of the Ohio riflemen turning this flank by the river, fled in confusion. Tecumseh, on the enemy's left flank, stood longer ; some of the Indians under his command, near the extremity of the line, had jumped over the breastworks, in the full assurance of victory : they were driven back, by the point of the bayonet. Tecumseh endeavoured to outflank the American line, and turn their right ; but from the skill and gallantry of the officers, and firmness of the men on that flank, he was foiled in every attempt, and was finally forced to fall back, and take new positions, and fight on the retreat. The British and Indians on their right flank, fled directly down the river, and were pursued by Colonel Miller, with that part of his troops which had opposed them ; and Tecumseh, with his Indians, fled directly from the river, westwardly, into the wilderness and were pursued by that part of the troops which had opposed them overtaking those who were (severely) wounded, and otherwise unable to escape.

"After the British had retreated about one mile, they came into an opening of about half a mile in diameter ; here they endeavoured to form again, but on the precipi-



tate approach of the Americans, they again broke and fled into the woods, down the river. They were pursued to the edge of these woods, when Colonel Miller received information from Major Van Horne, whom he had left in command of the right flank, that Tecumseh had retreated westwardly, that he successively took new positions with his Indians, that they were still fighting, and that it was still doubtful how the conflict would finally terminate in that quarter. On the receipt of this information Colonel Miller ordered the troops under his immediate command, to halt, and form the line. He informed the officers, that it would not do to pursue the enemy any farther, until he had heard again from the right flank. That as Tecumseh had retreated in another direction, the army was now divided, and the two divisions, already out of hearing of each other's musketry. That if Tecumseh was likely to overpower that division, he must send back a reinforcement to their relief, or the Indians would otherwise immediately advance upon the field of battle, and massacre the wounded, destroy the rear guard, and take the ammunition and stores ; and finally fall upon his rear.

"Information was at length brought that Tecumseh had finally fled, and that the troops were returning to join that division as soon as possible.

"Colonel Miller immediately ordered the troops to march in further pursuit of the British. They entered the woods, and the cavalry moved ahead at full speed. When they arrived through these woods, which was about half a mile, they came upon the beach of Lake Erie, and discovered the enemy all in boats, steering towards Malden, and out of reach of their shot. They had concealed their boats at this point, when they came over, for this purpose, if they should be defeated. This circumstance, however, could not have been known to Colonel Miller before. He now ordered the troops to return upon the field from whence they had last marched, which was done ; and on their

arrival, they were joined by the other division, which had returned from the pursuit of Tecumseh and his Indians.

"The cause is now shewn, which has not been generally understood heretofore, why the British were not all captured, when they had been so totally defeated.

"The troops were then formed in line, fronting the field of battle ; when Colonel Miller rode in front of the centre, and addressed them in the following words :

" 'My brave fellows ! you have done well ! every man has done his duty. I give you my hearty thanks for your conduct on this day ; you have gained my highest esteem ; you have gained fresh honor to yourselves, and to the American arms ; your fellow-soldiers in arms will love you, and your country will reward you. You will return to the field of battle, to collect those who have gloriously fallen ; your friendly attention to your wounded companions is required.'

"At sunrise the march was resumed, and at 12 o'clock on the 12th of August, the detachment re-entered the town of Detroit, covered with mud from foot to head, their clothes not having been dried in two and a half days. The sun now cheered them with its influence ; they marched through the street to the encampment. They were met by their brother soldiers and citizens, with all that sympathy and heartfelt joy which constitutes the soldier's reward for his *hard-earned* victory."

Now, the *courfine*, alluded to by Major Dalliba, could have had no existence except in the heated imagination of a warrior flushed with victory, and magnifying the difficulties which his intrepidity and daring have surmounted. We had no breastwork of any description, and for this simple reason—that when we left Brownstown in the morning to meet the enemy, we knew not at what point we should halt. When the ground we did occupy was reached, the Americans were not more than a mile, or a mile and a half, in our front, and Major Muir, finding it to be not an unfavorable position for defence, inasmuch as we were covered by the brow of a slightly rising ground,

ordered the men to lie down, and otherwise cover themselves with what logs happened to be in the way. There had been no previous selection of ground, and, therefore, no preparation—no precaution beyond that which has just been stated. Here we had been only a very short time, before the American advance was engaged with the Indians on our left, thrown forward, and soon the affair, during which the enemy's grape was very liberally dispensed, became general.—Great, however, as was the disproportion of arm and numbers (for it will be recollected that even with the reinforcement brought by Lieut. Bull-ock, ours did not exceed 150 men of the 41st Regiment, to which might be added some 40 or 50 militia) there is no reason to infer that the men would not longer have maintained their ground, had it not been for the certainty which existed that the enemy were outflanking us. I perfectly recollect the position, even at this hour, although I have never passed over the ground since, and I can understand the alarm which prevailed. Immediately on our right—and I was on the extreme of that flank—was a plain of wild high grass, extending about 600 yards, and at its termination, an open wood, running parallel with the roads, thro' which, during the heat of the affair, a large body of men, whom it was impossible to distinguish, were discovered hastening their movements, with the evident intention of gaining our rear. Such, indeed, proved to be their object, but the men, who unluckily had not been apprised of the fact of a party of Indians having been despatched to the extremity of the wood in question, mistook these (now driven back by the American left) for the enemy, and commenced firing upon them ; thus relieving the actual enemy from much of the obstacle which had hitherto been opposed to their advance. **The** Indians, probably laboring under the same erroneous impression, or indignant at being assailed in this manner by their friends, partially returned the fire, and this of course tended still more to confirm the belief entertained by the men that they were Americans endeavoring to turn

their flank—nor could the earnest assurances of their officers remove this conviction. The discouraging effect of a panic of this kind is well known. The men hastily retired, carrying off their wounded, however, but the Americans did not pursue farther than the point we had abandoned. As has already been seen, the troops were speedily rallied and reformed, but without further invitation from the enemy to renew the contest.

There is another error in Major Dalliba's very lengthy detail of this affair, a notice of which is only important, because it tends to show, that the *courline*, which he has so emphatically described, may have originated in the same want of recollection (and he states that he writes from recollection) of the actual condition of the ground where the skirmish commenced. He states, as will be seen in the extract I have given, that before the action commenced, they (the American detachment) passed the spot where Major Van Home had been defeated a few days before ; and that they, among many dead bodies of men and horses, discovered that of Captain McCulloch placed under an Indian bark. Now this was impossible for we had passed these dead bodies in the morning, and they lay nearly midway between Brownstown and the scene of action. I can well recollect this fact, for such was the stench and the effluvia arising from the disgusting and bloated objects, which had been suffered to fester beneath a scorching sun, during several consecutive days, that, both in the advance, and the retreat, I experienced anything but regret when I had quitted the atmosphere they poisoned with their presence. Major Dalliba must have passed these at a subsequent period of the day, when, as he observes, the Americans came out of the wood near Brownstown, and found that the handful of British had been suffered to effect their retreat without interruption.

It must not be omitted to remark that, on the return of Colonel Miller to Detroit, he was closely followed by a band of about 250 Indians, chiefly Pottawattomies, who hung on the American rear and captured several boats