

## DISSENSION AND THE BATTLE OF LUNDY'S LANE

In my wide-ranging book *From Bloody Beginnings; Richard Beasley's Upper Canada*, I wrote about the charges laid against Richard Beasley, Colonel of the 2nd York Militia Regiment, and other militia officers in the Lincoln Regiments of Niagara accused of refusing to engage the enemy in the Battle of Lundy's Lane on 25th of July, 1814. Readers of the book have asked me to amplify the incident, which I shall do in this essay.

Some battles in the War of 1812 were more important than others. In the Battle of Queenston Heights the invading Americans suffered a bruising defeat early in the war; the Battle of Stoney Creek stopped the American advance at a crucial time when the loss of Burlington Heights could have given all of western Canada to the United States; the Battle of Chrysler's Farm prevented Montreal from falling to the Americans and kept open the supply route which Upper Canada depended upon for survival; the Battle of Lundy's Lane, however, crushed the best fighting force that Americans could field and put an end to American ambitions to conquer Canada. I shall deal with the particulars of this latter Battle and the roles of its participants, which were the subject of two trials of Richard Beasley—the first a Military Enquiry and the second a Court-Martial.

Charges against Richard Beasley were made in 1819, five years after the Battle and after Richard championed Robert Gourlay and the reform movement which challenged the rule of the conservative oligarchy in Toronto, led by Archdeacon John Strachan of the Anglican Church. On the instigation of John Strachan, the newly-arrived Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada Peregrine Maitland set in motion a means of stripping Richard of his command of the 2nd York Regiment and his magistracy and other government posts which he had filled for decades. Richard was forced into a military inquiry in the following way.

Major Titus Simons, second in command of Richard's 2nd York militia regiment, was essential to the plot as was Adjutant General Nathaniel Coffin who sent Simons militia orders and correspondence as if Simons were the commanding officer. Richard Beasley discovered this correspondence after it was published in the Dundas newspaper the *Phoenix* in 1816. He "guessed that some means was being made to supplant me."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> RG9— I—B—1 v.7 (NAC). Beasley to Maitland, Barton, March 31, 1819.

Coffin justified his direct contacts with Simons rather than Beasley by claiming that former Lieutenant Governor Gore had given the command of the 2nd York to Simons rather than Beasley when the Regiment's name was changed from 2nd York to 2nd Gore in 1816. Richard Beasley pointed out that the 6th clause of the Act of 1816, which formed and constituted the District of Gore, gave him the command with a new commission. Samuel Smith, who administered the province from Governor Gore's departure to Governor Maitland's arrival, claimed that he knew of no charge of Gore against Richard Beasley, and, if he had, he would have investigated the matter. Governor Maitland then instructed Coffin to send former Governor Gore's charges to Richard Beasley. Richard had no recourse but to challenge them in a Court of Enquiry.

The senior judge of the Court was his long time enemy, Colonel William Claus of the Indian Department, who opposed Joseph Brant's efforts through Richard and others to sell parts of the Indian Grand River land grants to settlers. The fight for control over the lands continued for years between Brant's successor John Norton and the Indian Department. Claus's liegeman Titus Simons was a judge as were the Nelles brothers, who ostensibly were Richard's friends and colleagues but who were part of the conspiracy to destroy his considerable reputation. Archdeacon Strachan was its prime mover. I narrate this complex relationship in my book. Suffice it to say here, that Richard Beasley, as one of the prominent men in the province, by supporting the land reforms of Robert Gourlay, was called a "traitor" by the oligarchy which came down so strongly on the reformers that conservatives such as the Nelleses were prepared to demonstrate their loyalty at any cost.

Thus in 1820 Richard went through a kangaroo trial in which he could bring no witnesses nor speak in his defense. Richard complained to Adjutant-General Nathaniel Coffin: "You granted orders for my witnesses to attend the court of Inquiry yourself when your determination was at the very time not to suffer them to be heard in my behalf... I was told by you that I had no right to speak... that it was a matter of courtesy only that I was permitted to be in the room... Spectators were allowed in.... I had to hear the grossest falsehoods without speaking."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> RG9 1 B1 v.7, NAC, Beasley to Coffin, Burlington Heights, June 3, 1819.

Major Titus Simons stepped down momentarily as a judge to testify at the Enquiry against Richard Beasley, his commanding officer. He said when the 2nd York reached Lundy's Lane, Colonel Parry in command of the Embodied Militia called on him, Simons, to fall in the 2nd York for a coming attack and to keep the ground until he could send reinforcements. Simons added that Colonel Beasley and Lt. Atkinson retired to a shed to observe the action. When the enemy appeared, Simons said that he gave the order to fire, but Col. Beasley coming up ordered the men to cease firing. Simons, mounted, threatened to cut down the first man who ceased firing. This is an important moment and I shall explain its significance later in the essay.

Why would Parry not communicate with the commander of the regiment Richard Beasley rather than Simons? How could a major like Simons overrule his superior officer Colonel Beasley who told his men to cease firing? Lt. George Chisholm of the 2nd York testified that when the Glengarries, a regiment of Scots Canadians, leveled a fence and advanced, Simons ordered the 2nd York to advance with them, then added that Simons was not speaking particularly to the 2nd York but to the militia in general.<sup>3</sup> How could a major be so officious as to command all the militia regiments to advance? Aside from the probability that Simons was blowing his own horn, Simons had a special connection with the British owing to William Claus's influence, which stemmed from Claus's service in a British regiment before the War.

Simons' criticism of Colonel Beasley for staying in the rear is puzzling because he could not have been ignorant of British battle formation, which requires the major to be in front of his regiment and the colonel to direct the action from the back where Colonel Richard Beasley was with his bugler Atkinson to sound his directions. Beasley and Atkinson climbed on the roof of a shed to get a better view; in the dark, the flashes from cannon, howitzer and muskets could have helped them see the shape of the battle. Lt. George Chisholm testified that after the militia advanced he was obliged to go to the rear for a ramrod and, seeing Colonel Beasley behind a fence, asked for his fusée, which Beasley gave him with balls from his pocket because he would not be using them. Retiring from

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<sup>3</sup> NAC, RG9 I, B, 1 v.7, Proceedings of Court of Enquiry.

the field the next morning to get breakfast, Chisholm said he met Col. Beasley going to the field, implying that he had spent the whole of the battle out of harm's way.<sup>4</sup>

Adjutant General Coffin on reporting in writing Chisholm's pejorative comment on Richard Beasley to Governor Maitland added, "I have reserved other evidence I had in case he gets a court martial,"<sup>5</sup> which revealed that this court had planned to convict Richard before the trial but was concerned that, when he received its judgment, Richard as Colonel would demand a court martial on himself, which was his right. Richard, however, had to make two requests before getting approval for a court martial.

The court martial was headed by Lt.-Col. James Fitzgibbon, recently appointed Assistant Adjutant General. Richard testified in his defense, called witnesses and was cleared of the charges. Nevertheless, Governor Maitland stripped him of his command and other public offices because Richard had presided over the Upper Canada Convention of the Friends of Inquiry calling for an economic survey of the province—which the oligarchy saw as treasonous. Richard's testimony at his court martial and that from his witnesses must have been embarrassing to his accusers because the transcript of his court martial has disappeared and the names of the officers on the court are unknown [except for Major Abraham Nelles, the chief witness against Beasley]. Instead of the usual payment to each officer, a warrant with the payments was made to Fitzgibbon for him to pay the officers, thus concealing their names. Only three men were present on the Executive Council to whom Fitzgibbon reported—Sam Smith, former provincial administrator, William Dummer Powell, Chief Justice, and Archdeacon John Strachan. In the Archives of Canada volume H of C-98, documents listed from January to October 1825, the entry for the transcript of the court martial held on Richard Beasley is crossed out as is the entry for the pay list of the court martial. We know then that some time between the close of his court martial in June 1820 and 1825 some person or persons purloined the evidence.

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<sup>4</sup> Chisholm mentioned that he was not with the 2nd York at the start of the battle but was reconnoitering with James Fitzgibbon who was used to scout the enemy; then he joined the 5th Lincoln militia when it arrived at 9 p.m.. Then he received a "letter" from the British Lt.-Col. Pearson, by which he meant message, to join the 2nd York on the right. Chisholm, under Richard Beasley's command since 1812, appeared to have the privilege of freelancing. His brief stay with the 5th Lincoln, some of whose officers later faced the same charge as Richard, is interesting; was young Chisholm preparing to testify against those officers as well? By the way, none of the witnesses against Richard Beasley was put under oath.

<sup>5</sup> NAC, c—4603, Coffin to Hillier, Ft. George, May 31, 1819.

Let us look at the Battle itself. I have enlarged the map used by Brigadier Ernest Cruikshank to describe the Battle. When the British General Drummond reached the field, it was about seven in the evening and still light. He set his cannons on a knoll before the Americans arrived from Chippewa. The arriving American General Winfield Scott, confident of his well-trained regiment which won the Battle of Chippewa twenty days earlier, sent his men up the rise in the face of withering cannon fire. Other American forces, gathering unperceived in the darkness, drove from the west and east up the hill trying to turn Drummond's flanks while American cannons covered their advance. Cruikshank described the arrival of the Militia troops which had been encamped at Twelve Mile Creek on Lake Ontario: "The action had now continued for nearly three hours; the British force had been reduced by casualties to less than twelve hundred officers and men, and its situation seemed perilous in the extreme. . . . It could no longer be a matter of doubt that they had to contend with the whole of the American army. But relief, though long delayed, was now close at hand. After the original order of march had been countermanded, the troops, encamped at Twelve Mile Creek remained quietly in their quarters until afternoon. Then the order was received from General Riall directing a portion of the British force to advance immediately to his support by way of DeCew's Falls and Lundy's Lane. This meant a march of fourteen miles under a burning sun. The British Colonel Scott instantly obeyed, taking with him seven companies of his own regiment (the 103rd), seven companies of the Royal Scots, five companies of the 8th, the flank companies of the 104th, and a few picked men selected from some of the Militia battalions in camp. {These were the Lincoln, Norfolk, Oxford, Middlesex, and York Regiments, and Essex and Kent Rangers} Yet, owing to the weak state of the companies, his entire column did not muster more than 1,200 of all ranks. This force was accompanied by three 6-pounders and a 5 1/2 inch howitzer. The advance guard was already within three miles of the field of battle when they were met by an orderly bearing a second despatch from General Riall, announcing that he was about to retire upon Queenston and directing them to retreat at once and join him at that place. They had retraced their steps for nearly four miles when the roar of the cannon burst upon their ears and they were overtaken by a second messenger, summoning them to the scene of the conflict. It was accordingly nine o'clock before the head of this column, weary and footsore with a march of more than twenty miles almost without a halt, came in view on the extreme right." <sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Cruikshank, Ernest, *The Battle of Lundy's Lane, 25th July, 1814*, 3rd ed. (Welland: 1893), p.35

The militias, therefore, came up on the west side of the field near the woods from behind the Glengarry Light Infantry and the Canadian Indians on their right, both of whom had been exchanging fire with the American 11th Infantry. When the Glengarries fell back to the main defensive line to be resupplied with ammunition, they came under “friendly fire” from the 103rd and 104th Regiments because of poor visibility. When the commander of the Glengarries rode forward shouting, ‘We’re British,’ “the men of the 104th ceased firing immediately but those of the 103rd fired a second volley before they understood the situation,” according to the author of a book on the Glengarries.<sup>7</sup> The friendly fire must have come also from the militia standing alongside the 103rd following Simon’s order to fire and accounts for Beasley’s counter command to cease fire to avoid killing their own Glengarries. Major Titus Simons was shot in the side and three times in the sword arm as he called the militia forward on his horse at the beginning of the militias’ involvement. Since the Americans were some distance removed and beyond the Glengarries, it is possible that his own militiamen, after Simons threatened to cut them down if they ceased firing, shot Simons when on his horse with his sword arm raised high. It was so dark that the source of the fire would not have been marked. As military historian Donald Graves remarked, the Americans fired futilely on the scattered Canadians and Indians with little effect; neither side advanced.

My suspicion is based on certain facts. At the start of the War, Simons, who was transferred to the 2nd York by Colonel Claus from his Lincoln regiment, earned the reputation of a martinet. The men of the 2nd York would have noticed his attempts to undermine their Colonel from when he first arrived. For instance, when York [today’s Toronto] was invaded by an American fleet, Simons, who had worked his way into the confidence of the British officers and on to the staff of General Vincent, the commander at Burlington Heights, insinuated to General Vincent and Colonel Harvey that Richard Beasley had gone to York to get parole from the Americans so as not to have to fight. Richard had gone at much risk to see to the welfare of his daughter at school in York. He took with him Captain McKay of his regiment, which acted as an insurance against such a charge. Since Richard had built up the militia for a couple of decades to defend against an invasion at any time, the charge seemed absurd but given credence by English officers who mistrusted the Canadian militia because of many defections to the

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<sup>7</sup> Johnston, Winston, *The Glengarry Light Infantry, 1812—1816: who were they and what did they do in the war?* (Charlottetown, P.E.I., Benson, 1998), p. 148.

Americans, not to mention harboring a natural superiority complex to colonials. It must have been galling for a commanding officer to have his junior officer trusted, even favored, by the English commander over himself, but then, as I make clear in my book, politics had much to do with it. Later when General Vincent's troops retreated to the Head of the Lake, Vincent commandeered Richard's home and property on Burlington Heights for his headquarters and forced his family and servants to find shelter in the overcrowded village at the Head of the Lake. Looking for advancement, Simons transferred to the newly-formed, elite Incorporated Militia but was dismissed for disgraceful conduct and recently returned to the 2nd York.<sup>8</sup>

Major Simons lay for hours on the battlefield until his wife was called to tend to him when he was taken to the rear for treatment. Two other officers and six men from the 2nd York were wounded during the remaining hours of the battle, which was slight compared to the heavy casualties of the regular regiments.

The Americans, whose thrust was on the east side of the field, forced the British off the hill, captured the guns and bayoneted the artillerymen trying to reload. "The 103rd being ordered to advance," wrote Cruikshank, "marched in the darkness directly into the centre of the enemy's new position and were first made aware of its mistake by a crushing volley, which threw them into great disorder. While this struggle was in progress for the possession of the hill, the American artillery limbered up and advanced to take up a new position upon the summit. In the attempt they met with sudden and unforeseen disaster. While their howitzer was ascending the slope at a gallop, a volley of musketry brought nearly all the drivers at once to the ground, and the horses, missing their riders and left without guidance, plunged frantically forward into the opposing ranks where they were soon secured. Several of their caissons were blown up at different times by congreve rockets and some of their pieces silenced for want of ammunition. Many horses were killed or disabled while manoeuvring. The remainder of the British artillery was brought forward until the muzzles of the guns were only a few yards

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<sup>8</sup> Simons was a liegeman of Colonel William Claus and the Reverend Strachan, whose letters to Lieutenant Governors and military officers reveal how suggestive their gossip and pejorative observations about people were. In June 1814, Major Simons was dismissed from the Incorporated Militia for bad conduct and returned to Beasley's regiment. [RG 9-I-B-1, v.3 (incorporated Militia) Foster to Robinson, Kingston, June 25, 1814: "... dangerous consequences to the welfare and discipline of the militia....will accept resignation if without delay." The Adjutant General who dismissed him was replaced in 1815 by Nathaniel Coffin, who was not a military man but rather brother-in-law to General Sheaffe.

asunder, and the battle thenceforward became a confused, ferocious and sanguinary struggle, waged frequently at the bayonet point or with clubbed muskets, the British striving desperately to regain the ground they had lost, and their opponents to thrust them down into the hollow beyond, and drive them from the field. Regiments, companies, and sections were broken up and mingled together. They retired, rallied, and were led to the charge again. For two hours the contending lines were scarcely ever more than twenty yards apart, and by the light of each successive volley of musketry they could plainly distinguish the faces of their antagonists and even the buttons on their coats. . . . It is scarcely possible to present a consecutive narrative of the closing hours of the strife. For upwards of an hour the combatants faced each other at a distance of not more than sixty or seventy feet, loading and firing with as much deliberation, one of them wrote, "as if it had been a sham battle." From time to time there was a sudden rush forward, and the lines swayed slowly backwards and forwards over the ground, which was now thickly strewn with the bodies of their fallen comrades. It is now asserted by Americans that they three times repelled the attempts of their adversaries to regain their lost position. In one of these, we learn that the 103rd, being largely a boy regiment and this its first experience of battle, again gave way, and was only rallied by the strenuous exertions of Major Smelt and other officers."<sup>9</sup>

The British 89th Regiment attacked a brigade of Americans, which stumbling blindly about the field, rallied and attacked the British Royals. In the confusion the British 89th coming up mistook the Americans for the Royals and let them pass. As the Americans reeled to the left in front of the British 103rd and 104th who were in the act of firing at them, a British officer, thinking they were the British 89th, called on them to cease firing. The Americans happily pretending to be the 89th, on retreating to their lines, met a detachment of the British 41st and Royals far in advance of their own lines and a dreadful carnage ensued as they fought shoulder to shoulder, foot to foot. Then the Glengarries marched to the assistance of their friends but from the darkness of the night mistook the Americans for the 41st and the Royals which allowed the Americans to retire unmolested.

I give you this description to illustrate the impossibility of knowing who was doing what in the confusion of fighting in the dark at close range. A large body of British, including

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 37-38.



General Riall and his staff officers, were captured easily when they mistook the enemy for their own men.

“The battlefield,” wrote Cruikshank, “remained in the undisturbed possession of the British during the remainder of the night, but they were in no condition to pursue their disorganized enemies.... The survivors were utterly exhausted, and threw themselves down to rest among the dead and dying upon the blood-stained hill they had finally reconquered. Thus ended the most stubbornly-contested and sanguinary engagement ever fought in the Province of Ontario, after having continued for five hours and twenty-three minutes.”<sup>10</sup> A participant wrote: “The morning light ushered to our view a shocking spectacle, men and horses lying promiscuously together, Americans and English laid upon one another.... Nearly 2000 was left on the field, 800 of which were British soldiers.... It was found impossible to bury the whole so we collected a number of old trees together and burned them.”<sup>11</sup>

The battle ended after midnight. By Cruikshank’s map we see that the Embodied Militia at position J advanced to position M on helping drive the enemy back into the woods, then retired to KK to the north-west. At dawn, General Drummond’s men left their positions and began to clear the field of dead and wounded of both armies. Breakfast was ready about mid-morning. Lt. George Chisholm retired from the field after standing guard during the night to repulse a counterattack or sleeping on it among the dead and dying. Since the militia was ordered far to the rear, it is not surprising that he encountered Col Beasley coming from the rear at the first light of dawn to help with the wounded on the battlefield. But this is conjecture; the true picture is in the missing transcript of the court martial.

The charge of cowardice, if proven, could lead to execution. It was raised first after the War in 1815 about men in the 5th Lincoln Militia at Lundy’s Lane. The Colonel of the 5th Lincoln Regiment was Andrew Bradt, a loyalist who fought during the Revolutionary War under Chief Joseph Brant. I wrote in *From Bloody Beginnings*: “The military and political oligarchy began settling scores. Colonel Bradt, a loudmouthed braggart, brought charges against officers in his Lincoln militia regiment on three counts—for cowardice at

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p. 41

<sup>11</sup> “The Wars on the Canadian Frontier, 1812-14. Letters written by Sergeant James Commins, 8th Foot,” *Journal of Army Historical Research*, v.18 (Winter 1939).

Lundy's Lane, for telling the troops that the Quartermaster embezzled rations drawn from families, and for refusing to march men who lacked clothes and weapons, thereby inciting mutiny." Bradt blamed five officers for leaving the field, a captain, three lieutenants and an ensign, who were confined on November 5, 1814. Col. Bradt may have been incensed because militiamen at the back of his regiment, while shooting past their comrades in advance, shot off Bradt's cockade. This could have been meant as a warning rather than a wounding as in Simon's case.<sup>12</sup>

One of those charged, Lieutenant William Davis Jr., served in the militia as a youngster in 1794 and became a lieutenant long before the war began. Overlooked for promotion three times, he, during the war, served under the much junior James Durand, who along with Richard Hatt had been promoted over him.<sup>13</sup> His complaints at this treatment led to his arrest with other officers for being "absent from battle". Colonel Bradt had to release them from confinement in mid-November when told they would be court-martialed.

I have a particular interest in William Davis Jr whose family built Albion Mills and Harmony Hall at the Head of the Lake because my paternal grandmother was a Davis and her father, who was my great grandfather, was James Gage Davis. He was born early in the nineteenth century to Jonathan Davis, younger brother of William; the brothers married sisters. One of the Davis sisters married into the Gage family, whose old home is now Battlefield House in Stoney Creek. Thus my great grandfather was named James Gage Davis. He made a fortune in real estate and built many of the great old houses in east Hamilton. My father was named after him: James Davis Beasley; thus there was some intention to honor the connection.

When war broke out, many recent settlers in Upper Canada abandoned their farms to return to the United States and many avoided fighting. British officers mistrusted the militia but had to rely on it. Well known are the stories of Joseph Willcocks, Ben Mallory and Abraham Markle, reform-minded members of the House of Assembly, considered obstructionists by the military because British generals wanted to declare martial law but were prevented by the influence of these men, who knew it meant robbing the citizens of food and supplies. They were hounded to the states by officialdom where they

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<sup>12</sup> Couture, Paul M, *A Study of the Non-regular Military forces on the Niagara Frontier*. (Parks Canada: 1985).

<sup>13</sup> NAC, RG9, I B 1 v.6, William Davis to Samuel Jarvis, Secretary to Administrator, Saltfleet, July 4, 1818.

officered other Canadian turncoats in the Canadian Volunteers regiment and helped in the invasion of the Niagara region. The 5th Lincoln Regiment had lost its captain, William Biggar of Ancaster, who, fearful of arrest for his views, fled to join the traitorous Canadian Volunteers. The widespread disaffection and notorious turncoats alarmed the oligarchy and its adherents much as communism alarmed Americans in the decades after World War II and terrorists alarm the wielders of American power today. Of course, there were Americans deserting to the Canadian side as well, and, thankfully, bringing military intelligence which greatly helped the outnumbered British forces to check American advances. Lt. William Davis was a Loyalist from a prominent North Carolina family whereas Durand and Hatt were English-born and favored by the English officers and rulers. I suspect Davis was targeted because he was a reformer like Richard Beasley and many other loyal subjects. Fortunately for Davis and the other accused, Richard Beasley, being the senior Colonel, was in charge of the court martial on these men held at Grantham, now part of St Catharines, from February 2nd to March 22, 1815. No witnesses could be found to testify against them.

I suspect too that Davis and others who complained about the embezzlement of funds were right. Richard Beasley complained to Adjutant-General Coffin in September 1815 that the officers and men of his regiment had received no pay since July 1814 and that the men were accusing the officers of getting the pay but using it for their own ends—an explosive situation. Three men in his regiment wounded at Lundy's Lane had not received their pay which had been approved by the former Adjutant General. Richard advanced pay from his own pocket to one of them whose large family was in dire straits.<sup>14</sup>

After the War the Upper Canada Government offered no help to the ravaged countryside and preferred to intimidate those who complained. When the Reform movement began in earnest in 1818, the authorities revisited the charges against William Davis. His brother-in-law, John Chisholm, from a Tory family, helped to quell them. As Captain of Richard Beasley's flank company at Queenston Heights in 1812 who led the first assault against the invaders, John Chisholm, now in the 2nd Gore Regiment, came to Davis' defence by referring to his active command of Durand's company at Queenston Heights, such that Davis could not obtain leave to visit his family

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<sup>14</sup> NAC, RG 9 I B 1 v.4 York folder., Beasley to Coffin, Barton, February 11, 1815; September 10, 1815.

for about four months when Durand was absent. Davis was “ready at alarms and did not wait for any orders.”<sup>15</sup>

Lieutenant Governor Maitland issued draconian strictures against the farmers attending the York Convention for reform to which they elected Richard Beasley President—such as loss of government posts, loss of veteran’s pensions, branded as disloyal and so on. These were overturned when the reformers came to power with Richard Beasley taking the lead. Elected to the House of Assembly for Halton, he again became vigorous in support of the farmers and led in legislating civil liberties for the people. While the Reverend Strachan, ignored and mistrusted by the next Lieutenant Governor, was pushed out of legislative power, Richard Beasley was reappointed magistrate and Judge and regained his former prominence.

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<sup>15</sup> RG9 1B1 v.6, Letter July 3, 1818. John Chisholm was the older brother of George Chisholm.



dd) Left wing of the 103rd regiment, which, with the troops under Col.Scot arrived as the troops were changing from the 1st to 2nd position

ee) Right wing of 103rd regiment

ff) Royal Scots regiment

gg) Grenadiers of the 103rd regiment and flank companies of the 104th, which afterwards advanced to

ii) King's regiment

kk) Indians and embodied militia, who had retired from o

A) American artillery

AA) American columns advancing to the attack

B) British field pieces

C) The church.