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Cover: Pictured in front of the keep at Cardiff Castle are the battalion mascots of the Royal Regiment of Wales, a unit of the modern British army whose military ancestor, the 41st Regiment of Foot, fought in the Old Northwest in the War of 1812. Ever since the Crimean War, when the first such mascot was adopted, the regiment's goats have accompanied it to battle and receive the same campaign medals as soldiers. Among the earliest of the battle honors displayed on each goat major's sash or baldrick is "Miami"—the action Americans know as the Battle of Ft. Meigs. (*Welch Regiment Museum, Cardiff, Wales*)

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John Richardson's historical writings by tracing the textual development of his account of Sac chief Metoss and the death of his son at Fort Meigs. Melhorn compares Richardson's historical and fictional works with respect to Indian characterizations and stereotypes and identifies the sources for the Metoss story.

Also in the current issue, John Fairfield discusses the various identities of Cincinnati in his review of several recent books about the history of that city. Our expanding review section includes a new category, "Visual Media." Patricia Crosby and Elaine Reeves, graduate students in the Department of History at the University of Toledo, consider the recent Hayes Center exhibit, "Presidential Potpourri." We invite our readers to send suggestions for exhibits, videos, web sites, or other examples of the visual media that merit critique in this journal. Reviews, along with articles and research updates, enable the *Northwest Ohio Quarterly* to keep its readers at the forefront of scholarly inquiry in our region. We look forward to many more years of serving our audience.

DFB

[1]James H. Rodabaugh, "Historical Societies: Their Magazines and Their Editors," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 45 (Winter 1961–1962):115-17.

[2]Quoted in ibid., 117–18.

"A Splendid Man": Richardson, Ft. Meigs and the Story of Metoss

DONALD F. MELHORN JR.

The Royal Regiment of Wales, a unit of the modern British army, still carries on its color the battle honor "Miami" awarded to its military ancestor the 41st Regiment of Foot, which campaigned in the Old Northwest in the War of 1812.[1] Charged with the defense of Canada's Detroit River and western Lake Erie frontier, the 41st was the principal regular component of the expeditionary force which sailed up the Maumee (then also known as the "Miami" or "Miamis" River) to assault Ft. Meigs in the spring of 1813. The battle honor particularly recognized the valor and spontaneity of a counterattack led by the regiment's junior officers to retake gun batteries captured by Kentucky militia troops under Colonel William Dudley, who disobeyed or perhaps did not receive American general William Henry Harrison's order to withdraw. More than four hundred of Dudley's men were captured by the British, or became British prisoners when Tecumseh and his warriors cut off their retreat. The date was May 5, 1813.

But the pride members of the 41st took in the counterattack was tempered by sorrow over an incident of its aftermath. Unprepared for such a large number of prisoners, the British commander, Brigadier General Henry Procter, ordered them confined temporarily in old Ft. Miami, a work constructed almost twenty years before and since fallen into ruin. The site was chosen for the prisoners' protection, for they were in great danger from the Indians. Colonel Dudley himself and some of the members of his force were brutally massacred as they fled; others captured by the Indians were robbed of their clothing and possessions and forced to run a gauntlet as they entered the old fort. Those fortunate to have been captured by British troops were brought in without being abused. But the refuge afforded by the fort's decaying ramparts did not assure the prisoners' safety. Marauding braves overcame the few British troops

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The author, an Ohio lawyer practicing in Toledo, also writes and lectures on American legal history. His interest in the career of George Tod, a judge of the Ohio Supreme Court in the earliest decade of statehood who subsequently fought at Ft. Meigs as a major in the U.S. Army, prompted curiosity about the Ft. Meigs actions, which eventually led to the Metoss story.

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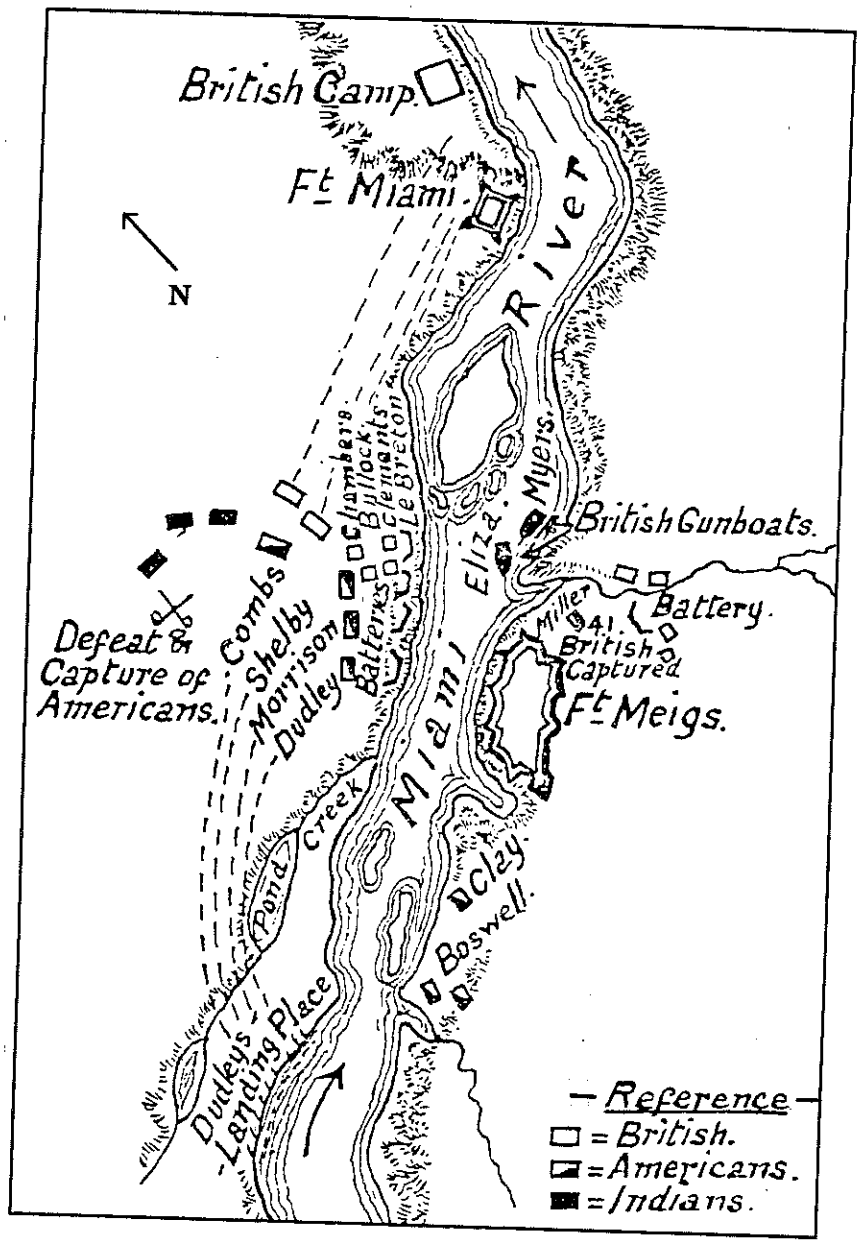

A British map of action at Fort Meigs, May 5, 1813. (*Welch Regiment Museum, Cardiff, Wales*)

detailed as a guard, killing one of them, a Private Russell, who tried to intervene as the Indians began firing and striking at the panicked and helpless Kentuckians. About forty were killed before the massacre was suddenly stopped.[2] All accounts of the incident credit that to Tecumseh's arrival, and to his dramatic confrontation of the murderers, whose "coward hatchets madly rose to stain / The well-earned laurels" his braves had won in supporting the counterattack. Lifting his own tomahawk against the renegades and striking to the ground a weapon one of them had used against the prisoners, Tecumseh "swore to sheathe his yet ensanguined glaive / In their vile hearts . . . While as he felled to earth the tainted barb / He shone the savage but in hue and garb."[3]

John Richardson, who later wrote these lines in his epic poem *Tecumseh,* fought with the 41st that day as one of its youngest members. A son of the post surgeon at Ft. Malden, the British base in Amherstburg at the foot of the Detroit River, Richardson had joined the regiment the year before when he was fifteen years old. He participated in all of its western campaigns during the first two years of the war, beginning with operations which led to American general William Hull's surrender at Detroit after an ill-fated invasion of Canada in the summer of 1812, and continuing with the defeat, the following January, of an American force at the River Raisin near present-day Monroe, Michigan.

The Battle of Ft. Meigs in May, 1813 marked the end of this succession of British and Indian victories. Offsetting the defeat of Dudley's Kentuckians were American successes gained the same day on the south bank of the Maumee, as other Kentucky troops who had arrived with Dudley fought their way into Ft. Meigs, while members of its garrison sallied out from another gate to overrun a battery the British had established on that side of the river for close-in bombardment. Procter was compelled to raise the siege and withdraw, with the fort still in American hands.

After the ensuing summer's campaigns Richardson and many of his regimental comrades were captured in October, 1813 in the Battle of the Thames (known to British and Canadians as "Moraviantown"), the culminating event in the invasion of Canada by Harrison's army, which followed Commodore Oliver H. Perry's celebrated victory over a British fleet in the battle of Lake Erie. As a "gentleman volunteer" Richardson had some of the social privileges of officers, and he served in the 41st with the hope of

earning the commission which he eventually received upon his release from American captivity at the end of the war.

Following several years of unexciting postwar duty Richardson left the army. His writing career as a historian, novelist, poet and polemicist began during the 1820s, when he lived a bohemian life in Paris and London.[4] In the mid-1830s he fought with the British Legion, a force recruited for a dynastic war in Spain, in which he won promotion to major and a decoration for valor. Returning to Canada in 1838, Richardson devoted the rest of his life to literary endeavors, from which his struggle to gain a living became increasingly desperate. His romanticism and the impracticality of many of his literary projects have prompted his biographer to call him "the Canadian Don Quixote."[5] But unlike the Spanish don, Richardson was a quarrelsome man, and his adult life was turbulent. A modern Canadian commentator has described him as "undoubtedly the most colourful figure in our colonial literature, and as certainly the most obnoxious."[6] After moving to New York City, where he hoped to find a better market for his works, he died there a pauper in 1852.

The Great Lakes border provided the setting, and conflict among Indians, British, Canadians and Americans the dramatic theme, for many of Richardson's novels and short stories. Republished in this century after very small initial sales, they have gained him belated recognition as Canada's first novelist.[7] But while initial critical assessment of Richardson's literary works as "deficient in interest" has been reversed, vestiges of his early reputation for "inaccurate" historical writing persist.[8]

Richardson is, nevertheless, a significant figure as a historian of the War of 1812. His narrative of actions in which his 41st Regiment was engaged has become an important source work, as modern historians devote increasing attention to the war's significance for the Old Northwest. Coming to final form in a version Richardson published in Brockville, Ontario in 1842, and derived in part from earlier historical writings, the work had very small original circulation.[9] It was republished posthumously in 1902, with an introduction by Alexander Clark Casselman which provided details of Richardson's life.[10] Since the Casselman edition is the one typically found in research libraries, it is hereinafter cited in referring to the "Brockville version" of Richardson's history—the work as he last revised it in 1842.

The Brockville version contains a remarkable story, set forth immediately following Richardson's account of the massacre of

the Ft. Miami prisoners, "in bright relief to that incident and "to redeem the grossly maligned Indian character."[11] Not clearly fixed in temporal sequence with other happenings, the story's events apparently occurred during the week prior to May 5, when the Indians had Ft. Meigs surrounded and the British were bombarding it from the batteries across the river which Dudley's men later attacked. The story's principal character is Metoss, a chief of the Sac tribe, described as about six feet in height, tall and handsome, with features "essentially classic and Roman . . . firm in his attachment to British interests, and a most determined foe of the Americans."[12]

Metoss had captured a member of the Ft. Meigs garrison as that soldier was attempting one night to steal down to the river for water. The following night, as the story continues, Metoss' son, "a fine lad of thirteen," insisted on accompanying his father on patrol. Spotted by the fort's defenders, they drew fire and the boy was killed. Overcome with grief, Metoss declared his intention to execute his prisoner in accordance with mandates of Indian custom which required a fallen warrior to be joined in death by an enemy. But Metoss was dissuaded by Robert Dickson, an officer of the Canadian Indian Department who had recruited the Sacs to join Tecumseh and accompanied them on the campaign. After Metoss released the American into Dickson's custody,

> [t]he body of the young Indian was buried the next day, and, out of respect to the father, with all military honors. The funeral party, which was commanded by Lieut. Bullock, proceeded to the wigwam of Metoss, where the body of the young Chief was laid out—his little rifle, with some powder and ball, and a supply of provisions, according to the Indian usage, being placed at his side. About a dozen of the Sac tribe, all painted black, were dancing what seemed to be a solemn war-dance around the body, when suddenly Metoss rushed frantically into the midst of the group, and exhibited every painful evidence of the most violent and ungovernable grief. With difficulty he was removed from the body of his child, when the corpse was taken up, and the party proceeded to the grave which had been dug in the midst of our encampment, on the left [north] bank of the Miami. The black painted Indians slowly followed, and after the British party had fired the customary three rounds, they discharged their rifles several times as fast as they could load. The fierce wild air

of the warriors, whose countenances evinced the strong desire they entertained of avenging the untimely death of the fallen youth, and the originality of their costume, markedly contrasting as it did with the officers and soldiers present at the ceremony, and the somber silence which prevailed, heightened in effect by the deep gloom of the forest in which they were assembled, composed a wild and romantic picture, in which melancholy grandeur shone principally conspicuous.

When the expedition returned to Amherstburg, Metoss, who had been embarked in General Procter's boat, was frequently observed to be in tears. He later conceived a strong attachment for Lieut. Bullock, principally by reason of that officer having commanded the funeral party of his son. He made him a Chief of his tribe, and requested, as a great favor, that he would consent to an exchange of names. This was of course cheerfully complied with, for it was impossible not to esteem and like the untutored warrior who had so nobly, and in so affecting a manner, departed from the fierce Indian law which not only authorizes, but enjoins the sacrifice of life for life.[13]

One could hardly cite a better example than this story of a basis for assessing the historical accuracy of Richardson's narrative. Except for Pierre Berton, modern historians of the War of 1812 have passed it by without mention.[14] The story seems too good to be true; indeed it is quite implausible. British military honors at Indian funerals were not customary. Nor could Metoss' young son have been buried "in the midst of" the British camp without General Procter's permission. Had Procter ordered the honors rendered in order to save an American captive's life, he would almost certainly have reported the incident, but he did not. Nor has the story been recounted by others on whom its events would likely have made a strong impression. It is possible that Metoss' American captive might never have been made aware of the extraordinary circumstances of his release. But the story would certainly have been known to members of the 41st's rank and file who witnessed the unusual burial ceremony "in the midst of" their own encampment. Yet a soldier who published memoirs, Private Shadrach Byfield, did not mention the incident in his account of the Ft. Meigs action.[15]

But against the silence of other likely raconteurs must be weighed Richardson's assertion, made at the beginning of his

work, "that no one incident will be found committed to these pages, which may not be attested by every officer who served" with the regiment.[16]

* * *

In the archives of the Welch Regiment Museum in Cardiff Castle are two manuscript writings of James Cochran, an officer of the 41st who joined the regiment in 1812 as a newly commissioned ensign, and served with it until his retirement in 1845.[17] In "The War in Canada," a work consisting of over a hundred pages of closely spaced handwriting, Cochran described many of the same actions that Richardson's book recounts. The other manuscript consists of Cochran's handwritten notes in the margin of his copy of Richardson's book—the edition Richardson published in Brockville in 1842. How Cochran came to produce these works, or when, in what order, and for whom they were written, can only be conjectured. They are not casual jottings. Both the marginal notes and the manuscript narrative are neatly written, and have the appearance of fair copies. They came to the regimental museum from the library of the officers mess, where Cochran might have left them for succeeding generations, intending to set the record straight.

Cochran's manuscript contains information for which it is a unique source. With respect to the killings at old Ft. Miami, it adds to our knowledge of two characters. For Private Russell, who gave his life protecting the prisoners, Cochran supplies a first name, "Paddy," which permits the inference that Russell was Irish; a note in the margin of Richardson's book mourns him as "poor Paddy."[18] Cochran also identifies the Indian who led the killers: "a bloodthirsty villain, called 'Split-Nose,' whose countenance was a certain index to his mind."[19] Another marginal note discloses that Cochran had subsequently encountered Split-Nose: "a petty chief of the Chippewas . . . a sneaking ruffian whom I met with a few months after."[20]

Occasionally Cochran takes issue with points in Richardson's text. In response to Richardson's quotation of an official commendation of two Canadian militiamen, Hancock and Dean, who, "being left sentinels [along the route of an expected American advance] . . . contrived to maintain their station against the whole of the enemy's force," Cochran's marginal note reads: "Hancock and Dean, a double sentry from the advanced picket, were both *drunk and asleep* when the advancing enemy force drove in the picket and, in their stupid surprise, offered useless

resistance when roused by the Americans."[21] But while there are other places where Cochran questions details of Richardson's version of events, by and large his marginal notes and separate manuscript narrative support Richardson's work, lending credibility to Richardson's assertion that officers of his regiment would confirm what he wrote.

The Metoss story is not mentioned in Cochran's manuscript narrative. But in the margin of Richardson's book, beside Metoss' name where it first appears as the story is introduced, Cochran wrote: "A splendid man."[22] The significance of this cryptic notation is problematical. It seems unlikely that Cochran was simply moved by the literary eloquence of Richardson's description of Metoss, when all of his other marginalia address the substance of assertions in Richardson's text. Perhaps "a splendid man" was Cochran's assessment of Metoss as an individual, based on his or others' acquaintance with the Sac chief. Or perhaps the note might even be taken to confirm the Metoss story, since Cochran did not dispute it, as he had the tale of Hancock and Dean's heroism. But however it is initially assessed in speculation, Cochran's note, "a splendid man," qualifies the story as meriting further investigation. Is the Metoss story true, or was it a fictional embellishment?

* * *

The present investigation begins with the story's named characters. Can the existence of Lieutenant Bullock, Dickson, and Metoss be confirmed? If so, where were they when the story's events are said to have occurred? These questions are easily answered for Richard Bullock, an officer of the 41st who participated in all of the regiment's actions on the western frontier, and was commended in General Procter's report of the action at Ft. Meigs in May, 1813 for his part in the counterattack.[23]

Robert Dickson, a fur trader before the war, was a dominant figure in the Upper Mississippi region. His influence with the western tribes, his success in recruiting warriors to fight on the British side, and his leadership of those who participated in the capture of Ft. Mackinac in the summer of 1812 as the war began, gained him an official appointment as Indian agent "for the Indians of the Nations to the Westward of Lake Huron."[24] Dickson was respected, moreover, for his efforts to persuade Indians to treat captives humanely, an object emphasized in official instructions he received in January, 1813 as he set out for the Upper Mississippi to recruit for that year's campaigning.[25] But

contemporary records leave no doubt that Dickson did not return from this mission until July, when he arrived at Detroit with several hundred braves, travelling by canoe from the Upper Lakes.[26] At Detroit this force joined up with other western Indians Dickson had recruited, a party which included two hundred warriors from the Fox and Sac tribes who had travelled ahead by land. Dickson wrote to advise Procter of their impending arrival, in a letter sent from Green Bay on May 31, 1813.[27] The letter does not identify members of the party by name.

Metoss belonged to a faction of the Sac tribe that sided with the British, as did the Sacs' more famous war leader, Black Hawk.[28] But there appears to be no contemporary record which establishes Metoss' presence at Ft. Meigs in early May, 1813. Had he been among the party of two hundred warriors mentioned in Dickson's May 31 letter, it seems unlikely that they could have arrived on the Maumee by May 5, when the story's events took place.

In summary, then, while Lieutenant Bullock's participation in the May assault on Ft. Meigs can be verified, the question of Metoss' participation is unresolved, and Dickson's being elsewhere at the time is virtually certain. Thus, an initial conclusion is easily reached: If the events of the Metoss story actually took place with Dickson's participation, they did not occur at Ft. Meigs in May, 1813.

But Dickson was there later that summer, in July, when Procter joined with his Indian allies in another expedition to the south shore of Lake Erie. In addition to the Sacs mentioned in Dickson's May 31 letter, other Indians he had recruited and warriors from Lower Lakes tribes that Tecumseh led, all accompanied the 41st at the end of July in what was intended to be a preemptive strike to frustrate American preparations for another invasion of Canada. The British objectives were Ft. Meigs on the Maumee and Ft. Stephenson on the Sandusky River, both lightly garrisoned but supported from Ft. Seneca (near present-day Tiffin), where General William Henry Harrison was assembling his invasion force. Procter, on the other hand, was short of regular troops, and he lacked siege artillery. Ships previously used to transport his heavy guns were now under Commodore Robert Barclay's command, and preoccupied at Lake Erie's eastern end by Perry's shipbuilding activities.

Skeptically, Procter acceded to Tecumseh's plan for taking Ft. Meigs by ruse. British regulars, all from the 41st regiment,

would land on the south bank near the fort and remain out of sight while the Indians staged a mock battle outside the main gate, intended to make it appear to the garrison that a relief force sent by General Harrison was attempting to fight its way in. Tecumseh expected that the Americans would sally out to aid their imagined countrymen, and then be surprised and overwhelmed by the British and Indians. But the garrison stayed put. Frustrated by the failure of this second of the Ft. Meigs operations, often referred to as the "second siege," the British and some of the Indians went off to attack Ft. Stephenson, an affair that brought glory to its American defenders and a heavy cost in casualties to the 41st for a failed frontal assault.

There is no doubt that Lieutenant Bullock participated in the second siege of Ft. Meigs, and Metoss' taking part in that action is consistent with the probable arrival date of the party of two hundred Sac and Fox warriors mentioned in Dickson's May 31 letter or, alternatively, with the possibility that Metoss might have been among the warriors who subsequently arrived with Dickson.[29] Moreover, if Cochran's "splendid man" note were taken to suggest that he had personally met Metoss, then such a meeting would have occurred after August 3, when Cochran joined the regiment. Counting both Dickson and Bullock as present at Ft. Meigs at the end of July, 1813, and Metoss' presence as more likely then, the question remains whether Richardson either misrecalled or deliberately changed the setting of the Metoss story, and so, whether some such events as the story recounts actually took place at the second siege of Ft. Meigs. Perhaps Richardson's report that Metoss' son was buried "in the midst of" the British encampment is an embellished detail. If the boy was interred somewhere nearby, with ceremonies in which Lieutenant Bullock and soldiers under his command participated, might they have rendered military honors without any direction from higher authority, "out of respect to the father," as Richardson said?

Before considering the second siege in greater detail as a possible setting for the story's events, the provenance of the story itself in Richardson's historical writings requires examination.

* * *

In 1826 and 1827 a London periodical, the *New Monthly Magazine*, ran a five-part serial, "A Canadian Campaign, by a British Officer."[30] The "British Officer" was Richardson, and the

five articles comprise, in effect, a preliminary edition of the work he would publish in final form in Brockville, Ontario, in 1842—the work here called the "Brockville version" of his history and cited to Alexander Casselman's 1902 edition.

The Brockville version was part of an ambitious undertaking. Richardson's plan was to produce a three-volume patriotic history of the War of 1812, a war with which, in the words of a recent Canadian commentator, Richardson was "obsessed . . . as our war of independence against the United States, which should have generated a myth of national character, allowing Canadians to find genuine community with one another, their past, and the land."[31] The three volumes were to cover operations of the "right," "center" and "left" divisions into which forces on the British side were constituted, but only the first volume on the right division's operations was ever completed. Since the 41st was the principal component of that division's forces, Richardson rewrote and expanded the "Canadian Campaign" to become the "Operations of the Right Division of the Army of Upper Canada, during the American War of 1812," as the Brockville version was subtitled when first published in 1842. Its author was "Major John Richardson," not "a British officer"—Richardson using, without attribution, the rank to which he had been promoted during his service in Spain.

Supported by a grant from the Canadian legislature, the work was intended especially for use in schools. Richardson asserted in a preface that information thus far available to young Canadians concerning this critical period in the formation of their nation was "derived through the corrupt channel of American party publications" and that his history would record "the gallant deeds performed by their Fathers, fighting side by side with the troops of England in defense of their invaded firesides: when, actuated by a devoted spirit of loyalty . . . they won forth in the hour of the country's greatest need."[32]

Two other of Richardson's works which antedate the Brockville version contain accounts of the first siege of Ft. Meigs, including the massacre at old Ft. Miami. With his epic poem *Tecumseh*, published in London in 1829, Richardson provided extensive footnotes for English readers unfamiliar with the poem's historical background. An unusually lengthy such footnote recounted the massacre of the Dudley force survivors confined in old Ft. Miami, and Tecumseh's intervention to stop the killings. Richardson explained to his readers that he felt obliged thus to respond to a charge that had been recently published in a letter

to a newspaper that the British had "wantonly delivered" American prisoners into the hands of the Indians.[33] Such charges always incensed Richardson, as they did on another occasion when a Kentucky reader of a Philadelphia newspaper which had reprinted the "Canadian Campaign" wrote to express the "peculiar feelings which the Kentuckians at that time held towards the British officers in the Canadian service." The letter mentioned the first siege of Ft. Meigs as an occasion where the British had "repeated . . . their cruel indulgence to the Indians" in the latter's treatment of captives, many of them from Kentucky.[34] To this letter Richardson published a spirited reply, decrying the "old and hacknied Isic] story, of American prisoners being handed over to the Indians by British officers for the purpose of being slaughtered in cold blood."[35]

Thus the "Canadian Campaign," the *Tecumseh* footnote, and the reply to the Kentuckian's letter all gave Richardson opportunities to recount the Metoss story, "in bright relief" to the killings at old Ft. Miami, as he later did in the Brockville version. The footnote and the reply responded directly to charges of British culpability for those killings. But in none of these earlier works is there any mention of the story. Its first appearance was in the Brockville version of Richardson's history, where he simply inserted the story in the Ft. Meigs account he had previously written for the "Canadian Campaign." The insertion was crudely done.[36]

This first appearance of the story may be considered not only in the context of the "Canadian Campaign's" transformation from an "English officer's" colonial war memoir into a native son's work of national patriotic history, but also in the light of recent Canadian academic commentary on Richardson's fictional works, particularly in respect to his portrayal of Indian characters. Professor Leslie Monkman has noted how simplistically Indians are depicted in Richardson's novels and short stories, in a way that was "insistently dichotomous in its separation of civilized and savage worlds."[37] Richardson similarly viewed the Indians themselves, casting as opposing, or at least as contrasting characters, an Indian who was noble, handsome and good-acting, with another who was diabolical, ugly and bad-acting. And like James Fenimore Cooper, whose works Monkman thinks might have influenced Richardson, he extended this dichotomy to tribes.[38] For example, in his novel *Wau-Nan-Gee* Richardson describes the character Pee-to-tum as "one of that race whose very name is synonymous with treachery and falsehood—a Chippewa."[39]

At the opposite extreme of character traits in Richardson's cast of tribal stereotypes were the Sacs—"the noblest looking men of all . . . a collective impersonation of the dignity of man, as sent first upon earth by the will of God . . . erect, dignified, graceful . . . a *beau ideal* of manly beauty."[40] In his short story "The Sunflower" from which this last description was quoted, the hero was a Sac, the villain a Chippewa.

Having this formula in mind as Richardson's earlier accounts of the massacre at old Ft. Miami are compared, his adding to the Brockville version a story portraying contrasting admirable conduct by a Sac is almost predictable. In the "Canadian Campaign" the "band of cowardly and treacherous Indians" who perpetrated the massacre have no stated tribal affiliation. In the Brockville version Richardson identifies them as Chippewas. And so, consistent with the formula, the sentences with which he introduces the Metoss story read as follows:

> In bright relief to this piece of treachery and atrocity on the part of the Chippeways (well known to be the most degenerate of the Indian race) let me hasten to record the noble conduct of a warrior of a very different tribe.
>
> Metoss, the head chief of the Sacs, was a tall handsome man . . . with features essentially classic and Roman. . . . [H]is tall and commanding figure presented the very *beau ideal* of an Indian warrior.[41]

Richardson was also "insistently dichotomous" as he confronted the moral question of whether the Indians' killing of captives might be justified by their own precepts and belief system. In the "Canadian Campaign" he recounted a prisoner's killing in response to the death of Logan, a young Shawnee chief, in a skirmish with American troops near Detroit in August, 1812.[42] An American captive, "a finely proportioned young man" brought in after Logan's body was laid out for burial, was struck down from behind with a tomahawk wielded by Logan's aunt, then set upon, mutilated and killed by Indian bystanders excited by her act. Claiming to have witnessed the affair, Richardson described the aunt as old and ugly, with "a fiend-like expression of countenance," and moved by "a spirit of demoniac vengeance."[43] Essentially the same tale is recounted in *Tecumseh*, where Logan is fictionalized as Tecumseh's notional son, Uncas, whose death in battle is avenged on a helpless captive when the "aunt" character, "an aged fiend, / Low bent and wither'd with

the blast of years, / Whose trembling steps upon a hatchet lean'd, / At the low entrance of a tent appears."[44]

Neither in the "Canadian Campaign" nor in *Tecumseh* did Richardson claim any Indian justification for these killings: the acts were purely evil, the killers morally as well as physically repulsive. But in the Brockville version he dichotomized the Logan tale by extending it to two prisoner killings. The first, newly introduced in that version, is practically a judicial execution. In the presence of Logan's fellow warriors, assembled in their council house "with an air of great solemnity, and in profound silence" a captive was brought in, offered food to put him at ease, then struck from behind in response to a prearranged signal given by one of the tribal elders. The second American prisoner was the aunt's victim, brutally dispatched as previously recounted in the "Canadian Campaign." Then Richardson explains the dichotomy:

> In these two several sacrifices of human life, the motives for action . . . were wholly different. In the first case the Indians simply followed up a custom which had prevailed among them for ages . . . [performing the execution] without ferocity, or excitement, or disposition to insult the prisoner
>
> 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. . . . *Here*, it was a piece of wanton revenge, and perpetrated under circumstances of peculiar atrocity. . . . The demeanor of the first party was that of a Christian tribunal. . . . The bearing of the second was that of a Christian mob.[45]

Richardson's addition of a second captive and a "good" killing to his revised Logan tale is uncorroborated by any other source. If, as seems quite likely, he fabricated that addition, then the Metoss story is even more suspect as a similarly fictionalized counter to "bad" killings at old Ft. Miami. Did Richardson resort to invention where historical facts at hand did not provide the contrast necessary to "redeem the grossly maligned Indian character" for young Canadian readers?[46] The evidence for such a possibility is substantial. We have seen that the Metoss story is uncorroborated by likely witnesses for some

of its events; that its setting at the first siege of Ft. Meigs does not fit with at least one character's actual whereabouts; that Richardson himself did not tell the story on previous occasions that called for it; that in his novels he repeatedly used a crude literary formula to provide balanced views of Indian character and conduct; and that there is reason to believe that he resorted to fictional supplementation to apply that formula in his recounting of the Logan episode.

But if there is a powerful, albeit circumstantial case for convicting Richardson on a charge of fabricating the Metoss story, is there evidence for an acquittal? What about the claim he himself made, that officers of the 41st would corroborate every detail of his narrative? Who else besides Cochran might provide such corroboration?

* * *

Starting in March, 1842, just before he published the Brockville version in book form, Richardson ran it in serial in *The New Era or Canadian Chronicle*, a literary newspaper he had founded in Brockville the year before. When several issues were late Richardson inserted a notice in the paper, attributing the delays to "the necessity for preserving the utmost accuracy of detail—an end that is only to be obtained by comparing our own notes and recollection . . . with those of such officers as were engaged with us."[47]

It had been Richardson's practice to list in each issue his paper's prominent subscribers. Consistently appearing on that list was "Colonel Bullock—Kingston." The colonel was indeed the former Lieutenant Bullock, who had retired to Canada after a decade of postwar army service and held a number of minor civil offices in Ontario before his appointment in 1837 to the important post of adjutant general of the Militia of Upper Canada. In 1840 he became secretary of a committee of prominent Canadians formed to erect a monument to General Sir Isaac Brock, the British commander in the capture of Detroit in 1812 who was killed later that year in the battle of Queenston Heights, another action in which Bullock took part.

More than a subscriber to Richardson's paper, Bullock was a substantial contributor to Richardson's history-writing endeavors. For the projected center division volume Richardson recalled that Bullock "even [went] so far as to search carefully over the public records, and place, seriatim, on slips of paper, memoranda for my guidance."[48] Two years later, after the project

for the three-volume work had collapsed before the center and left division volumes were completed, Bullock contributed an article of his own—a lengthy narrative of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in the British conquest of French Canada—to another periodical that Richardson had meanwhile started up in Kingston.[49]

In the Brockville version of his history, Richardson added references crediting the war services of prominent Canadians. Several of these credits are Bullock's—for leading the pursuit of General Hull's American army as it withdrew from Canada in August, 1812, for commanding the honor guard at the ceremony when Hull surrendered that army at Detroit, for seizing its regular component's, the old U.S. 4th Regiment's, color, and for taking part in the battle of Queenston Heights.[50] The Brockville version also included a copy of his report of the Battle of the Thames, an action in which Bullock assumed command of British troops who evaded capture after General Procter prematurely left the field.

It seems highly likely that Bullock was Richardson's source for at least the parts of the Metoss story which concern Bullock personally—the military honors provided at the boy's burial ceremony, and his subsequent friendship with the Sac chief. That the other parts of the story—the boy's death, and the saving of an American prisoner from vengeance—would have been included over Bullock's objection does not seem plausible. Those parts added nothing to his military reputation, and would have been embarrassing if exposed as fabrications. Bullock would have protested Richardson's publishing the story, if he had considered those parts to be false.

Dickson had no opportunity to disclaim his part in the story. He died in 1823.[51]

* * *

Black Hawk, a Sac war chief who was a lifelong foe of the Americans, led members of his tribe who came to be known as the "British Band" to a tragic defeat decades later in the so-called Black Hawk War. In 1833, at the age of 66 and while still under restraint following his capture in that war, Black Hawk dictated memoirs to an interpreter whose notes were transformed by J. B. Patterson, an Illinois newspaperman, into a work which Patterson published as Black Hawk's autobiography.[52] In the most recent of several republications, a scholarly introduction by Donald Jackson refutes contentions that the work is spurious but acknowledges that its text, corrupted by the interpreter's and Patterson's embellishments, contains numerous inaccuracies.[53] Some of those evident in respect to Black Hawk's claimed participation in War of 1812 actions might also be attributed to his failing recollection, or to his confusion of historical and personal memory.

Black Hawk's autobiography states that he and his warriors were summoned to Green Bay to meet Dickson, who dispatched them to Detroit, travelling by land via the site of Chicago. It then proceeds to recount actions in which Black Hawk purportedly took part—at the River Raisin, in January, 1813 and at Ft. Meigs. But Black Hawk's presence at the Raisin is doubtful, and as to Ft. Meigs, it is likely that he was on hand only for the second siege.[54] His narrative mixes details of the two Ft. Meigs actions, recounting them as a single engagement:

> Our next movement [after River Raisin] was against a fortified place. I was stationed, with my braves, to prevent any person going to, or coming from the fort. I found two men taking care of cattle, and took them prisoners. I would not kill them, and delivered them to the British war chief. Soon after, several boats came down the river, full of American soldiers. They landed on the opposite side, took the British batteries, and pursued the soldiers that left them. They went too far, without knowing the forces of the British, and were defeated! I hurried across the river, anxious for the opportunity to show the courage of my braves, but before we reached the ground, all was over! The British had taken many prisoners, and the Indians were killing them! I immediately put a stop to it, as I never thought it brave, but cowardly, to kill an unarmed and helpless enemy!
>
> We remained some time. I cannot detail what took place, as I was stationed, with my braves, in the woods. It appeared, however, that the British could not take this fort for we were marched to another some distance off.[55]

The other fort "some distance off" was Ft. Stephenson, attacked on August 1.

One feature of this narrative is striking, as imparting a sense of genuine personal recollection and seeming unlikely to be a product of the interpreter's or Patterson's embellishments. While carrying out orders to prevent anyone from entering or leaving Ft. Meigs, Black Hawk says that he "found two men taking care

of cattle, and took them prisoners." Then, determining not to kill them, he delivered them to the "British war chief." As used in Black Hawk's narrative, "war chief" denotes an officer in charge of troops and does not always refer to the same person. When the term next appears in a paragraph describing the action at Ft. Stephenson, the "British war chief" was Procter. Dickson, on the other hand, is typically referred to by name, phonetically spelled as "Dixon." Thus, as to the release of the Ft. Meigs prisoners, we may take from Black Hawk's narrative that he turned them over to a British officer, not Dickson, and not necessarily Procter. In sum, then, Black Hawk's autobiography gives an account of his capturing prisoners outside Ft. Meigs "while they were taking care of cattle"—prisoners whom Black Hawk "would not kill," and delivered over to British custody.

No other account speaks of any such events having occurred at the first siege of Ft. Meigs. What about the second siege?

* * *

When they returned to the Maumee on July 19, 1813 the British at first occupied the site of their former encampment on the north bank of the river, near the ruins of old Ft. Miami. Within a few days most of the Indians arrived—Dickson's western tribesmen including the Sacs, and Tecumseh's braves—and for the ensuing week they kept the fort loosely invested. In two diary accounts of the siege, each written by a member of the Ft. Meigs garrison and published in newspapers of the time, entries for the 21st describe an Indian attack in daylight on a detachment posted outside the fort to act as pickets and to guard horses and cattle, and state that losses included several men captured before grape and canister fire from the fort drove the attackers away.[56]

On the 23d the British joined the Indians in exchanging shots with the fort's artillerists. The firing, as one of the diarists reports, "was kept up very warm for two hours," and ended when the besiegers were "routed by our bombs."[57] The following day the British evacuated their camp on the north bank, crossed the river and took up a new position near but out of sight of Ft. Meigs, poised for action whenever the Indians might lure the defenders out of the fort. On the 26th, when the Indians staged the mock battle as a ruse they were met again with artillery fire. Again the same type of ordnance is mentioned, this time by the other diarist: "We threw two bombs in among them [the Indians]; that rather silenced their heavy firing."[58]

"Bombs" were hollow iron spheres filled with powder; fired by mortars, they were "designed to burst in as many fragments as possible."[59] By adjusting the length of the wooden fuse which ignited the powder charge, the gunner could regulate when the projectile would explode, in relation to when it landed. Bombs fired at fortifications were typically fused to explode before landing; they were the "bombs bursting in air" over Ft. McHenry, commemorated in the "Star Spangled Banner." Bombs fired at attacking infantry were sometimes fused to explode after landing, producing disorder in the ranks as troops, knowing the smoking projectile's lethal character, would run from it. That might have been the effect one of the diarists reported for the bombs which temporarily silenced the Indians' firing during the mock battle. On the other hand, for combatants ignorant of the danger of a delayed-fuse bomb and attracted to it as a curiosity, it was an infernal instrument of death.

Sometime during that July week, while the Indians had Ft. Meigs invested and exchanged occasional, desultory fire with its gunners, an incident took place which Richardson movingly recounted in the "Canadian Campaign," but omitted from the Brockville version of his history:

> During the short period that we were employed before Fort Meigs, a young Indian of the Sawkie [Sac] tribe fell victim to his utter ignorance of the use or effect of shells. Being out with a reconnoitring party of his countrymen, among whom a few bombs were thrown from the garrison, he perceived one at some little distance with the fuse still burning. Struck by the novelty of the sight, the young warrior ran up to the spot, and was in the act of touching the shell with his fingers when it exploded, tearing out his bowels, and mangling his limbs in a frightful manner. Being a son of one of their chiefs, he was interred by his tribe with all the solemnity peculiar to the Indians on those occasions. The fierce wild air of the warriors, whose countenances spoke the desire they entertained of revenging his death, the originality of their costume, contrasting with that of the officers present at the ceremony, and the sombre silence which reigned throughout the group, heightened in effect by the deep gloom of the forest in which they were assembled, composed a singular and romantic picture, in which melancholy grandeur and imposing savageness shone principally conspicuous.[60]

The young warrior who died so tragically, and so boyishly, was undoubtedly Metoss' son. His killing would certainly have excited among the Sacs the strongest desire for vengeance against enemies who employed the weapon which took—perhaps even deliberately—such cruel advantage of the youth's ignorance. And if, as now seems very likely, they held as prisoners the soldiers from the fort's garrison whose capture Black Hawk recalled and the Ft. Meigs diarists confirmed, Dickson would have needed all of his persuasive powers to convince Metoss to spare those captives' lives.

* * *

Metoss was not the only father on the British side who served with a son at the second siege. Lieutenant Bullock's father, also named Richard, was a captain in the 41st and participated in all of its actions until the fall of 1813, when he was ordered north to take temporary command of the captured fort at Mackinac, which remained in British hands throughout the war.[61]

At the first siege, where the senior Bullock commanded the 41st's Grenadier Company (originally soldiers who threw grenades, "grenadiers" were by then the elite company in each British regiment), he had charge of a detached force composed of his own and another company of regulars, together with Canadian militia. Procter sent this force across the river to the Ft. Meigs side to protect a mortar and howitzer battery his gunners had established there for close-in bombardment. On May 3d Lieutenant Bullock, the Captain's son, was wounded in skirmishing around the fort, although not so seriously as to prevent his participating two days later in the counterattack to retake the batteries captured by Dudley's Kentuckians on the opposite side of the river.[62] But on the Ft. Meigs side the fortunes of war took a different turn, despite the numerical superiority and greater firepower of Captain Bullock's detachment. With a sally timed to coincide with Dudley's attack on the British guns across the river, the fort's American defenders put the mortar and howitzer out of action, taking forty-one prisoners, including two British officers, before executing a planned withdrawal.

The fact that, by the time of the second siege, Captain Bullock was the most senior of the 41st's officers experienced in operations in the immediate vicinity of Ft. Meigs, with firsthand knowledge of the ground around the fort, leads to a supposition that he served as an adviser or liason with the Indians while they

kept the fort invested during the week prior to the mock battle. The boy's death would have grieved the captain. While not directly responsible for warning the youth about delayed-fuse bombs, he would have been troubled by any failure to safeguard allies against unnecessary risks. It is likely that Captain Bullock expressed condolences to Metoss over the boy's death and that he attended the funeral along with his son, Lieutenant Bullock. The junior Bullock's wounding by fire from the fort at the first siege would have had special meaning for the Sac chief in his bereavement.

By the time young Ensign Cochran arrived in Sandusky Bay on August 3, 1813 with a detachment belatedly sent to reinforce Procter, he found his new comrades in the 41st with their own casualties to grieve. Survivors of a just-concluded, disastrously unsuccessful attempt to take Ft. Stephenson by storm, they had lost confidence in Procter for having ordered that sanguinary assault against the unanimous advice of his officers—"his glaring imbecility at Sandusky," as one of Cochran's marginal notes would later call it.[63] They sensed the isolation and peril of their situation in the face of growing American military strength, with their increasing dependence on Indian allies for—as Cochran would write—"their very existence."[64] Reflecting on the disheartening results of both recent operations—the failures of the Indian tactics of ruse employed at Ft. Meigs and the European tactics of mass assault at Ft. Stephenson—and now with even more urgent need for support from native allies, members of the regiment would have held the Indians who stood by them in high regard. For the Sacs, a note Cochran wrote in the margin of Richardson's book echoed a widely shared feeling: "Few in number they were with us, and perhaps a choice selection, of superior men."[65]

* * *

According to Sac custom the death of a tribesman is followed about a month later by a ceremonial feast given by family members, who adopt another to fill his place.[66] This custom might have prompted Metoss' exchange of names with Lieutenant Bullock and the honorary chieftainship bestowed on that officer—the concluding episode of the Metoss story. If conducted somewhat later than the customary month's time, the ceremony might also have reflected Metoss' admiration for the younger Bullock's part in the Battle of the Thames, fought on October 5, 1813. A number of unidentified Sacs are noted in a British count

of Indian allies who took part in that action, and members of this group remained in southern Ontario for the winter.[67]

In 1814, as the war in the West shifted to the northern Great Lakes and the Upper Mississippi, and the British sought to shore up alliances with the Indians, Sir George Prevost, the Canadian governor-general, invited tribal leaders to Quebec on a lavish diplomatic junket. Metoss was a member of that delegation, as sole representative of the Sac tribe.[68] Held in dignified surroundings in Quebec's Old Castle, the conference had a full-dress ceremonial opening, with a military band. The reporter who covered the proceedings for the *Quebec Gazette* was particularly impressed with one of the two chiefs who acted as spokesmen for the Indian delegation—one who, while second to be heard, was "decidedly more eloquent," attracting "great notice by his easy, yet elevated deportment," and speaking in a manner "very impressive" and "completely theatrical," with "a tone of voice as soft and expressive as the Italian." That chief was Metoss.[69]

* * *

And so this investigation comes to its finding that the Metoss story is true in all essential details. Metoss was a real person, a Sac chief of stature and impressive bearing who, accompanied by his teenage son, led members of his tribe in the second siege of Ft. Meigs. There the boy was killed, by means which induced a powerful urge for vengeance, and placed one or more American prisoners then held by the Indians in grave peril. But his or their lives were saved by Dickson's intervention and Metoss' humanity. Touched by these events, the Bullocks acted to have the boy buried with military honors which, combined with the rites of his people, gave universality to the British and Indian mourners' expressions of respect and grief. And Metoss, finding in the younger Bullock qualities he valued in his lost son, adopted that officer into his own family and into the Sac tribe.

Richardson, who knew only part of the story when he wrote "A Canadian Campaign," took it to a different setting in the Brockville version of his narrative. Whatever the political, patriotic, or literary excuse for that translation, it is not historically justifiable. But it takes nothing from Metoss' real life character as "a splendid man."

Notes

[1]Renamed "The 41st or the Welch Regiment of Infantry" in 1831, the regiment's most recent battle honor is "Korea." In June, 1969 the 1st Battalion, The Welch Regiment was amalgamated with the 1st Battalion, South Wales Borderers to form the 1st Battalion, Royal Regiment of Wales (24th/41st Foot), with regimental headquarters at Maindy Barracks, Cardiff. Both the Welch and the Borderers have distinguished combat records. The most recently published regimental history is J. M. Brereton's *A History of the Royal Regiment of Wales* (Cardiff: Royal Regiment of Wales, 1989).

[2]Larry L. Nelson's *Men of Patriotism, Courage and Enterprise!: Fort Meigs in the War of 1812* (Canton, Ohio: Daring Books, 1986) is the authoritative scholarly account of the Ft. Meigs action. Nelson's conclusion that "nearly forty" were killed inside old Ft. Miami (p. 79) reflects contemporary estimates of American sources. There is no record of any actual count.

[3][John Richardson], *Tecumseh: or, The Warrior of the West: A Poem, in Four Cantos, with Notes. By An English Officer* (London: R. Glynn, 1828), canto 2, verse 47, p. 50.

[4]Richardson's earliest works were: *Confessions of Julia Johnstone* (London: Benbow, 1825), a refutation of a scandalous story; "A Canadian Campaign, by a British Officer," *New Monthly Magazine* 17 (1826): 541–48, and 19 (1827): 162–70, 248–54, 449–57, 583–51, reprinted in Philadelphia in the *National Gazette and Literary Register*, 30 January–4 August 1827, a historical narrative later incorporated into the Brockville version of Richardson's history; *Tecumseh*, the epic poem; and *Ecarté; or The Salons of Paris* (London: Colburn, 1829), a novel.

[5]David H. Beasley, *The Canadian Don Quixote: The Life and Works of Major John Richardson, Canada's First Novelist* (Erin, Ont.: Porcupine's Quill, 1977).

[6]Desmond Pacey, "A Colonial Romantic: Major John Richardson, Soldier and Novelist," *Canadian Literature* (Autumn 1959): 20–31, and (Winter 1960): 47–56.

[7]See, for example, Catherine Sheldrick Ross, ed., *Recovering Canada's First Novelist, Proceedings from the John Richardson Conference* (Erin, Ont.: Porcupine's Quill, 1977).

[8]The quoted characterizations are taken from an entry on Richardson in *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 7 vols. (New York: D. Appleton Company, 1888), 5: 242.

[9]Richardson, *War of 1812; First Series; Containing a Full Detained Narrative of the Operations of the Right Division of the Canadian Army, by Major Richardson, K. S. F.* (Brockville, Ont.: n.p., 1842).

[10]Richardson, *Richardson's War of 1812; with Notes and a Life of the Author, by Alexander Clark Casselman* (Toronto: Historical Publishing Co., 1902), hereinafter cited *Richardson's War of 1812*, Casselman edition.

[11]Ibid, 155–56.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid, 157–58.

[14]Pierre Berton, *Flames Across the Border: The Canadian-American Tragedy, 1813–1814* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1981), 106–108.

[15]Shadrach Byfield, *Narrative of a Light Company Soldier's Service, in the 41st Regiment of Foot, during the Late American War* (1840; reprint, New York: W. Abbatt, 1910).

[16]*Richardson's War of 1812*, Casselman edition, 3.

[17]Born July 21, 1791, in County Tyrone, Ireland, James Cochran was twenty-one when he acquired his ensign's commission, by purchase. In May, 1813 he arrived in Quebec with the 41st's newly raised 2d battalion, and was sent west that summer with reinforcements for General Procter, under whom the regiment's 1st battalion, including Richardson, was then serving. Captured the following October, Cochran, Richardson, and other regimental comrades spent the ensuing twelve months as American prisoners of war. In later service with the 41st in campaigns in Burma and on the Afghan frontier, Cochran was cited for gallantry and promoted to the brevet rank of lieutenant colonel. At the time of his retirement in 1845 he held the permanent rank of major. In some records the spelling of his name is given as "Cochrane."

When the Welch Regiment and the South Wales Borderers were amalgamated, they retained their respective regimental museums. The Welch Regiment Museum is in Cardiff Castle, located in the center of the city of Cardiff. Both the castle and the museum are well worth visiting.

[18]Cochran, *The War in Canada 1812–1814* (n.d.), 35; a manuscript now in the Welch Regiment Museum, it is hereinafter cited "Cochran ms." Extracts from this manuscript and from Cochran's marginal notes are included in this article by kind permission of the trustees of the Welch Regiment Museum. Cochran, marginal notes in a copy of Richardson's *War of 1812* (1842 edition), a copy now in the Welch Regiment Museum, 90. Citations to these marginal notes will hereinafter be given as "Cochran notes," with the page number in the 1842 edition of Richardson's book where the note appears.

[19]Cochran ms., 35.

[20]Cochran notes, 88.

[21]Cochran notes, 10. The action was at the Aux Canard River on July 16, 1812. Hancock was killed; Dean was captured but soon freed. More than a year later, in October, 1813, Dean was captured again at the Battle of the Thames, where Cochran himself was taken prisoner. In the same note Cochran goes on to state that Dean "eventually deserted the service for which he was but an unworthy member, by remaining in the States when his comrades were released in August, 1814." This defection might have prompted Cochran's belittling what was at first deservedly credited as heroic conduct.

[22]Ibid, 90.

[23]Dated May 13, 1813, Procter's action report is reprinted in *Richardson's War of 1812*, Casselman edition, 162.

[24]For an account of Dickson's service in the war, see Robert S. Allen, *His Majesty's Indian Allies: British Indian Policy in the Defence of Canada, 1774–1815* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992), 125–42.

[25]Ibid, 143. "No other official on the British side has a better record of humanity toward prisoners than Dickson"; Louis A. Tohill, *Robert Dickson, British Fur Trader on the Upper Mississippi: A Story of Trade, War, and Diplomacy* (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1927), 55.

[26]Tohill, *Robert Dickson*, 58; Allen, *His Majesty's Indian Allies*, 143.

[27]"The Indians from the South side of Lake Michigan have all set out for Detroit by Land and you may also look for two hundred Saukies [Sacs] and Foxes from the Mississippi"; Dickson to Procter, La Baye [Green Bay], Lake Michigan, 31 May 1813, *Correspondence, 1789–1814, Intercepted During the War of 1812* (Washington: National Archives and Record Service, 1963), Microcopy No. T-836.

[28]The author of an excellent modern account of the British-Indian alliance in relation to culminating events of the 1813 military campaign in the Northwest identifies Metoss as "Mitass"; see John Sugden, *Tecumseh's Last Stand* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 37. Irving L. Homfray's *Officer's of the British Forces in Canada during the War of 1812–15* (Welland: Welland Tribune Print, 1908), 219, lists him as "Metoss."

[29]Years later, petitioning for a grant of land, Bullock (later promoted to captain) listed the second siege of Ft. Meigs as one of the actions in which he had fought; see "Memorial of Captain Richard Bullock to the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department," 6 May 1827, Colonial Office Records, MG 11, Q345-2: 101–104, National Archives of Canada.

Late in June Dickson wrote to advise that he was about to depart Mackinac for Detroit with "upwards of six hundred chosen warriors," including eighteen Foxes; see Dickson to Procter, Michilimackinac, 23 June 1813, Record Group 8, C257: 86, National Archives of Canada. Since the Sacs and Foxes were closely related and often lived together, it is conceivable that Metoss might have been in that party of eighteen.

[30]Richardson, "A Canadian Campaign, by a British Officer."

[31]Michael Hurley, *The Borders of Nightmare: The Fiction of John Richardson* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 8.

[32]*Richardson's War of 1812*, Casselman edition, 2.

[33]*Tecumseh*, canto 2, note 8, p. 123.

[34]Letter to the editor signed "R.," *National Gazette and Literary Register*, 6 August 1827.

[35]Letter to the editor, *New Monthly Magazine* 22 (1828): 178.

[36]Immediately following the inserted story is a paragraph beginning: "On the evening of the second day after this event. . . ." Prior to the insertion "this event" referred to the Ft. Miami killings; after the insertion it referred to the Metoss story. By changing what "this event" referred to, the insertion altered the dating of the episode Richardson

recounted in the following paragraph, a tour he made of the Indians' camp. There is no reason to think the alteration was intended.

[37]Leslie Monkman, "Richardson's Indians," *Canadian Literature* 81 (Summer 1979): 86, 94.

[38]According to Paul Wallace, whom Monkman cites (ibid, 87), Cooper's Mingoes were consistently portrayed as "demonic fiends," the Delawares as "noble savages"; see Wallace, "Cooper's Indians," *New York History* 25 (October 1954): 423.

[39]Richardson, *Wau-Nan-Gee or the Massacre at Chicago* (New York: H. Long and Brother, 1852), 80.

[40]Richardson, "The Sunflower, A True Tale of the Northwest," reprinted in Beasley, ed., *Major John Richardson's Short Stories* (Penticon, B. C.: Theytus Books, 1958), 28–52.

[41]*Richardson's War of 1812*, Casselman edition, 155–56.

[42]Another source gives the chief's name as "Blue Jacket"; see René Thomas Verchères de Boucherville, *War on the Detroit: The Cronicles of Thomas Verchères de Boucherville*, ed. Milo M. Quaife (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1940), 89–93.

[43]Richardson, "Canadian Campaign" (1826): 544.

[44]Richardson, *Tecumseh*, canto 2, verse 38, p. 46.

[45]*Richardson's War of 1812*, Casselman edition, 30–31.

[46]Ibid, 155.

[47]*The New Era, or Canadian Chronicle*, 25 March 1842.

[48]Richardson, *Eight Years in Canada, Embracing a Review of the Administrations of Lords Durham and Sydenham, Sir Chas. Bagot and Lord Metcalfe* (Montreal: H. H. Cunningham 1847), 204.

[49]*The Canadian Loyalist and Spirit of 1812*, 4 January 1844.

[50]When, following Hull's capitulation, General Brock learned that the 4th's colors had not been surrendered in accordance with military custom, he sent Lieutenant Bullock to take them; they are now in the Welch Regiment Museum. In 1815, in a reorganization of the U. S. Army, the 4th and several other old regiments were merged and became the 5th Regiment.

[51]Tohill, *Robert Dickson*, 91.

[52]Black Hawk, *Life of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak, or Black Hawk*, inter. Antoine LeClaire, ed. J. B. Patterson (Cincinnati: n.p., 1833).

[53]*Black Hawk, An Autobiography*, ed. Donald Jackson (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955), 35.

[54]A fundamental question in establishing Black Hawk's war service concerns the dating of his meeting with Dickson at Green Bay. One historian places it in 1812 after the capture of Mackinac Island, asserting that Black Hawk and his warriors travelled to Detroit later that summer and journeyed back home to spend the winter, and that Dickson recruited them again early in the following year and sent them off in time to participate in the first siege of Ft. Meigs; see E. A. Cruikshank, "Robert Dickson, the Indian Trader," *State Historical Society of Wisconsin Collections*, 31 vols. (1892), 12:133, 141–45. But even this "two-journey" hypothesis would not get Black Hawk to the River Raisin in time for the action fought there on January 22, 1813.

Other historians, whose single-journey version is consistent with Black Hawk's purported narrative, have posited that the Green Bay meeting occurred during the first half of 1813, when Dickson made his trip there; see Tohill, *Robert Dickson*, 56–57, and Allen, *His Majesty's Indian Allies*, 142. The force dispatched from Green Bay which Black Hawk claims to have led, and which he recalled as numbering "about five hundred braves," might have been the party Dickson described in his May 31, 1813 letter to Procter as consisting of two hundred Sacs and Foxes.

[55]*Black Hawk, An Autobiography*, 76–77.

[56]Daily entries for July 21, 1813, can be found in: "Journal of the Second Siege of Fort Meigs, by an Officer of Respectability at that Place," *National Intelligencer*, 14 September 1813, reprinted in Richard A. Knopf, ed., *Document Transcriptions of the War of 1812 in the Northwest*, 10 vols. (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1957), 5:183; and "Second Seige of Ft. Meigs," an undated, unidentified newspaper clipping, Tecumseh papers, vol. 6, Draper Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, in University of Chicago Photoduplication Department Microfilm Ed. (1980), reel 119. Of members of the picket guard not killed in the attack, three are reported as "missing" in the "Journal" account; the "Second Siege" account reports an unspecified number as having been taken prisoner.

[57]"Second Siege," entry for 23 July 1813.

[58]"Journal," entry for 26 July 1813.

[59]Louis de Tousard, *American Artillerist's Companion*, 2 vols. (1809; reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1969), 1:255.

[60]Richardson, "Canadian Campaign," (1827): 248.

[61]The senior Richard Bullock died in 1824, survived by his widow and ten children including his son Richard; see "Memorial of Captain Richard Bullock."

[62]The adjutant's "Return of Killed, Wounded, Missing and Prisoners," dated May 5, 1813, reprinted on page 166 of *Richardson's War of 1812*, Casselman edition, shows Lieutenant Bullock as having been wounded slightly on May 3. Richardson states that two days later, when word of Dudley's capture of the batteries reached the British camp, "Lieutenant Bullock, who had been wounded over the left eye a day or two before, on the opposite side of the river . . . left his tent" to join in the counterattack; see *Richardson's War of 1812*, Casselman edition, 150.

[63]Cochran notes, 127. In his report of the engagement, Procter admitted that his expectation that the fort "could easily be carried by assault" was "an opinion entirely different from any person under my command"; Procter to Sir G. Prevost, 9 August1813, reprinted in *Richardson's War of 1812*, Casselman edition, 185–86.

[64]Cochran ms., 48. Even with the additional troops that arrived with Cochran, British regular forces west of Niagara were fewer than a thousand.

[65]Cochran notes, 60.

[66]Alanson Buck Skinner, *Observations on the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians* (1923; reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970), 15.

[67]Canadian Indian Department, "Return of the Western Indians," 26 October 1813, Record Group 8, C681:9–10, National Archives of Canada, summarized in Sugden, *Tecumseh's Last Stand*, 183. Matthew Elliott to J. B. Glegg, Burlington Beach, 31 January 1814, in Cruikshank, *A Documentary History of the Campaign on the Niagara Frontier*, 9 vols. (Welland, Ont.: Tribune Office, 1908), 9:157.

[68]He is identified as "Mitass" in a list of delegates sent prior to the Indian's arrival; see Lieutenant General Sir Gordon Drummond to Noah Freer, York, 16 February 1814, in Cruikshank, *Documentary History*, 9:185.

[69]*Quebec Gazette*, 17 and 24 March 1814. In the delegation roster published in the March 17 issue, Metoss is listed as "Lamitasse"; the March 24 issue identifies him as "Mitass."

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JOHN D. FAIRFIELD

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The author (Ph.D., University of Rochester, 1984) has taught at Cincinnati's Xavier University since 1984. His *Mysteries of the Great City: The Politics of Urban Design, 1877–1937* was published by Ohio State University Press in 1993. He is now working on a history of public life, tentatively entitled *The Public and Its Possibilities: Building America's Civic Culture.*

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