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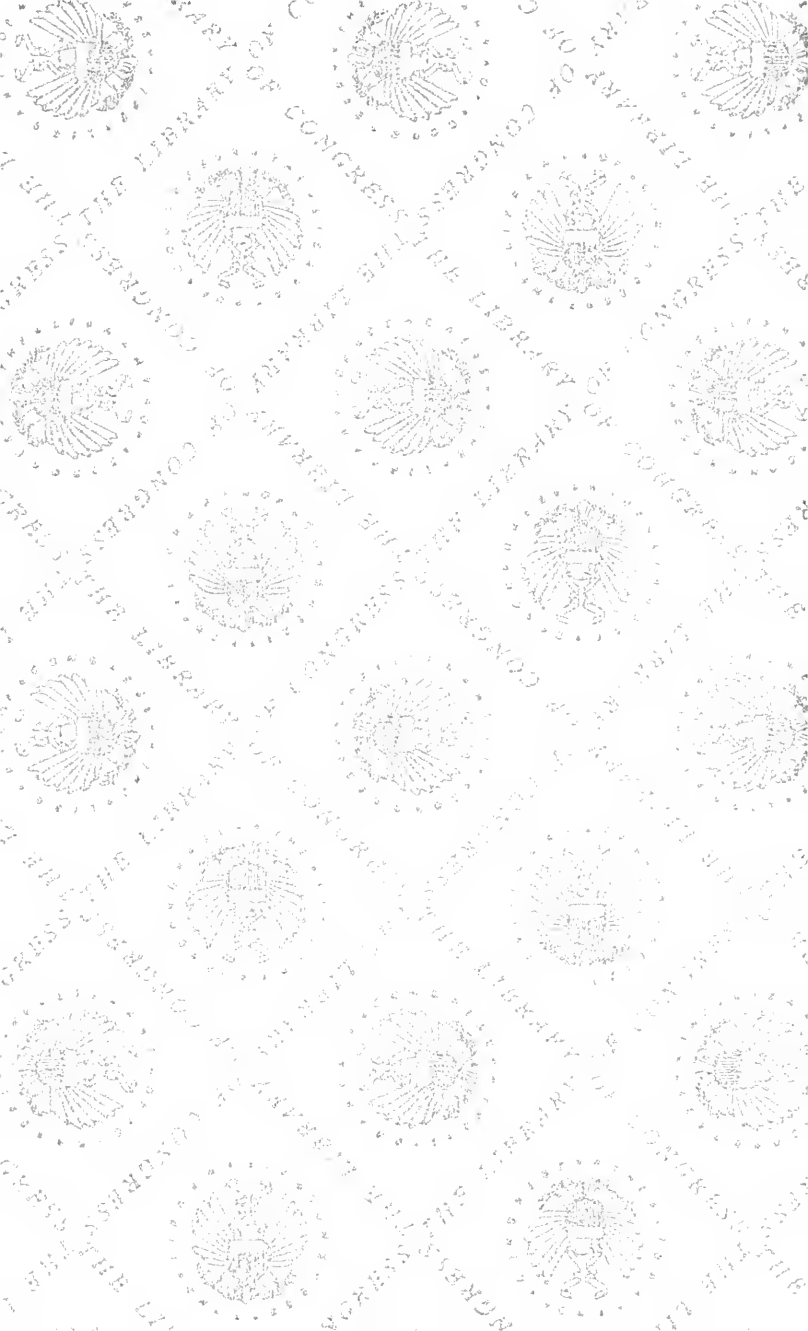
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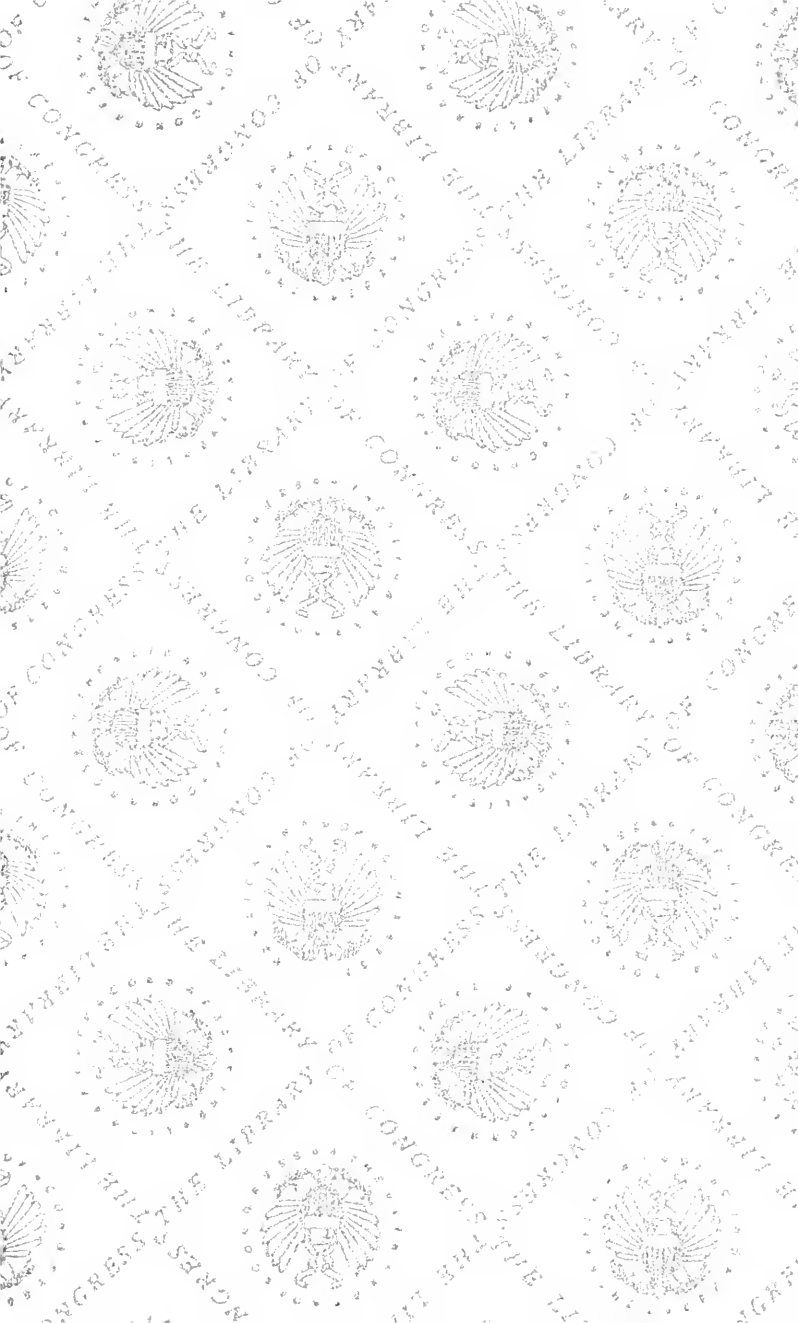
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LIFE OF
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

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THE LIFE

OF

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,

(OF OHIO,)

THE PEOPLE'S CANDIDATE

FOR

THE PRESIDENCY.

WITH A

HISTORY OF THE WARS WITH

THE BRITISH AND INDIANS

ON OUR NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER.

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PHILADELPHIA:

W. MARSHALL & CO.

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1840.

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PREFACE.

THE principal aim and object of the following biography, is to place before its readers a fair and impartial narrative of the life of one of our most eminent fellow-citizens, the history of whose public services, both civil and military, is, for many years, closely and inseparably interwoven with that of our country. The many responsible offices held by General Harrison, the numerous important treaties made by him with the Indians, and the prominent part he took in all the wars and negotiations on our North-western frontier, during one

of the most exciting and eventful periods of our national existence, render his life one of general and absorbing interest. Indeed we look upon the political and moral history of such a man as belonging to his country, and as constituting one of those bright beacon-lights destined to shine as long as the annals of our nation endure. To the character of such a man, justice is rarely done during his life-time. The carplings of envy or jealousy, and the misrepresentations of political opponents taint the public mind to a certain degree, and cast a shadow over the most brilliant actions and the purest and most virtuous motives. But long after the stormy waves that now agitate the great ocean of political strife shall have subsided, when all personal opposition shall have

shared the fate of its originators and have sunk into a merited oblivion, the page of history will still record, with perennial fame, the good deeds and noble actions of the patriot, the hero and the statesman; and grateful generations shall point to his example as a bright and unclouded load-star to guide them in the true course to honest and honourable distinction.

The author of this little work has made no attempt at a eulogium. From a long personal acquaintance with General Harrison, and a knowledge as well as admiration of his character, he has certainly felt at liberty to express himself on some points relating to his private life, more fully than he would otherwise have ventured. Still his sole endeavour has been to dis-

charge his duty faithfully to his fellow-citizens, and render them at the present time an acceptable service by offering within as brief a space as possible, a clear, candid, and comprehensive narrative of the life of General Harrison, and of the wars and negotiations on our North-western frontier, in which he took so active a part, from the date of St. Clair's defeat to the close of our last contest with Great Britain — a period embracing a portion of our general history, full of exciting and thrilling interest, and yet but little known to the great mass of the people.

Many of the materials for this biography have been derived from "Dawson's Narrative of the Civil and Military Services of General Harrison," a large octavo published in Cincinnati, in 1824,

but long since out of print ; from “ Butler’s History of Kentucky ;” and from “ M’Afee’s History of the Late War in the Western Country.” “ Hall’s Memoir of the Public Services of William Henry Harrison” has likewise occasionally been consulted. And to ensure the necessary accuracy on many leading points of history, a due reference has also been made to our public documents and state papers connected with the events here recorded.

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LIFE

OF

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

CHAPTER I.

Harrison's birth and parentage.—Sketch of his father's public life and services.—Harrison's education.—His determination to enter the army.—Situation of our North-western frontier at that time.—British intrigues.—Defeat of General Harmer.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON was born in Virginia, on the ninth day of February, 1773, at Berkeley, an estate on the James River, in the county of Charles City. The family from which he is descended settled in Virginia in the year 1640. At an extremely early period in the history of that province, the name of Harrison appears among the most prominent mentioned in their public annals, and the honourable station which it then held has descended unsullied to our own times.

Benjamin Harrison, the father of the subject of this memoir, was one of the foremost and most conspicuous patriots of our country. Before he had attained his twenty-first year, he was elected to the provincial legislature, and took his seat in the House of Burgesses, where he continued to represent his native district, with much honour, for many years. He, on every occasion, manifested a sincere devotion to the interests of the province, and was one of that patriotic band of members who united, heart and hand, in opposing the oppressive measures of the mother country. On the fourteenth of November, 1764, he was appointed with several other distinguished members of the house, to prepare an address to the king, a memorial to the lords, and a remonstrance to the house of commons, in opposition to the odious *Stamp Act*—a bill in favour of which had already been proposed to parliament by George Grenville, the British minister of finance. These papers were accordingly prepared by this committee, and Mr. Harrison thus evinced, several years before the date of our revolution, his determination to side with the people in their struggle to defend their sa-

cred rights, and in their resistance to the rapacious tyranny of the crown.

In August, 1774, Mr. Harrison was appointed one of the delegates from Virginia to the first Continental Congress, which assembled in Philadelphia, on the first of the ensuing September: and on that day, he had the gratification of seeing his colleague and brother-in-law, Peyton Randolph, placed in the presidential chair by the unanimous choice of the assembled delegates.

At the Congress of the following year, 1775, after the death of Mr. Randolph, it was the wish of nearly all the southern members, that Mr. Harrison should succeed him in the presidency; but as the patriotic John Hancock of Massachusetts had likewise been nominated, Mr. Harrison, to avoid any sectional jealousy or unkindness of feeling between the northern and southern delegates, at so momentous a crisis, with a noble self-denial and generosity relinquished his own claims, and insisted on the election of Mr. Hancock, who accordingly had the honour of being unanimously chosen to that high office. Mr. Harrison still, however, continued one of the most active and influential members of the Continental Con-

gress. On the tenth of June, 1776, as chairman of the committee of the whole house, he introduced the resolution which declared the independence of the colonies, and on the following ever-memorable *fourth of July*, he reported the more formal Declaration of Independence, to which celebrated document his signature is annexed.

The Legislature of Virginia returned Mr. Harrison four times as a delegate to Congress. On the expiration of his last term of congressional service, he was immediately elected to the House of Burgesses from his own county, and was at once chosen speaker of that body; an office which he held uninterruptedly until the year 1782, when he was elected governor of Virginia, and became one of the most popular officers that ever filled the executive chair. This eminent patriot died in the year 1791.

William Henry Harrison was left by his father under the guardianship of his friend, Robert Morris, the distinguished financier of our revolution. He was educated at Hampden Sydney College; and, by the advice of his friends, turned his attention to the study of medicine. But about the period when he

had completed his education, soon after the death of his father, the increased and barbarous hostilities of the Indians on our north-western borders, began to excite a feeling of indignation throughout the whole country. In this general excitement our young student participated so warmly, that he resolved to relinquish his professional pursuits, and join the army destined to the defence of the Ohio frontier. The service was then neither popular nor inviting, but on the contrary was exceedingly toilsome and fraught with great danger and hardships; and nothing but high courage and elevated motives, could have induced him to form such a resolve at so gloomy a period. This determination was warmly opposed, too, by many of his friends as well as by his prudent guardian. But his generous design was cordially approved and encouraged by one whom he thought entitled to even more influence—by *General Washington*, who had been his father's intimate friend, and who was, at that time, president of the United States.

The war in our western country was then assuming a very alarming aspect. But few of the warlike Indians on the frontier had at

that time declared in our favour, while the powerful tribes of the *Miamies*, the *Hurons*, or *Wyandots*, the *Delawares*, the *Shawnees*, the *Kickapoos*, the *Potowatomies*, the *Ottawas*, and the *Winnebagoes*, who occupied all the borders of our northern lakes, and were scattered through the whole immense extent of our north-western territory, were engaged in active hostility against the United States.

Most of these Indian tribes had been in the service of Great Britain during our revolutionary struggle; and they were no doubt urged to the course they now pursued, in some measure, by their own savage love for war, but still more by the instigations of the British authorities in Canada, who, contrary to the provisions of the treaty of peace, still held forcible possession of Detroit, Mackinac, Niagara, and other forts in our acknowledged territory, and continued to tamper with the Indians within our limits, and to supply them freely with arms and ammunition to carry on the war against our country. Thus incited, they still persisted in their barbarous hostilities, and accounts were almost daily received of their having perpetrated some ruthless aggression or outrage of unexampled ferocity. From the

year 1783, when Great Britain acknowledged our independence, and war with the mother country ceased, up to the year 1791, it was estimated that more than fifteen hundred of our hardy borderers had fallen victims to the rifle and scalping-knife of their savage foes. Our north-western frontier presented an appalling scene of rapine, conflagration, and wanton destruction of life and property. Many of our border settlements had been crushed in their infancy, and all had been retarded in their growth. Expedition after expedition, fitted out to oppose them, had met with the most disheartening losses; and finally a gallant army under Brigadier General Harmer, which had been sent expressly to chastise these savages, after destroying some of their towns, had been signally defeated by them, and almost annihilated. Of the few experienced officers who escaped from Harmer's defeat, nearly all, worn out with the fatigues of a service so harassing, and shrinking from a warfare of so dangerous and barbarous a nature, had resigned their commissions; and a general feeling of dismay began to pervade the whole of our exposed frontier.

Such was the gloomy aspect of affairs, when

the ardent and generous patriotism of young Harrison prompted him to give up the comforts and luxuries that surrounded him at home, and enter his country's service in defence of his fellow-citizens.



CHAPTER II.

Harrison enters the United States' army with the commission of an ensign.—Defeat of St. Clair.—Appointment of General Wayne.—Organization of the United States legion.—Harrison is promoted to a lieutenancy.—Is appointed aid to the commander-in-chief.—Wayne's campaigns.—Battle of the Maumee Rapids, and final defeat of the Indians.—Harrison's appointment to the command of Fort Washington.—His marriage.

IN the autumn of the year 1791, Harrison received the commission of an ensign in the United States artillery, from the hands of the president, General Washington, whose warm approval had greatly cheered him in his design. He hastened immediately to join his regiment, which was then stationed at Fort Washington, which occupied the present site of the city of Cincinnati, where he arrived a

few days after the unfortunate defeat of General St. Clair, near the Miami villages, by the confederated Indians, under the command of *Meshecunnaqua*, the Little Turtle, a celebrated Miami warrior, and *Buckongelas*, head chief of the Delawares. This disastrous defeat, in which St. Clair's army was destroyed, with the loss of nearly a thousand men, killed or taken prisoners, left the whole of our north-western frontier exposed to the ravages of a merciless enemy, and added greatly to the general consternation before existing.

The whole defence of our extensive frontier now devolved on the broken fragments of an army panic-struck and dispirited by their recent defeat, while the Indians, flushed with victory, had grown still more daring and audacious than ever. Winter was approaching, and the privations to be anticipated by those who were stationed at our remote posts were so great, that Harrison, young, slender, and apparently of a delicate constitution, was advised by his friends to resign his commission, and avoid hardships which he seemed but little fitted to encounter. But he rejected this advice without hesitation, and by an almost

reckless exposure of his person to danger and fatigue, soon proved himself well qualified for the arduous service he had chosen.

Not long after his arrival at Fort Washington, his courage and good conduct were put to the test, by his being appointed to the command of an escort having in charge a supply of provisions and munitions of war, destined for Fort Hamilton. The perilous duty of conducting this escort through a wilderness infested by hostile Indians, required an uncommon degree of personal exposure, as well as constant watchfulness, and a greater share of prudence and military sagacity than is usually found in so young an officer. But he acquitted himself of this duty with so much skill and success as to elicit the warm approbation and encomium of his commander, General St. Clair.

At this time, the degrading vice of intemperance was unhappily but too common among the officers of our army. Removed from the wholesome restraints of civilized society, and deprived of the comforts of domestic life, the extreme hardships they were often compelled to endure, predisposed the young officers, in their moments of relaxation, to indulge in de-

basing excesses, to the great injury of their reputation and the frequent destruction of their health. But Harrison had the good sense to see the danger to which he was exposed, and the firmness of character to resist the enticements of dissipation. And in the midst of these temptations, he laid the foundation of those habits of temperance, which subsequently enabled him to support so well the severe fatigues and hardships of a border warfare, and which have adhered to him through life, giving him, even to the present day, a remarkable degree of health and vigour.

In the unfortunate state of things existing after St. Clair's defeat, our government saw the necessity of adopting immediate and efficient means to put an end to this savage conflict. Another army was promptly raised, and the command given to General Anthony Wayne of Pennsylvania, a gallant and skilful officer, who had earned a brilliant reputation in the revolutionary war. The United States Legion, as Wayne's army was called in the new organization, assembled at Pittsburgh, in the summer of 1792; and in the ensuing month of November, they left that place, and went into winter quarters, at an eligible position on

the Ohio, 22 miles below Pittsburgh. This place they called *Legionville*.

Our illustrious President, Washington, guided by his customary humanity, had instructed General Wayne to endeavour, if possible, to conciliate the Indians, and prevent the further effusion of blood. In pursuance of these instructions, General Wayne invited several distinguished chiefs of some of the principal tribes to visit him at Legionville. Accordingly, in March, 1793, *Cornplanter*, a noted warrior, *Guasthua*, an aged chief, *New Arrow*, *Big Tree*, and several others, made their appearance at the encampment. But after a council with these chiefs, it soon became evident that no honourable terms of peace could be established with the Indians. Excited by their recent victories, and stimulated by the intrigues of the British, they had become exceedingly unreasonable in their demands. They now insisted that the American government should relinquish all claim to the immense extent of territory north-west of the Ohio river, notwithstanding it had been obtained by open and repeated treaties and by fair purchase, and had already been partially disposed of to actual settlers, whose rights, emanating from our

government, we were, in common justice, bound to protect. They further declared that nothing would now satisfy them but the establishment of the Ohio river as a permanent boundary, beyond which our settlements should never be permitted to extend.

Terms so haughtily demanded, and so sternly opposed to our national honour and good faith, as well as to our interest, were, of course, wholly inadmissible; and General Wayne was now compelled to prepare for the only alternative offered him, a savage and desolating war. This was, therefore, on our part, strictly a war of self-defence—since we had no other honourable means of defending our border settlements from the fierce aggressions of the Indians, or of uprooting the influence of the British authorities, who, in defiance of the declaration of peace, were still warring against us through their former savage auxiliaries.

On the 30th of April, 1793, General Wayne broke up his winter quarters at Legionville, and conveyed his army in boats down the Ohio to Fort Washington. At this place Harrison, having been promoted to a lieutenancy, joined the Legion. His fearlessness and energy, with his strict attention to discipline, soon

attracted the notice of his commander-in-chief, himself a bold and daring soldier and a rigid disciplinarian; and General Wayne, not long after his arrival, selected him as one of his aids-de-camp.

It will thus be seen at how early a period, and in what trying times, young Harrison was thought worthy of honourable distinction; and how soon, too, he attracted the attention and especial notice of a man and a soldier like Wayne, whose well-known independence of character was such, that no influence save that of intrinsic merit was ever with him of any avail, and whose daring and almost reckless intrepidity had won him, in our revolutionary war, the singular appellation of "Mad Anthony."

The ensuing summer was occupied by General Wayne in disciplining his troops, and in obtaining reinforcements and supplies, preparatory to the next campaign. Having at length received instructions from the Secretary of War to commence active operations, early in October he left Fort Washington, and advanced with his army eighty miles along the south-western bank of the Miami. But as the season was now too far advanced to permit

him to carry the plans he had formed into execution, he strongly fortified a position which was called Greenville, where his army went into quarters for the winter.

But the winter was not suffered to pass in idleness. On the 23d of December, the commander-in-chief sent a detachment of eight companies of infantry and a battalion of artillery, to take possession of the ground on which St. Clair's army had been defeated. A strong post, called *Fort Recovery*, was built on this mournful battle-field, and the bones of our gallant soldiers, who were there slain, were carefully collected and interred with military honours. The artillery used on this interesting occasion, to pay the last tribute of respect over the graves of those who fell on the bloody 4th of November, 1791, were the same that were lost on that fatal day, but which were now recovered by this detachment.

In the general order issued by the commander-in-chief, on the return of these troops, he particularly notices *Lieutenant Harrison*, who accompanied the expedition—and tenders him “his best thanks for his voluntary aid and services on this occasion.” We thus find Harrison, though at an early age, and young in

the service, foremost in volunteering his aid on every occasion where danger was to be encountered or duty performed.

On the 30th of June, 1794, Fort Recovery was fiercely assailed by a large body of Indians, aided by British and Canadian auxiliaries. But though their assaults were unusually bold and daring, and repeatedly renewed, they were each time bravely repulsed, and were finally compelled to retreat with great loss. About two weeks subsequent to this attack on Fort Recovery, General Wayne was reinforced by a body of mounted volunteers from Kentucky, under the command of General Scott. On the 8th of the following August, having, by a rapid movement, advanced seventy miles beyond Greenville, he encamped at Grand Glaise, in the very heart of the Indian country. In his dispatch to the War Department on this occasion, the commander-in-chief says,—“We have thus gained possession of the grand emporium of the hostile Indians in the west, without loss of blood. The very extensive and highly-cultivated fields and gardens show the work of many hands. The margins of those beautiful rivers, the Miami of the Lake, and Au Glaise, appear like one

continued village for a number of miles above and below the place; nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America, from Canada to Florida."

A strong work, called Fort Defiance, was immediately erected by our troops at the confluence of the rivers mentioned in the above despatch. General Wayne now felt himself fully prepared for decisive operations; but before striking the final blow, he, in compliance with his instructions, renewed his endeavours to conciliate and effect some amicable negotiation with the Indians. "I have thought proper," he said, "to offer the enemy a last overture of peace; and as they have every thing that is dear and interesting at stake, I have reason to expect they will listen to the proposition mentioned in the inclosed copy of an address dispatched yesterday by a special flag, under circumstances that will insure his safe return, and may eventually spare the effusion of much human blood." "But should war be their choice, that blood be upon their own heads. America shall no longer be insulted with impunity. To an all-powerful and just God, I therefore commit myself and gallant army."

The Indians haughtily rejected this overture, contrary to the advice of Little Turtle, the celebrated warrior who had commanded the combined forces of the Indian tribes at the defeat of St. Clair's army. This sagacious chief, at a council held by the Indians on the night of the 19th of August, a few hours only before the battle, strongly recommended the acceptance of the offered terms of peace. "We have beaten the enemy," said he, "twice, under separate commanders. We cannot expect the same good fortune to attend us always. The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps: the night and the day are alike to him. And during all the time he has been marching upon our villages, notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of it. There is something whispers me it would be prudent to listen to his offers of peace."

General Wayne had, in the meantime, left Fort Defiance, and advanced within a short distance of the Rapids of the Miami, (now generally known as the *Maumee*,) where the British had recently erected a strong fort for

the purpose of encouraging and controlling the neighbouring Indians.

On the 19th of August our troops were employed in making a temporary fortification, which they called Fort Deposite, for the protection of their military stores and baggage, and in reconnoitring the position of the Indians who were encamped behind a thick, bushy wood, and near the British fort. On the following day was fought that memorable battle, which we cannot better describe than by quoting a portion of the graphic account of General Wayne himself, in his official letter to the Secretary of War.

“At 8 o'clock on the 20th,” said General Wayne, “the army advanced in columns, agreeably to the standing order of march; the legion on the right flank, covered by the Miami,—one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, under Brigadier General Todd, and the other in the rear, under Brigadier General Barbee:—a select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the legion, commanded by Major Price, who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced—so as to give timely notice for the troops to form, in case of action—it being yet undetermined whether

the Indians would decide for peace or war. After advancing about five miles, Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat.

“The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close, thick wood, which extended for miles on our left; and for a very considerable distance in front, the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favourable covert for their savage mode of warfare, they were formed in three lines, within supporting distance of each other, and extending nearly two miles, at right angles with the river.

“I soon discovered, from the weight of the fire, and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favourite ground, and endeavouring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance, to support the first, and directed Major General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, by a

circuitous route: at the same time I ordered the front line to advance with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet; and, when up, to deliver a close and well directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again. I also ordered Captain Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, which afforded a favourable field for that corps to act in.

“All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge of the first line of infantry, that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers were driven from all their coverts in so short a time, that although every exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion, and by Generals Scott, Todd, and Barbee, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, yet but a part of each could get up in season to participate in the action; the enemy being driven, in the course of one hour, more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one-half their numbers.

“From every account, the enemy amount-

ed to two thousand combatants; the troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred. This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison.

“Inclosed is a particular return of the killed and wounded—the loss of the enemy was more than double that of the federal army. The woods were strewed for a considerable distance with the dead bodies of the Indians, and their white auxiliaries; the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets.

“We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Miami, in front of the field of battle, during which all the houses and corn-fields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance, both above and below Fort Miami, as well as within pistol-shot of that garrison, who were compelled to remain tacit spectators of this general devastation and conflagration—among which were the houses, stores, and property of Colonel M’Kee, the British Indian agent, and principal stimu-

lator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages.”

The success of this brilliant action, so strongly in contrast to our previous contests with the Indians, was owing, undoubtedly, to the high state of discipline of the army, and to the consummate skill and judgment displayed by General Wayne, in the entirely novel system of tactics originated by him. He not only adopted the old and approved mode of extending his line and forming his troops in open order, to lessen their exposure to the deadly aim of the enemy, but he introduced, likewise, his favourite plan of charging rapidly upon the Indians, and rousing them from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and then pouring in a close and heavy fire, before they could again shelter themselves. This system, which proved so effectual at the battle of the Maumee Rapids, has since been almost universally adopted in our warfare with the Indians.

In his dispatch to the Secretary of War, after this decisive action, General Wayne, in mentioning those whose good conduct and intrepidity were particularly conspicuous on this occasion, says—“My faithful and gallant

aid-de-camp, *Lieutenant Harrison*, rendered the most essential service by communicating my orders in every direction, and by his conduct and bravery exciting the troops to press for victory."

We hold it not to be amiss here to remark, that in addition to the acknowledged services of General Wayne in the camp and field, time has proved that that fearless soldier and distinguished commander has placed our country under a still deeper debt of gratitude—since the instructions he gave his favourite aid in his severe school of discipline, the example he showed him, and the experience he led him to acquire in the arduous campaigns they encountered together, subsequently in still more trying and perilous times, enabled Harrison to fight the battles of his country against the same savage foe with such signal success, that though more frequently in conflict with the enemy than any other general in our service, and though often attacked by vastly superior numbers, *he never yet has been defeated.*

The heavy losses suffered by the confederated tribes in the battle of the Maumee Rapids, greatly disheartened the Indians, and their dissatisfaction was much increased by

the vacillating conduct of Colonel Campbell, the commander of the British fort, who, after their defeat, refused to take any part on their behalf. The distinguished and powerful chiefs, Little Turtle and Buckongelas, doubting the power of Great Britain to protect them, and now taught to respect our strength, openly declared in favour of the United States, and by their influence, a negotiation for peace was opened on the first of January, 1795. After some delay, a council was held at Greenville, between General Wayne and a numerous delegation of chiefs and warriors from the principal tribes, and an honourable and highly advantageous treaty was finally effected with our Indian neighbours. And thus, with the close of this war were extinguished what may be considered as the last embers of our revolutionary struggle.

The impression produced in London by the news of this final defeat of the Indians, is said to have had much effect in hastening to a conclusion the protracted negotiation, which had been so long pending between Mr. Jay and Lord Grenville, and which was now terminated successfully and advantageously to our country.

Soon after the close of this campaign, Lieutenant Harrison received the commission of a captain, and was placed in command of Fort Washington, under circumstances which evinced the high estimation in which his talents and discretion were held by General Wayne. At this period France was at war with Spain; and certain agents of the French government had been sent to Kentucky by Genet, the French minister, and were then diligently employed in exciting the gallant people of that state to an invasion of Louisiana, by which means they hoped to embroil our country in a war with Spain. One of our distinguished officers, General Clark, had artfully been prevailed upon to take command of the proposed expedition, and commissions were offered, and money and munitions of war freely promised, to induce the adventurous spirits of the West to engage in a campaign for the purpose of wresting Louisiana from the Spaniards. This project was peculiarly attractive to the Kentuckians, who had long felt aggrieved by the refusal of the Spaniards to allow them the free navigation of the Mississippi river. Our government was soon made aware of this scheme, and serious apprehen-

sions were entertained that some hasty and rash act of hostility would involve us in a war with Spain. General Wayne received instructions to adopt every precaution to prevent the occurrence of such a result; and in giving the command of Fort Washington to Captain Harrison, he left with him extensive discretionary powers in relation to the management of this delicate responsibility. About this time, too, in compliance with the terms of Jay's treaty, the military posts, which, in defiance of good faith, had been established by the British on our northwestern frontier, were given up to the United States; and Captain Harrison was charged with the important duty of dispatching from Fort Washington the troops destined to take possession of the surrendered forts, and of forwarding through the wilderness the stores and munitions of war necessary for these remote posts. These various duties were discharged by Captain Harrison with so much fidelity, skill and prudence, as fully to prove the judicious discrimination of General Wayne in his selection of the commander of so important a station as Fort Washington, and to justify his unusual confidence in so young an officer.

While in command of Fort Washington, Captain Harrison married the daughter of John Cleves Symmes, the celebrated founder of the Miami settlements—a lady who commands the esteem and respect of all who know her.

CHAPTER III.

Harrison resigns his commission in the army.—Is appointed Secretary and Lieutenant Governor of the North-western Territory.—Is elected Delegate to Congress.—Introduces a bill to regulate the disposal of the public lands.—Its justice and true policy.—Its success.—The Northwestern Territory divided.—Harrison resigns his seat in Congress.—Is appointed Governor of Indiana Territory.

CAPTAIN HARRISON remained in the army till near the close of the year 1797; when, soon after the death of his friend General Wayne, as peace had been established with the Indians, and there was no longer an opportunity to serve his country in the field, he resigned his commission, to commence his career of civil services. He was almost immediately appointed Secretary, and, *ex-officio*, Lieutenant Governor of the Northwestern Territory;

which then embraced the whole extent of our territory lying north-west of the Ohio river—thus, by a just award, receiving his first civil appointment, in that part of our country which he had first perilled his life to defend.

While in this station, he entered so warmly into the interests of the people, and his intelligence, and the kindness and urbanity of his manners rendered him so popular, that, when, in the following year, the Northwestern Territory entered the second grade of government, according to the system which then prevailed, and the inhabitants became entitled to representation in the councils of the nation, they almost unanimously elected him their first delegate to Congress. Mr. Harrison was, at this time, about twenty-six years of age.

He took his seat in the House of Representatives at the first session of the sixth Congress, in December, 1799. There were then in Congress some of the ablest and most enlightened statesmen, and some of the most eloquent men our country has ever produced. Yet in this severe ordeal, the abilities and manly energies of Mr. Harrison soon commanded universal respect. At this period, the all-engrossing subject in the west, and one in

which our whole country had a deep interest, was the sale of the public lands. The manner in which these lands had been hitherto disposed of, had created great dissatisfaction among the people. They had been sold only in large tracts; the smallest of which included, at least, four thousand acres; and as the minimum price was at that time two dollars per acre, a great majority of the new settlers were utterly precluded from becoming possessors of land by an original purchase from the government. Our hardy yeomanry, with limited pecuniary means, were thus entirely shut out from all chance of competition with wealthy speculators and grasping monopolists,—the poorer emigrants were becoming disheartened at the chilling prospects before them, and the settlement of the new country was greatly retarded. Fully aware of the impolicy and injustice of this state of things, and true to the trust confided to him, Mr. Harrison's earliest legislative efforts were made to overthrow this exclusive and pernicious system. He aroused the attention of Congress to the consideration of this important subject, and evinced so intimate an acquaintance with the facts and business details connected with it, that he was appointed

chairman of a committee raised to examine into and report on the existing mode of disposing of the public lands; the only instance, it is believed, in which that honour has been conferred on a territorial delegate. After a proper investigation, he presented a report, accompanied by a bill, the principal object of which was to reduce the size of the tracts of public land offered for sale, to such a smaller number of acres as would place them within the reach of actual settlers. This masterly report, which was the joint production of himself and Mr. Gallatin, together with the great ability and eloquence with which he defended his bill from the powerful opposition it encountered in the House, gained Mr. Harrison a reputation rarely attained by so young a statesman. The bill was carried triumphantly in the House, and finally, after some amendments, passed the Senate. The result was, that the public lands, instead of being offered only in large tracts, of which four thousand acres was the smallest size, were now to be sold in alternate sections and half sections—the former containing 640, and the latter 320 acres each. The point gained was of immense importance, since, from the low price of these

lands, and the small amount of purchase money required to be paid, they were now, with the aid of industry, within the reach of nearly all the poorer emigrants and actual settlers, who felt a natural desire to own the fee simple of their homes, and of the lands they subdued from the wilderness. Thousands of the hardy and industrious farmers of our Northern and Middle States, and many of the poorer planters of the South, availed themselves of the fair field which was now opened for emigration and enterprise; and we may justly consider this happy result, which Mr. Harrison was so instrumental in producing, as one of the leading causes of the rapid settlement and prosperity of our Western Country.

The justice and true policy of reducing the size of the tracts of public lands offered for sale having been once admitted, subsequent legislators have found it not only a politic, but a popular measure, and have followed up the principle thus introduced by Mr. Harrison, until now our public lands may be bought in tracts of but eighty acres each, and at the price of only one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre—whereas, but for the first blow at the old system struck by Mr. Harrison, and

but for the wise and just principle first introduced by him, that exclusive system might perhaps still have continued—in which case we feel assured of being within bounds in asserting that the great valley of the Mississippi, the mighty empire of the West, would not, at this day, have numbered one half the population, nor boasted a moiety of the wealth it now contains.

In the year 1800, the North-western Territory was divided. That part of the old territory, included within the present boundaries of Ohio and Michigan, retained its former name; and the immense extent of country north-west of this, was erected into a separate government, and received the name of Indiana. Soon after this division had taken place, Mr. Harrison resigned his seat in Congress, and was appointed governor of the new territory. This appointment gave great satisfaction to the people of Indiana, with whom the patriotic exertions of Mr. Harrison had rendered him deservedly popular; and it was, at the same time, the strongest evidence of the confidence with which the general government relied upon his integrity, prudence, and capacity for civil government.

CHAPTER IV.

Condition of Indiana Territory.—Harrison is appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs and Commissioner for treating with the Indians.—His extensive jurisdiction and powers.—Harrison's address to the territorial legislature.—The cession of Louisiana to the United States.

THE vast extent of this new territory included what now constitutes the states of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, and the territory of Wisconsin. But the small population it then contained was thinly scattered through a vast wilderness, and only three white settlements of any note existed within its boundaries. One of these was at the seat of government, Vincennes, a small town originally built by the French, and beautifully and advantageously situated on the banks of the Wabash; the second, known as Clark's Grant, was at the Falls of the Ohio, nearly opposite Louisville, about one hundred miles from Vincennes; and the third was the French settlement on the banks of the Mississippi, near St. Louis, and more than two hundred miles distant from the seat of government. The com-

munication between these remote points was, at all times, difficult and toilsome, and often attended with great danger. There existed no practicable roads, and nearly all the intermediate country was occupied by the Indians, or overrun by their hunting parties. Most of these savage tribes, though professing to be friendly, were restless and dissatisfied; and their leading chiefs still nursed a moody hope of revenge for the mortifying defeat they had sustained, six years before, at the battle of the Maumee Rapids. Artful and treacherous, numerous, warlike, and thirsting for plunder, they kept this remote frontier in continual excitement and alarm. The angry feelings of our hardy borderers were frequently roused by some robbery or atrocious aggression committed by the more evil-disposed among their savage neighbours, and quarrels often ensued, which threatened the peace of the whole community.

‡ Such was the existing state of things in Indiana Territory, when Mr. Harrison was appointed to the administration of its government. As governor of a frontier territory so peculiarly situated, Mr. Harrison was invested with civil powers of the most important na-

ture, as well as with military authority. Besides the ordinary powers which he held, *ex-officio*, as governor, he had the sole power of dividing the district into counties and townships; and, with the aid of the judges, had full authority to adopt and publish such laws, both civil and criminal, of the original states, as might be necessary and best adapted to the wants and situation of the district; and he had the appointment of all the magistrates and other civil officers. He was made commander-in-chief of the militia, and all the officers below the rank of general received their commissions from him. He was likewise appointed superintendent of Indian affairs, and agent and representative of the general government; in performance of the duties of which office, he was required to keep up a constant and voluminous correspondence with the Cabinet at Washington. He had also the unusual power of conferring on a numerous class of individuals, a legal title to large grants of land, on which they before held merely an equitable claim. His sole signature was sufficient, without any other formality, to give a valid title to these extensive and valuable tracts of land. No other formality or publicity was

required, and whatever secret collusion might have existed between the claimant and the governor, the title would still have been unquestionable before any legal tribunal. Possessed of this immense power, without check or limitation, opportunities were continually before him of accumulating a princely fortune; but the scrupulous sense of honour, which has always characterized Mr. Harrison, would never permit him to speculate in lands over which he had any control. During the whole of the time that he held this important trust, he never availed himself of his peculiar advantages to promote his own interests either directly or indirectly; and it is a fact worthy of particular note, that, even to the present time, he has never owned a single acre of land, the title to which, originally, emanated from himself as the representative of the government. No shadow of suspicion has ever clouded his honour, his honesty or disinterestedness; and not a murmur ever accused him of partiality, or even of unnecessary delay, in the performance of this delicate duty. We allude to this to show that the integrity of Mr. Harrison is well-trying and practical; and that it has always shone

with the purest lustre when assailed by the strongest temptations.

In 1803, Mr. Jefferson appointed Governor Harrison sole "commissioner to enter into any treaties which might be necessary with any Indian tribes, north-west of the Ohio, and within the territory of the United States, on the subject of their boundaries or lands." By virtue of this authority, in the following year, Harrison succeeded in negotiating a treaty with the Sacs and Foxes; and besides the amicable relations established with those tribes, he obtained the cession of an extensive tract of country, including the whole of the valuable region between the river Illinois and the Mississippi, with a northern boundary, stretching from the head of Fox river to a point on the Wisconsin, thirty-six miles above its mouth. This was the largest cession of lands that had ever yet been made by the Indians at any one time. Considerable tracts of land between the Ohio and the Wabash, and extending from Vincennes westward to the Mississippi, were likewise purchased by annuities from the Delawares and the Miamies. We may here appropriately remark that during the entire course of his adminis-

tration, Harrison effected *thirteen important treaties* with the different tribes, on the most advantageous terms; and obtained from them, at various times, the cession of large tracts of land, amounting, in all, to more than *sixty millions of acres, and embracing a large portion of the richest region in our country.*

In their frequent intercourse with Governor Harrison, the Indians had learned to respect his undaunted firmness, and were, at the same time, conciliated by his kindness of manner and considerate forbearance. This, with his intimate knowledge of the Indian character, is the true secret of the remarkable success invariably attendant upon every treaty he has attempted to negotiate.

The various and arduous duties of the governor of Indiana, required for this office a man of very superior abilities and qualifications, and of a rare temperament—one possessed of a stern integrity and prudent moderation, with wisdom in the exercise of the extensive powers entrusted to him, accompanied by the most unwavering firmness. Such a man Governor Harrison, in the long course of his administration, fully proved himself to be. The plainest evidence that can

be presented to those who are not familiar with the history of Indiana, during this eventful period, of the peculiar fitness of Governor Harrison for this important station, of the confidence reposed in him, and of the great popularity he attained while in the exercise of so delicate a trust, is the unquestionable fact, that, for thirteen years, at every successive expiration of his term of office, he was re-appointed, at the earnest solicitation of the people of the Territory, and with the public expression of the most flattering approbation on the part of our chief Executive. And this too, notwithstanding the entire change which had taken place within that time in the ruling politics of the country—his first appointment having been made by Mr. Adams, his second and third by Mr. Jefferson, and his fourth by Mr. Madison. The following extract from the resolution, unanimously passed by the House of Representatives of Indiana, in the year 1809, requesting the re-appointment of Governor Harrison, will show the estimate which a long acquaintance had taught them of his worth: “They (the House of Representatives) cannot forbear recommending to, and requesting of, the President and Senate,

most earnestly in their own names, and in the names of their constituents, the re-appointment of the present governor, William Henry Harrison,—because he possesses the good wishes and affection of a great majority of his fellow-citizens;—because they believe him sincerely attached to the Union, the prosperity of the United States, and the administration of its government; because they believe him in a superior degree capable of promoting the interest of our Territory, from long experience and laborious attention to its concerns, from his influence over the Indians, and wise and disinterested management of that department; and because they have confidence in his virtues, talents, and republicanism.”

If necessary, we might fill a goodly volume with extracts from public documents of a similar nature; but what stronger proof than this could we have of the popularity of Governor Harrison, and of the entire confidence with which the people relied on his experience, his integrity, and his ability as a statesman?

In 1805, the Territory of Indiana was advanced to the second grade of government under the new system. The citizens were

allowed to elect a Territorial House of Assembly, by which ten persons were nominated, out of whom the president appointed five as a legislative council to complete the territorial legislature. This measure deprived Governor Harrison of much power and great patronage, since it threw into the hands of the people the election of many officers who were before appointed by the executive — but always a ready advocate for the republican rights of suffrage and self-government, he was true to his principles even when against his interest, and he strenuously urged this change of government.

Nearly two years prior to this time, by a brilliant negotiation, a treaty had been effected in Paris, by which Louisiana was purchased by our government from France (to whom it had been ceded by Spain) for eighty millions of francs, or about fifteen millions of dollars; and we were thus finally enabled to realize the boundaries of the ancient charters granted by the British monarchs to their American colonies, and extend the limits of the territory of the United States “from sea to sea.” Upon our obtaining actual possession of Louisiana, the jurisdiction of Governor Harrison became

greatly enlarged, and the responsibility and laborious duties of his station were consequently much increased. The governor refers to this annexation of Louisiana to the United States, in his address at the first session of the territorial legislature—a document so remarkable for its high-minded and purely republican spirit, and for its clearness and fluency of style, that notwithstanding our narrow limits we cannot refrain from laying some portions of it before our readers.

“Upon a careful review of our situation,” said Governor Harrison, “it will be found that we have much cause of felicitation, whether it respects our present enjoyments or our future prosperity. An enlightened and generous policy has for ever removed all cause of contention with our western neighbours. The mighty river which separates us from the Louisianians will never be stained with the blood of contending nations, but will prove the bond of our union, and will convey upon its bosom, in the course of many thousand miles, the produce of our great and united empire. The astonished traveller will behold upon either bank a people governed by the same laws, pursuing the same objects, and warmed

with the same love of liberty and science. And if, in the immense distance, a small point should present itself, where other laws and other manners prevail, the contrast it will afford will serve the useful purpose of demonstrating the great superiority of a republican government, and how far the uncontrolled and unbiassed industry of freemen excels the cautious and measured exertions of the subjects of despotic power.

“The acquisition of Louisiana will form an important epoch in the history of our country. It has secured the happiness of millions, who will bless the moment of their emancipation, and the generous policy which has secured to them the rights of men. To us it has produced immediate and important advantages. We are no longer apprehensive of waging an eternal war with the numerous and warlike tribes of aborigines that surround us, and perhaps being reduced to the dreadful alternative of submitting to their depredations, or of exterminating them from the earth.

“By cutting off their communication with every foreign power, and forcing them to procure from ourselves the arms and ammunition, and such of the European manufactures as

habit has to them rendered necessary, we have not only secured their entire dependence, but the means of ameliorating their condition, and of devoting to some useful and beneficial purpose the ardour and energy of mind which are now devoted to war and destruction. The policy of the United States, with regard to the savages within their territories, forms a striking contrast with the conduct of other civilized nations. The measures of the latter appear to have been well calculated for the effect which has produced the entire extirpation of the unhappy people whose country they have usurped. It is in the United States alone that laws have been passed, not only for their safety and protection from every species of injury, but considerable sums of money have been appropriated, and agents employed, to humanize their minds, and instruct them in such arts of civilized life as they are capable of receiving. To provide a substitute for the chase, from which they derive their support, and which, from the extension of our settlements, is daily becoming more precarious, has been considered a sacred duty. The humane and benevolent intentions of the government, however, will for ever be defeated, unless ef-

fectual measures be devised to prevent the sale of ardent spirits to those unhappy people. The law which has been passed by Congress for that purpose, has been found entirely ineffectual, because its operation has been construed to relate to the Indian country exclusively. In calling your attention to this subject, gentlemen, I am persuaded that it is unnecessary to remind you, that the article of compact makes it your duty to attend to it. The interests of your constituents, the interests of the miserable Indians, and your own feelings, will sufficiently urge you to take it into your most serious consideration, and provide the remedy which is to save thousands of our fellow-creatures. So destructive has the progress of intemperance been among them, that whole villages have been swept away. A miserable remnant is all that remains, to mark the names and situation of many numerous and warlike tribes. In the energetic language of one of their orators, it is a dreadful conflagration, which spreads misery and desolation through their country, and threatens the annihilation of the whole race. Is it then to be admitted as a political axiom, that the neighbourhood of a civilized nation is incompatible

with the existence of savages? Are the blessings of our republican government only to be felt by ourselves? And are the natives of North America to experience the same fate with their brethren of the southern continent? It is with you, gentlemen, to divert from those children of nature the ruin that hangs over them. Nor can I believe that the time will be considered misspent, which is devoted to an object so consistent with the spirit of christianity, and with the principles of republicanism."

The reply of the Territorial Assembly to this address, manifested the high estimation in which Governor Harrison was held; and is one of the many proofs of his singular popularity, and of the entire confidence reposed in his abilities, and in his disinterestedness and moderation in the exercise of the extensive authority entrusted to him.

CHAPTER V.

Intrigues of Tecumthe and the Prophet.—The Prophet's visit to Vincennes and interview with Harrison.—Treaty of Fort Wayne.—Dissatisfaction of Tecumthe.—Tecumthe's interview with the Governor.—The Governor's firmness and intrepidity.—Harrison's Message to the Legislature.—Triumphant refutation of slander.

IN the following year, 1806, our friendly relations with the Indians were broken in upon, and the plans our government had formed to civilize them, and ameliorate their condition, were entirely destroyed by a new and very remarkable influence.

Two twin brothers of the Shawnee tribe, Tecumthe, the *Crouching Panther*, and Olliwachi-ca, the *Open Door*, generally known as *the Prophet*, commenced a series of artful and daring intrigues among the Indians on our north-western frontier, which finally involved them in a war with our country, destined to result in the expulsion of many of these warlike tribes from all their old and favourite hunting-grounds.

Tecumthe and his brother differed widely

in character, but their separate accomplishments and their peculiar qualifications well fitted them to prosecute the design they had formed.

Tecumthe was a bold and skilful warrior, sagacious in council and formidable in battle. An active, daring, energetic man, but one who preferred tact and secret management to open violence. Deeply imbued with a hatred to the whites, against whom he had sworn an unrelenting enmity, full of enthusiasm and highly gifted with eloquence, he appealed with great success to the passions of the Indians, in his endeavours to rouse them to a hostile feeling against the United States. Tecumthe, nevertheless, possessed a loftier spirit and a higher and better tone of feeling than is often found in the savage warrior; and on several occasions during the ensuing war, he evinced a forbearance and generosity which might well have put his more civilized allies to the blush.

The Prophet had none of the nobler qualities of his brother. He was cunning, cruel, cowardly, and treacherous. He was no warrior, but was an accomplished and persuasive orator. A shrewd and crafty impostor, he announced himself as a *medicine man*, or magi-

cian, possessed of vast and miraculous powers, and as having been specially sent by the Great Spirit to reform the condition of the red people, to restore them to their former prosperity, and to replace them in the possession of their lost prairies and hunting-grounds.

Availing himself of the superstition common to all ignorant and uncivilized people, the Prophet commenced a series of wild incantations, and, from time to time, uttered extravagant prophecies of the speedy downfall of the whites and the approaching success of the red men, until he succeeded in obtaining so strong a hold upon the credulity of the deluded Indians, that his influence over the warriors of several powerful tribes became almost unbounded.

The object of these arch-intriguers was to form a general combination of all the North-western and South-western tribes of Indians, for the purpose of preventing the whites from extending any new settlements west of those already existing; and with the vain hope, too, that by a simultaneous attack on the whole of our extensive, thinly-inhabited, and ill-defended western frontier, they might force back the whites from the valley of the Mississippi, and

regain a much-coveted portion of their former territory. This scheme is supposed to have been suggested to Tecumthe by the noted chief and warrior Red Jacket. It is the same plan which cost the celebrated Pontiac his life, and one which the no less distinguished Little Turtle is said to have cherished until the haughty spirit of the Indians was broken and subdued by their disheartening defeat at the Maumee Rapids. These designs of Tecumthe and his wily brother soon became known to Governor Harrison, who, aware of his dangerous and critical position, by prudent forbearance and wise policy, was enabled for several years to hold his savage neighbours in check.

In the summer of 1808, the Prophet encamped with his followers on the banks of the Tippecanoe, a tributary to the Upper Wabash; with the design of being in the more immediate neighbourhood of his most powerful partisans.

About this time, our relations with Great Britain began to assume a threatening aspect, and war seemed almost inevitable. The British emissaries and Canadians, anxious under these circumstances to secure the aid of the Indians, used every endeavour, by presents

and artful promises, to form strict alliances with all the powerful tribes, which they hoped to effect through the aid of the Prophet.

The plans of the Prophet and his brother were not yet fully matured; and conscious that Governor Harrison suspected their hostile designs, this cunning impostor formed the audacious resolve to visit the governor, and endeavour to deceive his vigilance and lull his suspicions to rest, by protestations of his amicable intentions. He accordingly made his appearance at Vincennes in the following month of August, and made such warm and apparently sincere professions of his friendly and peaceful purposes, as to leave rather a favourable impression on all who listened to his assurances. But immediately after his return to Tippecanoe, he renewed his hostile intrigues with the neighbouring Indians, intelligence of which was soon conveyed to the governor.

In September, 1809, Governor Harrison held a council at Fort Wayne, and negotiated a treaty with the Miamies, Delawares, Potawatomies, and Kickapoos, by which he succeeded in purchasing from those tribes an extensive tract of country on both sides of the Wabash, and extending up that river more than sixty

miles above Vincennes. The tribes who owned these lands were paid for them by certain annuities which they considered a satisfactory equivalent.

Tecumthe was absent at this time on a visit to the distant tribes, and the Prophet not feeling himself interested, had made no opposition to the treaty; but on the return of Tecumthe, some months after, both he and his brother expressed great dissatisfaction, and even threatened to put to death all those chiefs who had signed the treaty. Hearing this, and anxious too to ascertain their intentions from themselves, if possible, Governor Harrison dispatched messengers to invite them both to Vincennes. He assured them that any claims they might have to the lands in question, were not affected by the treaty of Fort Wayne; but that if they would come to Vincennes and exhibit their pretensions, and they should be found to be valid, the lands would be given up or an ample compensation made for them. Tecumthe came, without his brother—and though the governor, having no confidence in his good faith, had requested him not to bring with him more than thirty warriors, he came with four hundred, completely armed. The

governor held a council on the 12th of August, 1810, at which Tecumthe and forty of these warriors were present. The governor was attended by the judges of the supreme court, several officers of the army, Winnemac, a friendly chief, and a few unarmed citizens. A sergeant's guard of twelve men was likewise placed near him, but as the day was exceeding sultry, and they were exposed to the sun, the governor, with his characteristic humanity, directed them to remove to a shaded spot at some distance.

Tecumthe addressed this council with a speech, in which he openly avowed the designs of himself and his brother. He declared it to be their intention to form a coalition of all the red men, to prevent the whites from extending their settlements farther west—and to establish the principle that the Indian lands belonged in common to all the tribes, and could not be sold without their united consent. He again avowed their intention to put to death all the chiefs who had signed the treaty at Fort Wayne, yet, with singular inconsistency, he at the same time denied all intention to make war, and declared that all those who had given such information to the governor

were liars. This was aimed particularly at Winnemac, from whom the governor had received a timely notice of the designs of Tecumthe and his brother.

Governor Harrison replied to Tecumthe in a mild and conciliatory tone, explaining the treaty at Fort Wayne, and clearly proving that all the chiefs whose tribes had any claims upon the lands ceded at this time to the United States, were present at the treaty, and had voluntarily signed it—and that they had sold these lands for an annuity which they considered a sufficient compensation. The interpreter of the Shawnees explained the governor's speech to the warriors of that tribe, but when the interpreter to the Potawatomies was about to begin, Tecumthe interrupted him in a rude and insulting manner, using the most vehement language and the most violent gesticulation. He loudly declared that all the governor had said was false, and that he and the United States had cheated and imposed upon the Indians. As he uttered this, his warriors sprung to their feet and began to brandish their tomahawks and war-clubs, their eyes all fiercely turned upon the governor. Harrison rose immediately and drew his

sword. The friendly chief Winnemac cocked a pistol with which he was armed, and some of the officers in attendance drew their weapons and stood on the defensive. Every one momentarily expected to hear the yell of the savage war-whoop, and to encounter the fierce attack of their excited opponents. At this critical time not a word was spoken, until the guard hastily approached, and were about to fire on the Indians, when the governor, with singular coolness and presence of mind, restrained them. He then turned to Tecumthe, and calmly but authoritatively told him that "he was a bad man—that he would hold no further communication with him—and that he must now return to his camp, and take his departure from the settlements without delay." The council was immediately broken up, and Tecumthe and his warriors, awed by the calmness and intrepidity of the governor, withdrew in silence.

The next morning, Tecumthe, finding that he had to deal with a man of firmness and undaunted bravery, whom he could neither intimidate by his audacious violence nor disconcert by his cunning manœuvres, solicited another interview with the governor, and

apologized for the improprieties he had committed at the council the day before.

At this interview, the governor expostulated with Tecumthe on the frequent murders committed by the Indians at Tippecanoe, on their constant depredations, their refusal to give any satisfaction for their repeated aggressions, and their daily accumulation of force at the Prophet's town for the avowed purpose of obliging the United States to give up lands which they had fairly purchased of the rightful owners. In his reply, Tecumthe denied that he had taken the murderers under his protection; but admitted his design of forming a grand confederacy of all the nations and tribes of Indians upon the continent, for the purpose of putting a stop to the encroachments of the white people. He said that "the policy which the United States pursued, of purchasing their lands from the Indians, he viewed as a *mighty water*, ready to overflow his people; and that the confederacy which he was forming among the tribes, to prevent any individual tribe from selling their lands without the consent of the others, was the *dam* he was erecting to resist this mighty water." And he added, "your great father may sit

over the mountains and drink his wine, but if he continues this policy, you and I will have to fight it out." He admitted that he was then on his way to the Creek nation, for the purpose of bringing them over to his measures; and he actually did, two days afterwards, set out on this journey with twelve or fifteen warriors.

Still anxious to conciliate this haughty savage, the governor afterwards paid him a visit at his own camp, with no other attendant than the interpreter. Tecumthe received him with courtesy and much attention; Harrison's uniform kindness and inflexible firmness having won the respect of the rude warrior: but he still persisted in adhering to the declarations he had made at the council on the preceding day.

Meanwhile, his brother was using every exertion to advance their mutual object. His reputation as a prophet still continued to increase, and his cunning pretensions to supernatural powers gave him so strong a hold on the superstitions of his red brethren as to enable him not only to attach his own people warmly to his interests, but greatly to extend his influence over the neighbouring tribes.

Governor Harrison alludes to this in his message to the Legislature of Indiana, in the ensuing winter of 1810, from which the following is an extract :

“Presenting as we do,” said Governor Harrison, “a very extended frontier to numerous and warlike tribes of the aborigines, the state of our relations with them must always form an important and interesting feature in our local politics. It is with regret that I have to inform you, that the harmony and good understanding which it is so much our interest to cultivate with these our neighbours, have, for some time past, experienced a considerable interruption, and that we have indeed been threatened with hostilities, by a combination formed under the auspices of a bold adventurer, who pretended to act under the immediate inspiration of the Deity. His character as a prophet would not, however, have given him any dangerous influence, if he had not been assisted by the intrigues and advice of foreign agents, and other disaffected persons, who have for years omitted no opportunity of counteracting the measures of the government with regard to the Indians, and filling their naturally jealous minds with suspicions of the

justice and integrity of our views towards them."

"The circumstance which was laid hold of to encourage disaffection, on a late occasion, was the treaty made by me at Fort Wayne in the autumn of the last year. Amongst the difficulties which were to be encountered, to obtain those extinguishments of title which have proved so beneficial to the treasury of the United States, and so necessary, as the means of increasing the population of the territory, the most formidable was that of ascertaining the tribes which were to be admitted as parties to the treaties. The object was accordingly discussed in a long correspondence between the government and myself, and the principles which were finally adopted, were made as liberal towards the Indians as a due regard to the interests of the United States would permit. Of the tribes which had formed the confederacy in the war which terminated by the peace of Greeneville, some were residents upon the lands which were in the possession of their forefathers, at the time that the first settlements were made in America by white people, whilst others were emigrants from distant parts of the country, and

had no other claim to the tracts they occupied, than what a few years' residence, by the tacit consent of the real owners, could give. Upon common and general principles, the transfer of the title of the former description would have been sufficient to vest in the purchaser the legal right to lands so situated. But in all its transactions with the Indians, our government have not been content with doing that which was just only. Its savage neighbours have, on all occasions, experienced its liberality and benevolence. Upon this principle, in several of the treaties which have been made, several tribes have been admitted to a participation of their benefits, who had no title to the land ceded, merely because they had been accustomed to hunt upon, and derive part of their support from them. For this reason, and to prevent the Miamies, who were the real owners of the land, from experiencing any ill effects from their resentment, the Delawares, Potawatomes and Kickapoos were made parties to the late treaty at Fort Wayne. No other tribe was admitted, because it never had been suggested that any other could plead even the title of use or oc-

cupancy of the lands, which at that time were conveyed to the United States.

“It was not until eight months after the conclusion of the treaty, and after his design of forming a hostile combination against the United States had been discovered and defeated, that the pretensions of the prophet, with regard to the lands in question, were made known. A furious clamour was then raised by the foreign agents among us, and other disaffected persons, against the policy which had excluded from the treaty this great and influential character as he is termed; and the doing so, expressly attributed to personal ill-will on the part of the negotiator. No such ill-will did in fact exist. I accuse myself, indeed, of an error, in the patronage and support which I afforded him upon his first arrival on the Wabash, before his hostility to the United States had been developed; but on no principle of propriety or policy could he have been made a party to the treaty. The personage called the prophet is not a chief of the tribe to which he belongs, but an outcast from it, rejected and hated by the real chiefs, the principal of whom was present at the treaty, and not only disclaimed on the

part of his tribe any title to the lands ceded, but used his personal influence with the chiefs of the other tribes to effect the cession.

“As soon as I was informed that his dissatisfaction at the treaty was assigned as the cause of the hostile attitude which the prophet had assumed, I sent to inform him that whatever claims he might have to the lands which had been purchased for the United States, were not in the least affected by that purchase; that he might come forward and exhibit his pretensions, and if they were really found to be just or equitable, the lands would be restored, or an ample equivalent given for them. His brother was deputed, and sent to me for that purpose; but far from being able to show any colour of claim, either for himself or any of his followers, his objections to the treaty were confined to the assertion, that all the lands upon the continent were the common property of all the tribes, and that no sale of any part of it could be valid, without the consent of all. A proposition so extremely absurd, and which would for ever prevent any further purchase of lands by the United States, could receive no countenance from any friend of his country. He had,

however, the insolence to declare, that by the acknowledgment of that principle alone could the effects of his resentment be avoided."

* * * "I have been thus particular, gentlemen, in giving you information upon the present state of affairs with the neighbouring Indians, that you may have them fully before you, in case you should think proper to make them in any shape the subject of your deliberations."

In the course of this address, the whole of which we regret that the limited size of our volume will not permit us to quote, Governor Harrison alluded to some idle complaints and malicious calumnies which had been spread abroad by certain disaffected persons within the Territory—the totally unfounded nature of which was soon made apparent in a court of justice. There are in every community, individuals who are incapable of appreciating or are unwilling to admit the existence of disinterested and patriotic motives of action—and who, if they are too dull or perverse to comprehend the wise policy and strict justice of any public measure, are inclined by the whisperings of their own hearts to attribute that measure to the promptings of base or unwor-

thy motives. It is not a matter of surprise, therefore, that some such were found in the territory over which Governor Harrison presided. Among these was one M'Intosh, who openly asserted that Governor Harrison had cheated the Indians in the treaty at Fort Wayne, by which the United States had the year before obtained so large a cession of lands from the Miamies, Delawares, Potawatomies and Kickapoos. As this calumny was industriously circulated, Governor Harrison thought it due both to his own character and to that of the general government that the charge should be fully and judicially investigated, while the subject was still fresh and the testimony in relation to the treaty at Fort Wayne was still within reach. An action for slander was therefore brought against M'Intosh, in the Supreme Court of the Territory, and every possible measure was adopted to obtain a fair and an impartial decision. To insure this, two of the judges left the bench during the trial—one being a friend of the governor, and the other of the defendant—leaving the case to be adjudicated by the third judge, who had but recently arrived in the Territory and was but slightly acquainted with either of the parties.

All the facts connected with the negotiation of the treaty of Fort Wayne were critically inquired into, and the defendant was allowed every opportunity to examine all the persons engaged in the Indian Department, or who were acquainted with the circumstances attendant upon the making of this treaty. But the more the subject was inquired into, the more clearly did it manifest the strict honour and integrity of Governor Harrison; until, at length, convinced of this, the counsel of M'Intosh abandoned all plea of justification, and asked only for a mitigation of damages. The jury returned a verdict of four thousand dollars against the defendant—a heavy verdict in a new country, where money is always scarce, and damages given by juries in such cases are generally very small. A large amount of the defendant's property was sold the following year to satisfy this judgment, and was bought in by the agent of the governor, while he himself was absent in command of the army. *Two-thirds of this property Governor Harrison afterwards returned to M'Intosh, and the remainder he distributed among the orphan children of some of his gallant fellow-citizens who fell in battle during the last war!* Such acts

need no comment—while magnanimity, disinterestedness, and generosity are prized among men, the tongue of praise even can scarcely do them justice.



CHAPTER VI.

Commencement of hostilities.—Harrison assembles the Militia and Volunteers.—He organizes his forces.—March to the Prophet's town.—Battle of Tippecanoe.—Its results.

IN the following year, 1811, the Indians proceeded to more open violence, and assumed an attitude of more decided hostility. It is believed that Tecumthe, on his departure to visit the Southern Indians, left positive instructions with his brother to avoid coming to extremities with the white people, and to restrain his followers from committing depredations which might lead to the commencement of hostilities before his plans were fully matured. But the Prophet wanted both the inclination and the authority necessary to carry these instructions into effect. Aggressions of the most atrocious nature were audaciously committed by the Indians within the limits of the Terri-

tory, and every day brought fresh accounts of the perpetration of those ruthless deeds of depredation and murder which always give the first intimation of the approach of a savage war.

From motives of humanity as well as policy, Governor Harrison had always endeavoured to avoid a war with the Indians; but when this result became unavoidable, he promptly adopted the most energetic measures within his limited resources to place the Territory in a posture of defence.

The people upon the frontier had now become exceedingly alarmed. The citizens of Vincennes were much excited, and a large public meeting was there held, at which several resolutions were passed indicating their sense of the danger to which they were exposed, and warmly approving the measures which had been taken by the governor for their defence. These resolutions, with a strong remonstrance against the permitting this horde of savages to continue their depredations, were forwarded to the President of the United States. They produced the desired effect—and the 4th regiment, commanded by Colonel Boyd, which was then at Pittsburgh, was ordered by Mr.

Madison to repair without delay to Vincennes, and was placed under the command of Governor Harrison. Instructions were likewise sent to the governor to march with an armed force to the Prophet's town—but he was required to avoid hostilities “of any kind, or to any degree not absolutely necessary.”

The governor immediately assembled five hundred of the militia and volunteers of Indiana. These, with the regiment of United States' infantry, consisting of about three hundred and fifty men, and a small but gallant body of volunteers from Kentucky, constituted his whole available force—amounting in all to scarcely nine hundred effective men. These troops were collected at Fort Harrison, a post on the Wabash, about sixty miles above Vincennes. And as soon as his new soldiers were properly disciplined, and he had trained both the regulars and the militia to the Indian mode of warfare, he took up his line of march for the Prophet's town.

In the mean time, in conformity to his instructions from the President, the governor had endeavoured, by the intervention of the Delaware and Miami chiefs who continued friendly, to open an amicable negotiation with

the Indians, and induce them to give up the murderers, who were known to be at Tippecanoe, and to restore the stolen horses, that were still in the possession of his followers. But his messengers of peace were received and treated with great insolence, and the very reasonable demands made by them were rejected with disdain by the Prophet and his council. To put an end to all hopes of accommodation, a small war-party was detached for the purpose of commencing hostilities. Finding no stragglers about the camp, they fired upon one of the sentinels, and wounded him severely. The Delaware chiefs informed the governor of the object of this party, and that it was now in vain to expect that any thing but force could obtain either satisfaction for the injuries done, or security for the future. He learned also from the same source, that the strength of the Prophet was daily increasing by the ardent and giddy young men from every tribe, and particularly from the tribes on and beyond the Illinois river.

In this state of things, the governor marched from Fort Harrison on the 28th of October, 1811. Profiting by his own early experience, and the remembered example of his old friend

and commander, General Wayne, his march through a singularly wild and exposed region to Tippecanoe, was conducted with great skill and prudence. The country through which the army passed was occasionally open, beautiful prairie, intersected by thick woods, deep creeks, and ravines. The cavalry and mounted riflemen, of the latter of which there were two companies, covered the advance, the flanks, and the rear, and were made to exchange positions with each other, as the ground varied; so as always to keep them in the situation best suited to the mode of fighting which they respectively practised. The Indians being adroit in the art of ambuscading, every precaution was taken to guard against surprise, and prevent the army from being attacked in a disadvantageous position. To the north of the Wabash, the prairies are very extensive, affording few favourable situations for the kind of warfare peculiar to the savages. To deceive the enemy, the governor caused the route to be reconnoitred on the south side, and a wagon-road laid out; and having advanced upon it a short distance, he suddenly changed his direction, and gained the right bank of the

river, by crossing it above the mouth of Racon creek. In passing the large prairies, the army was frequently halted, and made collectively to perform the evolutions which they had been taught in smaller bodies, during their stay at Fort Harrison; at which place the governor had manœuvred the relieving guards every day in person, and had required the attendance of the field-officers on those occasions.

As the Indian scouts had returned to their main body and given the information that our troops were making a road along the southern banks of the Wabash, they were wholly unprepared to meet them on the north side of the river, or to oppose their passage of Pine Creek, at a very dangerous ford, where a few men might have successfully resisted the whole army. The appearance of this creek forms a singular exception to the other water-courses of this country. It runs, for the distance of fifteen or twenty miles above its mouth, between immense cliffs of rock, upon whose summits are found considerable quantities of pine and red cedar, the former of which is rare, and the latter is nowhere else to be found near the Wabash. The ordinary cross-

ing-place was represented by the guides to be extremely difficult, if not impassable for wagons; and this was no doubt the spot where the Indians would have designed to make their attack, had they been prepared to meet the army here, instead of having been induced by the governor's feigned advance to gather their forces on the southern side of the river. This place had already been twice selected by the Indians for an ambush—once, in the year 1780, when General Clarke undertook a campaign against the Indians on the Wabash; and a second time, in the year 1790, when Colonel Hamtramack penetrated with a small force as high as the Vermilion, to make a diversion in favour of General Harmar's expedition to the Miami of the Lake.

The governor had no intention of encountering the enemy in a place like this. He accordingly, in the course of the night preceding his approach to the creek, dispatched Captain Prince of the Indiana militia, with an escort of forty men, to reconnoitre the creek some miles above, and endeavour to find a better fording. On his return, the following morning, this officer met the army in its ad-

vance, and informed the governor, that at the distance of six or eight miles, he had found a trace used by the Illinois Indians in travelling to Tippecanoe, which presented an excellent ford, at a place where the prairie skirted the creek. This prairie, which they were now crossing, excited the admiration and astonishment of the officers and soldiers, who had never been on the north-west side of the Wabash. To the north and west the prospect was unbounded. From the highest eminence no limit was to be seen, and the guides asserted that the prairie extended to the Illinois river.

On the evening of the 5th of November, the army encamped at the distance of nine or ten miles from the Prophet's town. It was ascertained that the approach of the army had been discovered before it crossed Pine creek. The traces of reconnoitring parties were very often seen, but no Indians were discovered until the following day, when the troops arrived within five or six miles of the town. The interpreters were then placed with the advanced guard, to endeavour to open a communication with them. The Indians, however, would return no answer to the invita-

tions that were made for that purpose, but continued to insult our troops by their gestures. Within about three miles of the town, the ground became broken by ravines, and covered with a heavy growth of trees. The utmost precaution became necessary, and every difficult pass was examined by the mounted riflemen, before the army was permitted to enter it. The ground being unfit for the operation of the squadron of dragoons, they were thrown in the rear.

Within about two miles of the town, the path descended a steep hill, at the bottom of which was a small creek running through a narrow, wet prairie, and beyond this was a level plain partially covered with oak timber, and without underbrush. No place could be better fitted for the savages to attack the army with a prospect of success; and the governor apprehended that the moment the troops descended into the hollow, they would be assailed. A disposition was therefore made of the infantry, to receive the enemy on the left and rear. A company of mounted riflemen was advanced a considerable distance from the left flank to check the approach of the Indians; and the other companies were or-

dered to turn the enemy's flanks, should they attack from that direction. The dragoons were ordered to move rapidly from the rear and occupy the plain in advance of the creek, to cover the crossing of the army from an attack in front. In this order the troops were passed over; the dragoons were made to advance to give room to the infantry, and the latter having crossed the creek, were formed to receive the enemy in front in one line, with a reserve of three companies; the dragoons flanked by mounted riflemen forming the first line.

During all this time, Indians were frequently seen in front and on the flanks. The interpreters endeavoured in vain to bring them to a parley. Though sufficiently near to hear what was said to them, they would return no answer, but continued by gestures to menace and insult those who addressed them. Captain Dubois, of Vincennes, having volunteered his services, was dispatched with an interpreter, to the Prophet, to ascertain whether he would now comply with the terms that had been so often proposed to him. The army was moved slowly after, in order of battle. In a few moments, a messenger came from

Captain Dubois, informing the governor that the Indians were near him in considerable numbers, that they would make no reply to the interpreter, but that, upon his advancing, they actually endeavoured to cut him off from the army. Governor Harrison, after this last effort to open a negotiation, which sufficiently evinced his desire for an amicable accommodation, could no longer hesitate to treat the Indians as open enemies. He therefore recalled Captain Dubois, and moved on with a determination to attack them. He had not proceeded far, however, before he was met by a deputation of the Prophet's counselors. They were sent, they said, to ascertain why the army was advancing upon them; they stated that the Prophet wished, if possible, to avoid hostilities; that he had sent a pacific message by the Miami and Potawatomie chiefs, who had come to him on the part of the governor, but that those chiefs had unfortunately gone down on the south side of the Wabash. A suspension of hostilities was accordingly agreed upon, and a meeting was to take place the next day between the governor and the chiefs, to agree upon the terms of peace. But Harrison knew too well the

treachery of his artful antagonist, to allow himself to be deceived by his specious professions, or lulled into any fancied security.

The governor marched the army to a carefully selected position, and encamped late in the evening, on a dry piece of ground, which rose about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie in front towards the town, and about twice as high above a similar prairie in the rear, through which, near the bank, ran a small stream, fringed with willows and brushwood. The governor posted his troops in a hollow square. Two columns of infantry occupied the front and rear; the right flank consisted of a strong body of infantry, and the left flank was composed of three companies of mounted riflemen. The cavalry were encamped in the rear of the front rank and the left flank. The encampment was not more than three-fourths of a mile from the town.

The order given to the army, in the event of a night attack, was for each corps to maintain its ground at all hazards till relieved. The dragoons were directed, in such a case, to parade dismounted, with their swords on and their pistols in their belts, and to await for orders. But the army^{*} in general had no

expectation of an attack. Many of the men appeared to be much disappointed. They were anxious for a contest with the Indians, and some of the more ardent loudly expressed their regret that they should have to return home without a battle.

The night was dark and cloudy. The moon rose late, and soon after midnight there commenced a light fall of drizzling rain. The whole night passed without the slightest interruption, and the governor and his aids rose at about a quarter before four, and were sitting in conversation about the fire. It was still dark, as the light of the moon was shadowed by heavy and lowering clouds. At this moment the attack commenced. The treacherous Indians had stealthily crept up near our sentries, with the intention of rushing upon them and killing them before they could give the alarm. But fortunately one of the sentries discovered an Indian creeping towards him through the grass, and fired at him. This was immediately followed by the Indian yell, and a furious charge upon the left flank. So sudden and fierce was this onset, that the guard stationed in that quarter gave way, at first, to their savage assailants; but notwith-

standing the severe fire, they soon rallied, and maintained their ground with desperate valour. The camp-fires were immediately extinguished, as their light only served to expose our men to the deadly aim of the Indians. Upon the first alarm, the governor mounted his horse, and proceeded to the point of attack; and finding the line much weakened there, he ordered two companies from the centre and rear line to march up to their support. About this time, Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daviess, of Kentucky, informed the governor that the Indians, concealed behind some trees near the left of the front line, were severely annoying the troops in that quarter, and requested permission to dislodge them. In attempting this hazardous exploit, he charged the Indians on foot, but unfortunately the flash of his pistol exposed him to the deadly aim of the savages, and he was shot down almost instantly, pierced with three balls, either of which would have proved fatal—and thus fell a gallant and chivalric spirit, and one of the most daring and intrepid officers in the whole army. His men repulsed the Indians several times, and finally succeeded in carrying him into the camp. Colonel Isaac White,

of Indiana, another brave officer, who served as a volunteer under Colonel Daviess, likewise fell in this sanguinary charge. A heavy fire now commenced upon the right flank, upon a part of the rear line, and upon the entire front as well as upon the left flank. Finding that many of our officers were killed by the severe fire on the right flank, and that our men there were warmly pressed, the governor led another company to their aid, which enabled them to defend their position during the rest of the attack. While the governor was leading this company into action, his gallant aid, Colonel Owen, of Kentucky, a veteran warrior in Indian warfare, was killed at his side.

The battle was now maintained in every direction with desperate valour. The Indians advanced and retreated by a rattling noise made with deer-hoofs. They fought with great enthusiasm, and seemed determined to conquer. Our men maintained the fight with even more than their accustomed bravery, and the governor was unwearied in his active exertions. Amid all the din of battle, the fierce shouting of our troops, and the fiend-like yellings of the savages, his clear and manly voice

was heard encouraging and supporting his men where they were most severely pressed, and cheering them on to victory. He repeatedly, during the engagement, changed their position to meet the varying attacks of his desperate assailants, and in all these evolutions the troops were formed and led into action by himself.

When the day dawned, the left flank, the most assailable part of the encampment, was reinforced by four companies drawn from the rear and centre; the right flank was strengthened by two companies; the dragoons were mounted, and, supported by them, a simultaneous charge was made upon the enemy on both flanks. And so vigorous and determined was this attack, that the enemy gave way on all sides—the Indians on the left flank were driven into a swamp impenetrable to cavalry, while those on the right were put to flight with great loss, and this severely-contested victory was at last gained by our gallant troops.

The Indians, who were supposed to amount to about a thousand in number, were commanded in this battle by three noted warriors—*White Loon*, *Stone Eater*, and *Winnemac*, a Potawatomie chief, who had been with the

governor at Fort Harrison, and on his march, making great professions of friendship.

More than two-thirds of our army were volunteers, principally from Indiana. Those from the neighbourhood of Vincennes had been trained for several years by the governor, and had become very expert in the manœuvres which he had adopted for fighting the Indians. The greater part of the territorial troops followed him as well from personal attachment as from a sense of duty. Indeed, a greater degree of confidence and personal attachment has rarely been found in any army towards its commander, than existed in this; nor have there been many battles in which the dependence of the army on its leader was more distinctly felt. During the whole action the governor was constantly on the lines, and always repaired to the point which was most hardly pressed. The reinforcements drawn occasionally from the positions most secure, were conducted by himself and formed on the spot where their services were most wanted. The officers and men who believed that their ultimate success depended on his safety, warmly remonstrated against his so constantly exposing himself; but, the consciousness of his per-

sonal danger never interfered, for a moment, with the unshrinking performance of his duty. Upon one occasion, as he was approaching an angle of the line against which the Winnebagoes, the most daring of the Indians, were advancing with the fiercest yells, one of his officers seized the bridle of his horse and earnestly entreated that he would not go there; but the governor, freely applying his spurs, pushed on to the point of attack, and so cheered the troops by his presence that they received the enemy with firmness and drove them back with the loss of several of their chiefs.

The Prophet took no active part in this battle, but during the whole of the contest he remained secure on a neighbouring eminence, chanting a war-song. He had promised his warriors that "the Great Spirit would turn the powder of the whites into ashes, and charm their bullets, so that they should drop harmless, and that the red men should have light, while their enemies were involved in utter darkness." Soon after the battle commenced, he was told that his warriors were falling in great numbers, but he bade them fight on, and they would soon see the fulfilment of all his predictions.

The day of the battle was spent in taking care of the wounded, and in paying the last mournful rites to the remains of those who had fallen. On the next day, the town, which had been abandoned by the Indians in great haste, was occupied by a detachment of our troops; and after the removal of every thing of value, its fortifications were destroyed and the town itself burnt. On the same day the troops were put in motion on their homeward march. Every wagon was required to transport the wounded, and it therefore became requisite to destroy all the unnecessary baggage; in doing which, the governor set the example, by ordering all his own camp furniture to be broken and burnt first. They pursued their route by easy marches, till they arrived, without interruption, at their block-house on the Wabash; where the wounded were embarked in boats, while the rest of the army continued their march by land to Vincennes.

The battle of Tippecanoe was unquestionably one of the most spirited and best-fought actions recorded in the annals of our Indian wars. The numbers and weapons on either side were nearly equal; and the Indians, con-

trary to their usual custom, fought hand to hand, and with the most desperate ferocity; displaying a boldness and reckless daring, during the engagement, that can only be accounted for by their reliance on the specious promises held out to them by the Prophet. Every man in this battle encountered his share of danger, but no one was in more personal peril than Governor Harrison himself—well known to many of the Indians, and the object of their peculiar attack, his fearless and unshrinking exposure makes it seem almost a miracle that he should have escaped unwounded. In referring to the coolness and intrepidity of Governor Harrison, on this occasion, we cannot refrain from making the following extracts from a journal published in Keene, New Hampshire, by Adam Walker, a private soldier, who fought in this battle, and who could have had no interested motives for his publication:—“General Harrison,” he says, “received a shot through the rim of his hat. In the heat of the action, his voice was frequently heard, and easily distinguished, giving his orders in the same calm, cool, and collected manner, with which we had been used to receive them on drill or parade. The confidence of the troops

in the General was unlimited." The same writer, in speaking of Harrison's kindness to the soldiers, and his influence over them, remarks:—"He appeared not disposed to detain any man against his inclination; being endowed by nature with a heart as humane as brave, in his frequent addresses to the militia, his eloquence was formed to persuade; appeals were made to reason as well as feeling, and never were they made in vain."

An incident that occurred at this time appears well worthy of being recorded. The night before the battle, a negro man belonging to the camp, who had been missing, was arrested under the governor's marquee, under very suspicious circumstances. He was tried by a court-martial for desertion to the enemy, and for an attempt to assassinate the governor. Sufficient evidence was found to convict him, and he was sentenced to death; yet such were the humane feelings of Harrison, that he could not induce himself to sign the order for his execution. As the criminal attempt had been made against his own life, he felt himself privileged to exercise his benevolence towards the offender, and the misguided wretch was suffered to escape the just punishment of his

crime. It would have been more in accordance with the principles of strict justice, had the law been permitted to take its own course in this instance—but the circumstances of the case were very peculiar, and Governor Harrison's conduct evinced a magnanimity and humanity of heart rarely equalled.

The importance of the victory at Tippecanoe cannot be too highly estimated. It quelled the haughty spirit of the discontented and hostile Indians, and defeated the plan, which they had almost matured, of attacking and destroying our scattered border settlements in detail. Had we lost this battle, our army must have been annihilated—the whole extent of our defenceless frontier would have been left to the mercy of sanguinary and unsparing savages, and the consequent loss of life, and destruction of property, would have been almost incalculable.

President Madison, in his message to Congress, dated December 18th, 1812, makes the following honourable mention of this battle:—“While it is deeply to be lamented,” says the President, “that so many valuable lives have been lost in the action which took place on the 9th ult., Congress will see, with satisfaction,

the dauntless spirit and fortitude victoriously displayed by every description of troops engaged, as well as the collected firmness which distinguished their commander, on an occasion requiring the utmost exertion of valour and discipline.”

The Legislature of Kentucky, at their ensuing session, on the motion of John J. Crittenden, now a distinguished member of the United States Senate, expressed their high sense of Governor Harrison's good conduct on this occasion, by the following complimentary resolution:—

“Resolved, That in the late campaign against the Indians, on the Wabash, Governor W. H. Harrison has, in the opinion of this legislature, behaved like a hero, a patriot, and a general; and that for his cool, deliberate, skilful, and gallant conduct, in the late battle of Tippecanoe, he deserves the warmest thanks of the nation.”

This high encomium came from those whose friends and neighbours had participated in the late campaign, and who were consequently familiar with all its details, and with the merits of the commander-in-chief.

Tecumthe was not present at the battle of

Tippecanoe; being on a visit to the southern tribes, whom he was endeavouring to unite in his combination against the United States. During his tour, he visited the Creeks, Choc-taws, and Chickasaws, and then crossed the Mississippi and continued his course north-wardly as high as the river Demoins; and having obtained, it is believed, the promise of assistance from all the tribes in that direction, he returned to the Wabash by land, across the heads of the Illinois river. In his absence, his affairs had sustained a sad reverse.



CHAPTER VII.

Declaration of War with Great Britain.—Measures adopted to defend our North-western frontier.—Governor Harrison is appointed Major General in the Kentucky militia.—He receives the commission of Brigadier General in the service of the United States.—He is made Commander-in-chief of the North-western army.—His extensive powers and arduous duties.—Plan of the Campaign.—Massacre at the River Raisin.—Expedition against the Indian towns.

WAR was declared against Great Britain on the 18th of June, 1812. Prior to this event, British agents had, for a long time, been tam-

pering with the discontented Indians within our territory, and had bribed them with presents, and furnished them with firearms, to induce them to renew their hostilities against our country. The crafty and daring Tecumthe, too, was once more in the field. Urged on by his savage eloquence, by their own natural love for war and plunder, and by the atrocious intrigues of foreign agents, the north-western Indians again raised the war-whoop, and commenced their barbarous system of warfare. Their cruel murders and depredations became of frequent occurrence, and the wailings of bereaved mothers and orphans, and the bitter complaints of those who had escaped from the conflagration of their plundered homes, excited the commiseration of our hardy borderers, and roused a general feeling of indignation. Such was the state of excitement in the frontier settlements in the summer of 1812.

Immediately after the declaration of war, our western governors promptly adopted every measure in their power, for the defence of their respective States and Territories. But conscious of the great abilities and experience of Harrison, they placed the utmost

reliance on his counsels, and looked to him as the leader, under whom they might hope for success against the common enemy. He aided Governor Edwards in placing the frontier of Illinois in a posture of defence, and soon after, was invited by Governor Scott of Kentucky, a distinguished revolutionary officer, to a conference in relation to the Kentucky troops, which had been raised for the defence of the frontier. He accepted this invitation, and met Governor Scott at Frankfort; where he was received with the acclamations of the people, and with the highest civil and military honours. These public marks of the high estimation in which Harrison was held by the people, were shortly after followed by proofs still more flattering of their confidence in his patriotism, his abilities, and his military skill.

Governor Scott had levied an armed force of more than five thousand militia and volunteers, commanded by some of the ablest men and most experienced officers in the State. Two thousand of these troops were ordered for immediate service; and they had no sooner learned that they were destined to march to the aid of their fellow-countrymen

on the frontier, than they at once unanimously expressed the most earnest desire to be placed under the command of Governor Harrison. This feeling was responded to by the wishes of the whole mass of the people throughout the State. The laws of Kentucky, however, would not permit any other than a citizen to hold a command in the State militia. In this dilemma, Governor Scott consulted with the venerable Shelby, (the governor elect), the Hon. Henry Clay, and other distinguished citizens of the state, and by their unanimous advice he gave Harrison a brevet commission of major general in the Kentucky militia, with express authority to take command of the gallant troops, about to march to the frontier. This was a bold and unprecedented measure, but one that gave unbounded satisfaction to both soldiers and citizens, and one fully warranted by the peculiar exigencies of the case. These facts speak volumes in favour of the remarkable popularity and great military reputation which Governor Harrison enjoyed in a population of brave and chivalric people, boasting an unusual proportion of highly-gifted and distinguished men.

About this time, the cowardice and imbecility of General Hull tamely surrendered to the British the important post of Detroit, with the gallant force which composed its garrison. This event spread consternation, far and wide, through the western country, and greatly increased the difficulty and arduous nature of Governor Harrison's duties. He immediately, however, organized the brave troops under his command, and commenced a course of rigid discipline and military training; with the confident hope of retrieving the disasters consequent upon the cowardly surrender of Detroit.

But his operations were soon interrupted by the receipt of official letters from the War Department, written in ignorance of the surrender of Hull and of the proceedings in Kentucky, and appointing General Winchester to take command of the forces marching to Detroit. Governor Harrison was, at the same time, appointed Brigadier General in the service of the United States—but he declined to accept this appointment, being desirous that the War Department should first be made aware of the arrangements by which he had received the command of the Kentucky troops. Mean-

while, the army had marched to the north-western frontier of Ohio; and Governor Harrison, having relieved Fort Wayne, which had been besieged by the enemy, and having destroyed the Indian towns on the Elkhart and the Wabash, resigned the command to Winchester, with the intention of returning to Indiana, and resuming the duties of his territorial government.

General Winchester, who had thus taken the chief command, was an old revolutionary soldier, and a brave and meritorious officer; but being less known and less distinguished, he was not, like Harrison, possessed of the enthusiastic confidence of the army. Governor Harrison, nevertheless, exerted every effort in his power to reconcile the troops to this change. But soon after he left them, their displeasure at having been deprived of their favourite commander was not confined to murmurs, but created open disaffection and almost mutiny. The volunteers, especially, were loud in their complaints and expressions of dissatisfaction at the change of commanders—and the troops were at last induced to continue their march, solely by the belief that as soon as the case was rightly understood at Washington, the

command would be restored to Governor Harrison.

This expectation was speedily realized—for no sooner was the President made aware of the condition of the army, and of the almost unanimous wishes of the western people, than he immediately appointed Harrison in place of Winchester, commander-in-chief of the north-western army. The dispatch conveying this appointment, overtook him on his way to Indiana, and, with a small escort, he returned, without delay, to the army.

He arrived at the encampment late at night, but at a very critical moment. A revolt had that day taken place in one of the regiments of Kentucky volunteers, commanded by Colonel Allen, the result of which forcibly evinced the powerful influence General Harrison possessed over the army. He had scarcely arrived, when he was waited upon by Colonel Allen and his second in command, who bore him the mortifying intelligence that their men, exhausted by the hard fare of the campaign, and disappointed in their expectation of an immediate engagement with the enemy, had, in defiance of their duty to their country, and all the earnest and impassioned remonstrances

of their officers, determined to return home. They assured General Harrison that their appeals and representations were answered by insult, and they entreated his instant interference as the only means of bringing the mutineers back to their duty.

The general declined taking any step that night, but gave orders that the next morning the *alarm signal* should be beat instead of the *reveillé*. This adroit expedient brought all the troops to their arms, and they were formed as usual in a hollow square. General Harrison then made his appearance on parade, much to the surprise of the troops, who, from his late arrival in camp, had not been aware of his presence.

With a ready eloquence, he immediately addressed them on the subject of the campaign, and referred to the disaffection that existed in one of the Kentucky regiments. "It was fortunate," he said, "that this discontent had been found out before the campaign was further advanced, when the discovery might have been mischievous to the public interests, as well as disgraceful to the parties concerned. Now, so far as the government was interested, the discontented troops, who had

come into the woods with the expectation of finding all the luxuries of home and of peace, had full liberty to return. He would," he continued, "order facilities to be furnished for their immediate accommodation. But he could not refrain from expressing the mortification he anticipated for the reception they would meet from the young and the old, who had greeted them as their gallant neighbours on their march to the scene of war.

"What must be their feelings," said the general, "to see those whom they had hailed as their generous defenders, now returning without striking a blow, and before their term of plighted service had expired? But if this would be the state of public sentiment in Ohio, what would it be in Kentucky? If their fathers did not drive their degenerate sons back to the field of battle to recover their wounded honour, their mothers and sisters would hiss them from their presence. If, however, the discontented men were disposed to put up with all the taunts and disdain which awaited them wherever they went, they were," General Harrison again assured them, "at full liberty to go back."

The influence of this manly and exciting

address was instantaneous. Colonel Scott, the senior colonel of Kentucky, a war-worn veteran who had served in the armies of Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne, immediately faced his regiment, and said to them,—“ You, my boys, will prove your attachment to the service of your country, and to your general, by giving three cheers.” The air instantly resounded with the shouts of both officers and men. The regiment of Colonel Lewis replied in the same manner to a similar request from their commander; and when, at last, Colonel Allen addressed the soldiers of his regiment in a forcible appeal to their patriotism and returning sense of duty, they, too, responded with the same cheering shouts—and none of the troops behaved more faithfully and gallantly than these during the remainder of their term of service.

The powers conferred on Harrison, as commander-in-chief of the North-western army, were of great extent, and he was left to exercise them according to his own unrestricted judgment. In the dispatch containing this appointment, dated September 17th, 1812, the Secretary of War says:—“ You will command such means as may be practicable—exercise your own discretion, and act in all cases

according to your own judgment,"—thus conferring upon him extraordinary and almost unlimited powers. We refer to this, merely that we may here notice the remarkable fact, that, though vested with unusual powers, General Harrison was never known, during the whole of his command, to exercise his authority in an unjust or oppressive manner. His measures were energetic, but always qualified by his characteristic moderation and humanity, and by a due regard for the feelings of every soldier in his camp.

This appointment, it should be remembered, too, was not obtained by General Harrison by any party or personal influence, but was conferred upon him in compliance with the almost unanimous wishes of the western people; and by a President, who, when Secretary of State under Jefferson, had been in constant correspondence with him in relation to the territorial affairs of Indiana, and had thus enjoyed an ample opportunity of forming a fair estimate of his abilities and qualifications.

The duties that devolved on General Harrison, in his new station, were arduous beyond description. The troops under his command, though brave, were either volunteers for a

limited period of time, or inexperienced and undisciplined recruits; and the army was badly equipped, and nearly destitute of baggage and military stores. The enemy to which he was opposed were tried and disciplined British troops, well supplied with every munition of war, and assisted by a powerful body of Indians under the command of a warrior distinguished for his great sagacity, energy, and daring bravery. With these inadequate means, under these unfavourable circumstances, and with such formidable opponents, he was required to defend an immense extent of frontier, stretching along the shores of the great northern lakes, whose numerous harbours and rivers were easy of access to an enemy, possessed of a fleet sufficiently large to command these waters, and to transport their troops in any direction. In addition to this, the roads leading to those points which most required defence, were nearly impassable, and lay, for hundreds of miles, through a wilderness swarming with hostile Indians, and through gloomy and dangerous swamps, where the troops, though little encumbered with baggage, could advance but slowly, and with great labour. But under all these diffi-

culties, the spirits of the soldiers were sustained by the presence and example of their favourite commander—who animated them in their fatigues, and cheerfully endured the same hardships and privations which they encountered.

The published accounts of our recent war with the Seminoles in Florida, the disastrous details of which have been made but too familiar to us, will convey to our readers some idea of the peculiar dangers and difficulties of this campaign, and of the skill and fortitude required to overcome them. In both cases, we were opposed by the same savage foe, and the country was almost inaccessible from the same causes—its unhealthfulness at that season of the year, and its extensive and treacherous swamps, the passes through which were known only to the hostile Indians by whom they were occupied, with perhaps, in the two cases, but this difference only, that the northern Indians are well known to be much fiercer and more formidable warriors than their southern brethren, and that, during the whole of this campaign, they were kept constantly supplied, by the British, with more effective arms and ammunition.

Yet, undismayed by these dangers and obstacles, General Harrison, wishing to strike an early blow at the enemy, formed the bold and daring design of a winter campaign—hoping, by a rapid and unexpected movement, to re-capture Detroit, take Malden, and perhaps overrun the greater part of Upper Canada. To lessen the difficulty of collecting the necessary supply of provisions and forage, and to form the requisite depôts, he stationed the several corps of his army, at three different points. The left wing, consisting principally of Kentuckians, under the command of General Winchester, he posted at Fort Defiance—the centre, composed of Ohio troops under the command of General Tupper, he stationed at Fort McArthur—and the right wing, consisting of the Pennsylvania and Virginia brigades, was under his own immediate command, at Upper Sandusky. After accumulating supplies of provisions and military stores at these several points, the army was to take up the line of march by three different routes. The left wing was to descend the river from Fort Defiance, the centre to advance along Hull's Trace, the right wing was to cross the *Black Swamp* by a difficult and

dangerous route, and the three corps were to meet and concentrate the entire forces of the army at the Rapids of the Maumee, near Wayne's old battle-ground.

Having made all the arrangements, the general used every effort to hasten the necessary supplies, and meanwhile kept the troops constantly and laboriously employed in building forts, forming depôts, and cutting roads to facilitate his future operations.

The centre and right wing of the army, not being far removed from our settlements, were able to collect provisions with comparative ease; but the left wing, stationed at a more remote distance, found great difficulty in obtaining a sufficient supply even for their own immediate subsistence. Under these circumstances, and ascertaining that he could procure forage in abundance at the Rapids, General Winchester, having received the instructions of General Harrison, determined to move his forces down the Maumee to the appointed place of concentration, without waiting for the co-operation of the centre and right wing of the army. He accordingly, on the 30th of December, took up his line of march for the Rapids. On the same day, a

gallant young volunteer from Kentucky (Mr. Leslie Combs), was sent with a dispatch to apprise General Harrison of this movement. On the day after Mr. Combs had set out with this dispatch, a heavy rain fell, followed immediately by a violent snow storm, which continued without intermission for nearly three days, and covered the ground to the depth of two feet, thus preventing the rain which had first fallen from freezing. On foot, and with but a single guide, his way, which led partly through a wilderness and partly through the Black Swamp, would, under the most favourable circumstances, have been toilsome and dangerous. But the unexpected yet unavoidable difficulties were such, and the circuit he was compelled to make round the morasses so increased the distance (about a hundred miles), that this dispatch was delayed five days longer than had been anticipated. Mr. Combs arrived at his point of destination, Fort McArthur, on the 7th of January, worn out and exhausted with fatigue and privations—neither he nor his guide having tasted food of any kind, for the last three days of their journey. General Tupper at once forwarded this dispatch to General

Harrison, who received it on the 12th of January, and immediately issued orders for sending on a part of the artillery to support General Winchester, and a supply of provisions for his troops.

In the mean time, General Winchester had proceeded down the Maumee to the Rapids, where he arrived on the 10th of January, and encamped at a strong position on the north side of the river, which he fortified.

The first information General Harrison received of Winchester's arrival at this place, came, not from that officer himself, but through an indirect channel. On the evening of the 16th, an express arrived from General Perkins, who then commanded a force at Lower Sandusky, informing Harrison that Winchester had encamped at the Rapids, and had applied to him for a battalion of troops, to aid in *a movement that he was meditating* against the enemy. Alarmed at this intelligence, and dreading disastrous consequences, General Harrison instantly dispatched reinforcements to Winchester, and used every effort to forward him a supply of provisions and military stores.

Soon after Winchester had arrived at the

Rapids, the inhabitants of Frenchtown — a small settlement on the river Raisin, within our territory, sent messages to General Winchester, urgently entreating him to protect them from the large force of British and Indians, assembled at Malden, only eighteen miles distant from their town. By the advice of a council of his officers, Winchester determined to comply with their entreaties, and send on a strong force for their protection. On the 17th, Colonel Lewis and Colonel Allen were detached for this duty, and marched at the head of six hundred and sixty men. The next day, they arrived at the river Raisin, and finding that the forces of the enemy were already in Frenchtown, they attacked them with great gallantry, and after a sharp action, succeeded in dislodging them, and gained possession of the place. The engagement commenced at three o'clock, and the pursuit continued until dusk, when the enemy were driven several miles from the field of action. Flushed with this victory, Colonel Lewis determined to maintain his position, and dispatched an express to General Winchester to apprise him of his intention.

Winchester, on hearing this intelligence,

approved of the decision of Colonel Lewis, and knowing his critical situation, hastened to support him with all his force. He arrived and encamped at Frenchtown on the 20th—but unfortunately, for the first time during the whole campaign, he omitted to fortify his position, and even neglected to station a piquet guard on the road leading to Malden, where the enemy were posted in great strength. The whole of the 21st was suffered to pass away without any of these necessary precautions having been adopted—and on the following morning, the British and Indians from Malden, having advanced unperceived with their entire force, opened a heavy fire of grape-shot upon our troops, from several pieces of artillery, at a distance of not more than three hundred yards from the camp. The troops under Winchester's immediate command, completely taken by surprise and unprotected by any fortification, were soon overpowered by numbers, and forced to retreat in confusion. Winchester, and the intrepid Lewis and Allen, made every effort to rally the fugitives, but in vain. They fled in disorder across the river and to the woods, where the Indians having gained their flank

and rear, pursued and tomahawked them without mercy. General Winchester and some few others were taken prisoners and carried to the British camp.

But a part of Lewis's detachment, who had adopted the precaution to protect their encampment by pickets, still defended their position with great bravery and resolution; until Proctor, the commander of the British force, procured an order from Winchester, commanding them to surrender. As their ammunition was nearly expended, and they had no hope of relief, these heroic troops, though reluctantly, obeyed this order—but not, however, until Proctor had given them an express assurance of protection from the exasperated rage and cruelty of the Indians.

All the prisoners who were able to make the exertion, were marched to Malden; but those who were severely wounded were left behind in the houses at Frenchtown, with the repeated promises of Proctor that they should be protected from the savages, and that, the next morning, sleds should be sent to convey them to Malden. But instead of this, they were left wholly unprotected, and the next day, in place of the sleds, came a party of infuri-

ated Indians, who set fire to the town, burnt the houses, and barbarously murdered all the prisoners in cold blood!

The defeat and massacre at the river Raisin produced a great sensation throughout the Western country, and especially in Kentucky—which state, always foremost in danger, lost some of her most valuable citizens and gallant officers in this disastrous affair. So serious a calamity necessarily excited much discussion with regard to its causes, and as some censure was thrown on those who committed no error, and who were not instrumental in causing the defeat of Winchester, which proved the defeat of the campaign, it is proper that we should proceed to state the measures taken by General Harrison to reinforce General Winchester, and prevent the unfortunate result above related.

On the evening that General Harrison received, though indirectly, the intelligence of General Winchester's contemplated movement against the enemy, as before stated, he immediately dispatched an express to the Rapids for information, gave orders for a corps of three hundred men to hasten on with the artillery, and for escorts to advance, without

delay, with the provisions and military stores. The next morning *he proceeded himself* to Lower Sandusky, at which place he arrived in the night following—having travelled a distance of forty miles in seven hours and a half, over roads requiring such exertion to pass them, that the horse of his aid, Major Hakill, fell dead, from fatigue and exhaustion, on their arrival at the fort. He found there, that General Perkins had prepared to send a battalion to the Rapids, in conformity with a request from General Winchester. That battalion was dispatched the next morning, the 18th, with a piece of artillery; but so bad were the roads, that it was unable, by its utmost exertions, to reach the river Raisin, a distance of seventy-five miles, before the fatal disaster.

General Harrison then determined to proceed to the Rapids himself, to learn personally from General Winchester his situation and views. At four o'clock on the morning of the 19th, while he still remained at Lower Sandusky, he received the information, that Colonel Lewis had been sent with a detachment, to secure the provisions on the river Raisin, and to occupy, with the intention of holding possession of the village of Frenchtown. There

was then but one regiment and a battalion at Lower Sandusky—the regiment was immediately put in motion, with orders to make forced marches for the Rapids, while General Harrison himself immediately proceeded to the same place. On his way, he met an express with intelligence of the victory which had been gained on the preceding day.

The anxiety of General Harrison to push forward, and either prevent, or remedy any misfortune which might occur, as soon as he was apprised of the advance to the river Raisin, was manifested by the great personal exertions which he made in this instance. He started in a sleigh, with General Perkins, to overtake the battalion under Cotgreve, attended only by a single servant. As the sleigh went very slowly, from the roughness of the road, he took the horse of his servant and pushed on alone. Night came upon him in the midst of the swamp, which was so imperfectly frozen, that his horse sank to the saddle-girths at every step. He had then no resource but to dismount and lead his horse, jumping himself from one sod to another. When almost exhausted with the cold and fatigue, the General overtook one of Cotgreve's men, by

whose assistance he was enabled to reach the camp of the battalion.

Very early on the morning of the 20th, General Harrison arrived at the Rapids, from which place General Winchester had gone, on the preceding evening, with all his disposable force, to the river Raisin. On the same day, by a forced march, Cotgreve's battalion reached the Rapids, and was, without delay, hurried on with two pieces of artillery, to the aid of Winchester—and on the evening of the 21st, three hundred Kentuckians, who had been left behind by Winchester, as a garrison, were likewise ordered to march to Frenchtown. The next day intelligence reached the Rapids of Proctor's attack on Winchester's camp, and General Harrison instantly ordered the whole force at that station to be pushed on with all possible expedition, and himself hastened forward to the scene of danger. They were soon, however, met by fugitives from the field of battle, from whom they ascertained the total defeat of Winchester's forces. A council was held of general and field officers, by whom it was decided that it would be imprudent and useless to advance any further. Strong parties were then sent out to protect the fugitives

from the field of battle and from Frenchtown, and the remainder of the troops returned to the Rapids.

It is thus evident that every thing possible, within the control of General Harrison, was done by him to reinforce and aid General Winchester in the dangerous position he had assumed. This expedition of Winchester, to the river Raisin, was highly imprudent, since he advanced within eighteen miles of the headquarters of the enemy, whose forces were strong and daily increasing, and he, at the same time, removed more than thirty miles from the Rapids, the nearest point from which he could possibly have received any assistance. Still the disastrous result that ensued would no doubt have been avoided, had he adopted the ordinary precautions of fortifying his camp, and stationing videttes to give him timely warning of the approach of the enemy. His troops could then, at least, have defended themselves until the arrival of the reinforcements from the Rapids, when the enemy would have been compelled to retreat, or, had they fought, the battle would, in all probability, have terminated in our favour.

After Winchester's defeat, our troops at the

Rapids amounted to less than nine hundred effective men. General Harrison called a council of war, who, supposing that their position would be attacked by the enemy in overwhelming force, unanimously recommended that the army should fall back to Portage River, eighteen miles distant. The next morning, therefore, our troops abandoned the Rapids, and retired to the designated point, which they strongly fortified.

But on the 1st of February, the army, having been reinforced by the arrival of General Leftwich, with the Virginia brigade and a part of the artillery, augmenting their number to eighteen hundred men, again marched to the Rapids. General Harrison, still entertaining a hope to accomplish the great objects of the campaign, during the winter, continued to exert himself unremittingly in making preparations. But the elements seemed to conspire against him. Instead of the severe cold and intense frosts, that usually prevailed in this northern region at this season, and which would have enabled him to move his forces, military stores, and supplies, with comparative ease and celerity, warm rains broke up the roads, and were followed by heavy falls of

snow, which rendered the march of troops exceedingly fatiguing and dangerous, as well as slow, and the conveyance of provisions and heavy munitions of war almost impossible. The unavoidable exposure, too, of the troops to the heavy rains, which kept the encampment almost constantly inundated, the deficiency of proper tents to shelter them, and their want even of sufficient food and clothing, produced pleurisies and much other severe sickness in the camp, and greatly reduced the number of effective men.*

Under these circumstances, General Harrison was at length constrained to abandon, though with much reluctance, all thought of the contemplated expedition to Malden, and he prepared to go into winter quarters at the Rapids. He accordingly selected a good position on the south side of the river, which he strongly fortified, and called Camp Meigs, in

* The General's tent, placed in the centre, happened to be in one of the lowest parts of the encampment, and consequently suffered most from the rain; but, when entreated by his officers to change its position, he refused to do so, declaring that it was necessary that every military man should be satisfied with the situation which, in the course of his duty, fell to his lot.

honour of the patriotic governor of Ohio. Leaving the army at that station, General Harrison proceeded to Cincinnati, to procure reinforcements of men, and supplies of provisions and military stores.

About this time, General Harrison was appointed major-general in the service of the United States. This appointment had been strangely delayed, although General Harrison had been clothed with such extensive powers; and the people of the West, fearing that their favourite commander might therefore resign at the close of this campaign, had called public meetings and sent addresses to the president, requesting him to give Harrison the appointment of major-general, and urging him to accept it—a demonstration of public feeling which soon produced the desired effect.

We should here mention, that while engaged in the various and arduous services of this campaign, General Harrison organized several distinct expeditions against the Indian towns, to keep the hostile savages in check, and protect our extended frontier. One of these expeditions, consisting of a detachment of six hundred men, under the command of Colonel Campbell, was sent against the towns on the

Mississineway, from which our scattering settlements had suffered much annoyance. This enterprise was conducted with great skill, and proved signally successful. The principal town was attacked in the most gallant manner, and after a desperate action of more than an hour, was carried at the point of the bayonet. From the general order issued by Harrison, on the return of this expedition, we make the following extract, which will convey some idea of the humane and generous feelings, that have always characterised both his public and private conduct. After awarding these gallant troops the high meed of praise which their bravery had won, he goes on to say — “But the character of this gallant detachment, exhibiting as it did, perseverance, fortitude, and bravery, would, however, be incomplete, if, in the midst of victory, they had forgotten the feelings of humanity. It is with the sincerest pleasure that the general has heard, that the most punctual obedience was paid to his orders, in not only saving all the women and children, but in sparing all the warriors who ceased to resist; and that even when vigorously attacked by the enemy, the claims of mercy prevailed over every sense

of their own danger, and this heroic band respected the lives of their prisoners. Let an account of murdered innocence be opened in the records of heaven against our enemies alone. The American soldier will follow the example of his government; and the sword of the one will not be raised against the fallen and helpless, nor the gold of the other be paid for the scalps of a massacred enemy." What a contrast do these noble sentiments present to the atrocious conduct of the British General, Proctor—who, at the cruel massacre at Raisin river, and at the Rapids, basely permitted unresisting prisoners of war to be unsparingly butchered, by his savage and remorseless allies.



CHAPTER VIII.

Opening of the second Campaign.—Siege at Fort Meigs.—Its gallant Defence.—Brilliant sortie.—Defeat of Colonel Dudley.—The Siege abandoned.—Second Siege of Fort Meigs.—Attack on Fort Stephenson.

EARLY in the spring, intelligence was received that the British were making extensive preparations, and concentrating a large force

of regular soldiers, Canadians, and Indians, to besiege Fort Meigs.

On obtaining this information, General Harrison hastened to his camp, and exerted the most strenuous efforts, to prepare for this threatened attack of the enemy. His presence cheered the troops, and he inspired them with fresh ardour, on the approach of the enemy, by an eloquent address, in which he alluded modestly, but in the most animating manner, to the neighbouring battle-field, where General Wayne had gained the brilliant victory of the Maumee Rapids, and where he himself had won the brightest of his earlier laurels.

At this time, the garrison of Fort Meigs was much reduced in numbers, and the period for which those who still remained had enlisted, was about to expire. General Harrison therefore looked with great anxiety for the arrival of the strong reinforcement of Kentucky troops, who were approaching with all possible dispatch under General Clay; but whose march had been greatly impeded by the wretched condition of the roads.

On the morning of the 28th of April, the scouts brought in intelligence of the near advance of the enemy. And soon after, on that

day, the British troops were discovered from the fort, ascending the river in vessels and boats, while the Indians, in strong force, were seen approaching, at the same time, by land. The British disembarked and encamped at the old station on the Maumee, nearly two miles below Fort Meigs; and on the night after they landed, they commenced the construction of three powerful batteries, on the north side of the river, directly opposite our camp.

On the first of May, the batteries of the enemy were completed. But to counteract their effect, during the time they had been employed in erecting them, our troops had thrown up a traverse of earth twelve feet in height, and running across the whole extent of the camp. The construction of this traverse, being behind the tents of our camp, had been entirely concealed from the British, but as soon as their batteries began to play, these tents were struck, and to the disappointment of the enemy, our troops were safely withdrawn behind the protection of their new fortification. A severe fire was now opened from the British works, which was returned, with equal vigour and more effect, from the fort. Other batteries were likewise erected by the

enemy, on the southern side of the river, and a heavy cannonading was continued, with scarcely any intermission, for five days. In consequence, however, of the skilful dispositions of General Harrison, very little loss was suffered on our side.

At midnight, on the fourth of May, General Harrison received the welcome intelligence that General Clay with his forces was just above the Rapids, and would arrive at the fort by daybreak of the next morning. Immediately on receiving this information, General Harrison promptly decided to make a bold and vigorous effort to raise the siege, by a simultaneous attack on the enemy's batteries upon both sides of the river. Preparations were at once made for a sortie from the fort, against the British works on the right bank, and an officer was dispatched to General Clay, directing him to land six or eight hundred men about a mile above the fort, on the left bank, with orders to march with great secrecy and rapidity to the assault of the batteries in that quarter, to carry them by storm, spike the cannon and let down the carriages, and then hasten to their boats and cross over to the camp. The sortie from the fort was attended

with great success. The detachment ordered to this service, consisted of three hundred and fifty men, a part of whom were regulars, and the remainder volunteers and Kentucky militia, under the command of Colonel Miller, of the United States' army. These brave troops attacked a body of British regulars and Indians, of more than double their number; but the impetuosity of their charge was irresistible, and after a severe struggle, they drove the enemy from the batteries. They spiked the cannon, took a large number of prisoners, and having fully accomplished their object, returned in triumph to the fort. This sortie was one of the most sanguinary and desperate actions fought during the whole war—and its brilliant success was richly merited, by the intrepid gallantry of the brave troops engaged in the enterprise.

General Clay, after detaching Colonel Dudley with eight hundred men, to attack the batteries on the left bank, descended the river with his troops in boats; and though endangered by the swiftness of the rapids, and strongly opposed by the Indians, he overcame every difficulty, and fought his way, in safety, to the fort.

In the mean time Colonel Dudley's detachment had landed nearly two miles above the enemy's batteries. This movement was so wholly unlooked for, that the attack proved completely successful. The British were taken by surprise, and the gallant Kentuckians charging unexpectedly upon them, put them to flight and carried their batteries without the loss of a man. But though the commencement of this enterprise was so well conducted and so singularly fortunate, its result proved far otherwise. When Dudley attacked the batteries, he threw forward a van-guard, consisting of two companies of spies and friendly Indians, under the command of Captain Leslie Combs, whose bravery and intrepidity in the former campaign, as well as the intimate knowledge of the country which he then acquired, had obtained him, though very young, a command over much older officers. Dudley had directed Combs to take possession of the woods skirting the swamp, to prevent the approach of the Indians from that quarter; but in the hurry and excitement of the moment, he omitted to give any directions to retire to the boats after the storming of the batteries. Combs, in compliance with his orders, posted his men along

the edge of the swamp—a position which they had not long occupied, before they were attacked by outlying parties of Indians, who, every moment increased in numbers. A retreat to the boats might still have been effected by the van-guard, with very inconsiderable loss; but Combs, thinking it necessary, from Dudley's instructions, that he should maintain his position, cheered on his men, who, unaided by any reinforcement, bravely resisted the Indians for some time. By the sacrifice of this small but intrepid body of men, Dudley might even yet have withdrawn the remainder of his troops without much additional loss; but on hearing the report of the Indian rifles, this gallant and high-minded officer, conscious of his omission to give the van-guard the necessary orders to retire to their boats, and hoping to bring them off in safety, hastened at once to their support, leaving Major Shelby with but two companies, in charge of the batteries he had taken. He attacked the Indians with great vigour, and, after a sharp action, succeeded in driving them some distance into the swamp. But, meanwhile, the Indians had been continually crossing over from their main body on the opposite side of the river, until their force had

increased to overwhelming numbers; and Dudley, after repeatedly driving them back by the impetuous charge of his brave Kentuckians, was at last compelled to retreat. He still hoped, however, to make a successful stand against the enemy at the batteries; but on approaching them, he found, to his mortification, that they had been retaken by a superior force of British troops, to whom, finding themselves entirely surrounded by the Indians, the greater part of his men reluctantly surrendered themselves. The brave and generous Dudley himself paid with his life the penalty of his own neglect and thoughtlessness, being killed in this retreat, as were Captain Kilbreath, the second in command to Captain Combs, (who was severely wounded), and several other gallant and meritorious officers. Even after the surrender of our troops, the Indians still continued to tomahawk and scalp them without mercy, in the presence of the British commander and his whole army, until the arrival of Tecumthe, who, less savage than Proctor, instantly put a stop to this barbarous massacre.

About two hundred of the left wing of Dudley's detachment escaped to their boats, and succeeded in reaching the fort; but more than

an eighth part of all the men and officers engaged in this sanguinary contest were killed, and the remainder were taken prisoners. Thus ended, in signal defeat, an enterprise ably planned, and conducted for a time with great skill and bravery, and which promised such entire success. But it must be evident to every one, that had the instructions given to Dudley been obeyed, this misfortune could not have occurred, and the day would have been one of unclouded success and triumph.

Foiled by the skilful dispositions of Harrison, and by the battle, or rather succession of battles, fought on the fifth, Proctor was compelled to abandon the siege of Fort Meigs—and on the eighth of May, he broke up his camp, and retreated in disappointment and disgrace.

Thus terminated the glorious defence of Fort Meigs. Harrison, soon after, left General Clay in command of that important post, and, unwearied in his exertions, proceeded to more difficult and arduous duties, at other exposed stations.

The unceasing efforts of the British, and the restless spirit of Tecumthe, allowed our troops but little time to recover from their se-

vere fatigues. In less than two months after the siege of Fort Meigs had been abandoned, the Indians assembled a formidable body of more than five thousand warriors, under their most noted chiefs, and again invested that fortress. On receiving this intelligence, General Harrison immediately removed his head-quarters to Seneca Town, about nine miles up the Sandusky river, where he constructed a fortified camp. From this position the general could fall back for the protection of his principal depôt at Upper Sandusky, should the enemy endeavour to turn his flank and attack that place; or should the safety of Fort Meigs require it, he could proceed there by an unfrequented route, and cut his way into the fort with a reinforcement. As soon as the arrival of additional troops should render his force strong enough to cope with that of the enemy in the field, he intended to make a descent upon them from this favourable situation, and raise the siege. The enemy, however, remained before Fort Meigs but a few days. On the 28th of July, despairing of success, they again abandoned the siege of this place. The British troops embarked and sailed round to Sandusky Bay, while a large body of their

savage allies marched across the swamps of Portage River to co-operate with them in a combined attack on Fort Stephenson, a temporary depôt at Lower Sandusky.

At this time the enemy had nearly seven thousand men in the field—two thousand of whom were British regulars and Canadians, and the remainder were warriors of the fiercest Indian tribes. The army under General Harrison was greatly inferior in numbers, and it became his duty, as a skilful commander, to withdraw his unimportant outposts, to avoid risking unnecessarily the loss of a single soldier, and to enable him, by concentrating his forces, to hold the enemy in check, at least, if he should not prove strong enough to give him battle. Fort Stephenson was a temporary and unimportant station, and so commanded by the high ground in its neighbourhood, as to be utterly indefensible against heavy artillery—and such, from their command of the lake, the British could easily transport to its attack. Fully aware of this, from having reconnoitred the ground in person, General Harrison, on learning that this station was about to be assailed, thought it proper to withdraw the garrison. He accordingly dispatched an order

to Major Croghan, directing him to abandon Fort Stephenson, and repair, if practicable, to head-quarters—which were still at Seneca Town, nine miles distant. This order was not received by Major Croghan until the following day—when flying parties of the Indians had become so numerous round the fort, that, as Croghan himself stated, it was too late to carry the order into execution, and he decided on maintaining the place. In consequence of this disobedience of orders, Colonel Wells was immediately sent, with a strong escort of cavalry, to take command of Fort Stephenson, and Croghan was ordered to repair forthwith to head-quarters. But on his arrival there, he made such satisfactory explanations to the commander-in-chief, of the situation of the fort, and of his own respectful intentions, that General Harrison at once reinstated him in his command. He returned to his duties the following morning, and on the same day, July 31st, this station was invested by a force of thirteen hundred British regulars and Indians. They attacked the fort with great vigour, and repeatedly attempted to take it by assault—but they were each time defeated, and were at length forced to abandon their attempt,

and retreat in confusion, having lost, in killed and wounded, nearly as many as the entire number of the gallant spirits who defended the fort.

This defence of a position, which General Harrison had ordered to be abandoned, and the fact of his not having immediately advanced upon the enemy, were seized upon, with avidity, by the ignorant and malicious among his political opponents, who industriously circulated the falsest statements and most perverted misrepresentations, in relation to these occurrences. But fortunately, the plain truth soon became so well known, that General Harrison's fair fame suffered no injury from these unfounded calumnies. So many gallant officers as well as honourable and high-minded men bore witness, of their own accord, to the military foresight and wisdom of his measures, that no slander which even the malice of his calumniators could devise, ever darkened, for a moment, his unsullied reputation.

We lay before our readers the following short extracts from an address to the public, relative to this affair, which was voluntarily published by the general, field, and staff-officers, of General Harrison's army. After ex-

pressing their "regret and surprise, that charges as improper in form as in substance, should have been made against General Harrison, during the recent investment of Lower Sandusky," they go on to say:—"He who believes that with our disposable force, and under the circumstance which then occurred, General Harrison ought to have advanced upon the enemy, must be left to correct his opinion in the school of experience.

"On a review of the course then adopted, we are decidedly of the opinion, that it was such as was dictated by military wisdom, and by a due regard to our circumstances and to the situation of the enemy. * * * * And with a ready acquiescence, beyond the mere claims of military duty, we are prepared to obey a general, whose measures meet our most deliberate approbation, and merit that of his country."

The chivalrous and noble-spirited Croghan, who was one of the signers of the above address, about the same time published another paper on this subject, dated from Lower Sandusky, in which he says:—"I have, with much regret, seen in some of the public prints such misrepresentations respecting my refusal to

evacuate this post, as are calculated not only to injure me in the estimation of military men, but also to excite unfavourable impressions as to the propriety of General Harrison's conduct relative to this affair.

“His character as a military man is too well established to need my approbation or support. But his public service entitles him at least to common justice. This affair does not furnish cause of reproach. If public opinion has been lately misled respecting his late conduct, it will require but a moment's cool, dispassionate reflection, to convince them of its propriety. *The measures recently adopted by him, so far from deserving censure, are the clearest proofs of his keen penetration and able generalship.*”

We have dwelt on this passage in the life of General Harrison, somewhat longer than is consistent with the brevity and condensed nature of this work—but the political opponents of General Harrison can find so few points in his whole life, that afford them the slightest apology for censure, that they have been driven to pervert and misrepresent an affair of so simple a nature as this, and one that, in truth, entitled him, as the gallant Croghan

justly says, to the highest commendation. We have therefore thought it no more than common justice to him and to our readers, to lay before them this plain exposition of facts. The wisest and best actions are often misunderstood and perverted by the ignorant or malicious. We trust and believe that the former constitute the larger portion of those who have sought to shadow the fair fame of General Harrison; but while mean and sordid spirits exist, envy and detraction will always pursue exalted merit. Even Washington, the Father of our Country, was intrigued against and calumniated.

Disappointed in their hope of plunder, and dispirited by the numerous defeats they had sustained, the savage allies of the British had become discontented; the second siege of Fort Meigs had been abandoned, and gradually the enemy entirely withdrew from our territory, and concentrated their forces at Malden, their principal stronghold in Upper Canada. It will thus be seen, that the skill with which General Harrison had conducted his defensive operations, the only resource left him in the face of a superior foe, had been eminently successful; and had not only pro-

tected our widely extended frontier, but had eventually forced the enemy to retire, mortified and humbled by defeat, from our country.

During the whole of this interesting campaign, the vigilance and the intrepidity of General Harrison, with the bravery of his soldiers, enabled him to keep a far superior force of the enemy in check, and to protect the wide extent of our exposed frontier. Our forts were ably defended, and our troops gallantly repelled every attack of the enemy, except in some few instances, where they were assailed by an overwhelming force.

CHAPTER IX.

Harrison advises the construction of a fleet on Lake Erie.—Perry's Victory.—Embarkation of the army.—Invasion of Canada.—Pursuit of the enemy.—Battle of the Thames and capture of the British army.—Close of the campaign.—Resignation of General Harrison.

THE activity and enterprise of General Harrison did not long permit the enemy to rest, after their retreat from our territory. He immediately commenced preparations for

carrying the war into their own country, and formed his plan for the capture of Malden, and the conquest of Upper Canada.

During the preceding campaign, in his letters to the War Department, General Harrison had repeatedly urged the great importance of obtaining command of Lake Erie, and the immediate necessity for creating a navy for that purpose. In one of his communications he remarks—"Should our offensive operations be suspended until spring, it is my decided opinion that the cheapest and most effectual plan will be to obtain command of Lake Erie. This being once effected, every difficulty will be removed. An army of four thousand men landed on the north side of the lake, below Malden, will soon reduce that place, re-take Detroit, and, with the aid of the fleet, proceed down the lake to co-operate with the army from Niagara." In several subsequent letters, he again strenuously urged this plan, until the government at length became convinced of the importance of the measure, and determined upon its adoption. At that time we were not in possession of a single armed vessel above the falls of the Niagara. It was now, however, resolved to proceed

vigorously to the forming a fleet on Lake Erie, and the gallant Perry was sent to superintend its building, and to take the command. No effort of activity or skill was spared to hurry the completion and equipment of the vessels; and early in August, Commodore Perry had the satisfaction of finding that he had a fleet fitted for sea and ready for action, nearly equal in force to that of the enemy.

On the 2d of August, he commenced getting his heavier vessels over the bar at the mouth of the harbour at Erie. On the 5th, he sailed for Sandusky Bay. On his arrival there, he sent a dispatch to General Harrison at head-quarters, to obtain a company of soldiers to act as marines. The general visited the fleet accompanied by several of his officers, and sent on board a picked detachment of nearly a hundred and fifty men. Commodore Perry then sailed for Malden, and used every endeavour to bring the British fleet to an engagement. His attempts, for some time, proved ineffectual; but at last he had the good fortune to meet them, on the 10th of September, and fought that celebrated battle, in which, after a severely-contested action, he succeeded in gaining a brilliant

victory and capturing the entire fleet of the enemy. Perry immediately dispatched a messenger to General Harrison, with the following brief but very acceptable note.

“U. S. Brig Niagara, Sept. 10th, 1813.

DEAR GENERAL:—

We have met the enemy and they are ours—two ships, two brigs, one schooner and a sloop.

Yours with great respect and esteem.

OLIVER HAZARD PERRY.”

By a happy coincidence, this glorious event occurred just about the time when General Harrison had matured his plans for the invasion of Canada. On the 27th of September, the troops embarked at Sandusky Bay, and advanced towards Malden, expecting to find the British and Indians encamped there in full force. But upon landing on the Canada shore, they found that Proctor, disheartened by his recent defeats, had abandoned that stronghold, after having destroyed the fort and navy-yard, and had retreated with his regulars and savage allies to Sandwich. This retreat was in opposition to the counsel of Tecumthe, who ad-

vised Proctor to remain protected by his fortifications, and fight our troops as they landed. But the guilty fears of Proctor would not suffer him to accede to this more judicious as well as gallant counsel of his savage ally. Our army encamped at Malden, having at last driven the enemy from their head-quarters, and gained possession of that fortress, from which had issued, for years past, those ruthless bands of savages, which had swept so fiercely over our extended frontier, leaving death and destruction only in their path.

The army advanced rapidly in pursuit of the enemy, who had retreated up the river Thames, to the Moravian Town—a place which is destined to be remembered as the battle-ground of one of the most remarkable and decisive actions fought during the war.

On the evening of the 4th of October, our troops encamped a few miles above the forks of the river; near which place after a slight skirmish with a flying party of Indians, they gained possession of a large quantity of military stores and munitions of war, which the enemy had abandoned in their precipitate retreat. A still larger amount had been destroyed, to prevent their falling into our hands.

A breastwork was then thrown up around the encampment, which proved to have been a necessary precaution; as, during that night, General Proctor and Tecumthe came down the river and reconnoitred our position, with the intention of making an attack before day; but on seeing its strength, and the care taken to guard against surprise, they were discouraged and abandoned their scheme.

On the morning of the 5th, the troops were under arms at an early hour, and as the day dawned, the army was put in motion. The mounted regiment, with general Harrison and his staff at their head, led the van; and the infantry followed as expeditiously as possible, under the command of Governor Shelby of Kentucky, a time-honoured and distinguished veteran of the revolution. By nine o'clock, the advance reached a mill, near which there is a rapid in the river, where it is practicable to ford it on horseback; and at this place General Harrison intended to cross, that he might reach the enemy, who were known to be on the north side. Two gunboats and several batteaux laden with military stores and munitions of war, together with several prisoners, had already been captured that morning,

and at the mill a lieutenant and eight privates were taken, from whom information was received that the enemy had determined to give us battle at no great distance from that place. The infantry soon came up with the mounted men, and the passage of the river was effected by twelve o'clock. Each horseman took up one of the infantry behind him, and the remainder crossed in canoes. As soon as all the troops were over, the line of march was resumed in the former order. At every place where the road touched a bend of the river, boats and canoes were found, with military stores, clothing and provisions which the enemy had abandoned in their precipitate retreat. After advancing about eight miles, an encampment was discovered, which Colonel Warburton had occupied the night before with a part of the British troops; and it was ascertained that General Proctor had reached the Moravian Town, four miles from this place, with a detachment on the preceding day. As it was now certain that the enemy were nearly overtaken, the general directed the advance of the mounted regiment to hasten their march, with a view to procure the necessary information for regulating the

movements of the main body. When they had proceeded about two miles, they captured a British wagoner, who informed them that the enemy were lying in order of battle, only about three hundred yards before them, waiting for the arrival of our army. Our scouts confirmed the report of the wagoner, and the troops were halted and formed in order of battle.

General Proctor, having had his choice of ground, occupied a strong position, well selected to resist the progress of our army. It was flanked on the left by the river Thames, and supported by artillery, and on the right, by two extensive swamps, running nearly parallel to the river and occupied by a strong body of Indians. The British regulars were formed in open order, in two extended lines. The Indians were commanded by Tecumthe in person. Their left flank was posted on the isthmus between the two swamps, and their right extended a considerable distance down the principal marsh.

General Harrison drew up one division of his infantry in a double line reaching from the river to the swamp, opposite to Proctor's troops, and the other division at right angles

to the first, with its front extending along the swamp, with a view of preventing the Indians from turning his left flank and attacking him in the rear. Johnson's mounted regiment was placed in front of the infantry.

The American army advanced in order of battle, and the reconnoitring parties soon brought in exact intelligence of the dispositions Proctor had made. Harrison, with the rapid decision of an able general, saw at once the egregious error of his opponent in forming his regular soldiers in extended line, and instantly took advantage of it. Aware that troops formed in open order could not resist a vigorous charge of cavalry, he immediately ordered Colonel Johnson to form his regiment of mounted men, and dash through the enemy's line, in close column. This charge was rapidly made, and with the most brilliant success. The extended and weakened line of the enemy could offer but a feeble resistance to the charge of these gallant troops, who dashed through their ranks, with overwhelming impetuosity, and wheeling to the right and left, began to pour in a destructive fire upon their rear. Thrown into confusion and disheartened by this bold and unexpected manœuvre,

and panic-struck at being assailed both in front and rear, the British threw down their arms in dismay, and surrendered at discretion. The whole army was captured, with the exception of a few stragglers only, who escaped by an early flight with the cowardly Proctor.

The contest with the Indians on the left, was maintained with more obstinacy. They waited until our columns had advanced within a few paces of their concealed position, when they commenced a heavy fire which cut down nearly the whole of our advanced guard. Their fire was warmly returned by our troops, who formed in line, and for a while a warm conflict was sustained with severe execution on both sides. But the Indians were finally driven from their coverts by a vigorous charge, and forced to retreat into the outer swamp—not however, until they had heard of the entire discomfiture of their allies, and that their leader, Tecumthe, had been slain. The death of this high-spirited and distinguished chief, who possessed to an unusual degree all the nobler qualities of the savage warrior in his better days, destroyed the strength of the northern tribes of Indians

by breaking that bond of union, which his personal influence alone had created, and which therefore terminated with his existence, never again to be renewed to so formidable an extent.

This decisive and important battle was thus fought and won, in a space of time almost incredibly short, and with a very trifling loss only on our side. All the baggage of the enemy, and their valuable military stores and munitions of war, together with the official papers of Proctor, fell into our hands; and several pieces of brass cannon, which had been taken from the British in our revolutionary victories at Saratoga and Yorktown, but which Hull had shamefully surrendered at Detroit, were again captured from our ancient foe.

The united force of the British regulars and Indians engaged in this battle, amounted to more than 2800. The number of our troops was less than 2500; and these were principally militia and volunteers. The venerable Governor Shelby commanded the Kentucky volunteers in this battle, and General Cass, our present Minister to France, and the heroic Perry, acted as volunteer aids to General Harrison.

This brilliant victory, following up the capture of their fleet on Lake Erie by the gallant Perry, entirely destroyed the force of the enemy in Upper Canada, and put an end to the war on our north-western frontier.

Upon this, as well as former expeditions, General Harrison adopted a rule, on all occasions, to favour himself in nothing, but to share equally with the common soldiers the fatigues and hardships of the campaign. A small valise contained all his baggage, except his bedding, which consisted of a single blanket only, fastened over his saddle; and even this he gave to Colonel Evans, a British officer, who was wounded and taken prisoner in this battle. Thirty-five British officers, prisoners of war, supped with General Harrison on the night after the battle, and all the fare he had it in his power to offer them was fresh beef, plainly roasted before a camp fire, without either bread or salt. This had been the food of the army during the expedition, and the rations of the General were always precisely those of the soldiers. On every occasion, indeed, he made it a point to set an example of fortitude and patience to his men, and to share with them every hardship, difficulty, and dan-

ger. Whether encamped or marching, the whole army was regularly under arms at day-break; and, however severe the weather, he never failed to be present, and, indeed, was generally the first officer on horseback in the whole army.

On receiving the glorious news of the victory of the Thames, the thanks of Congress were expressed to General Harrison in the warmest manner—and President Madison in his message, dated on the 7th of the following December, declared that “the officer commanding the North-western army had forced the enemy to a general action, which terminated in the capture of the British and dispersion of the savage force—a result signally honourable to Major-General Harrison, by whose military talents it was performed.”

Among many others, whose grateful feelings found utterance on this occasion, the Hon. Langdon Cheves observed, on the floor of Congress, that—“The victory of Harrison was such as would have secured to a Roman general, in the best days of the Republic, the honours of a triumph.” A sentiment which was fully responded to in the complimentary notices which he received from every part of the

union. Simon Snyder, who was then Governor of Pennsylvania, and the idol of the democracy of that state, said in his address to the Legislature, on this occasion, "*The blessings of thousands of women and children rescued from the scalping-knife of the ruthless savage of the wilderness, and from the still more savage Proctor, REST ON HARRISON and his gallant army.*" But the feelings that prompted these expressions were not confined to those individuals, who, from their station, were more particularly called upon to notice the events of the war—they appeared rather to exist universally throughout the country.

Our army continued to occupy the battleground for two days, employed in burying the dead and collecting the public property of the enemy, of which a large quantity was found at different places. In addition to the artillery already mentioned, and a great variety of military stores, more than 5000 stand of small-arms were captured by our troops or destroyed by the enemy during this expedition. A large number of the latter had been taken from us at the surrender of Detroit, at the massacre of the River Raisin, and at Dudley's defeat; and their recapture was therefore pecu-

liarly grateful to our troops, and more especially to the warm-hearted Kentuckians, many of whom joyfully recognized among the spoils the favourite weapons of their old comrades and less fortunate fellow-soldiers.

On the 7th of October, the different corps of our army commenced their return home, having first embarked the greater part of the property they had captured in boats on the Thames, and set fire to the Moravian Town, a small village occupied chiefly by Delaware Indians, who professed to be of the Moravian sect of religion. On the 10th, all the troops arrived with their prisoners at Sandwich.

In the mean time General Harrison had concluded an armistice with the Indians. A deputation of the Ottawas and Chippewas had sued for peace, which the general granted on condition that they should give up their alliance with the British, and openly declare in favour of the United States, and that they should bring in their families as hostages for their good behaviour. The Miamies and the Potawatomes, who had been our fiercest opponents, likewise solicited a cessation of hostilities, on the same conditions, and agreed to deliver up all their prisoners at Fort Wayne.

Disheartened by our victories on Lake Erie, and at the Thames, and separated from the allies who had given them all their supplies, they were now glad to accept our friendship on any terms that would save them from extermination by famine or the sword.

Having thus entirely defeated the British and subdued the Indians in Upper Canada, General Harrison advanced with a part of his army to the Niagara frontier, and thence to Sackett's Harbour where he left the troops, and proceeded to the seat of government. On his way thither, he passed through New York and Philadelphia; in which cities he was received, by the whole population, with the most flattering marks of public honour and distinction. After the necessary delay of a few days at Washington, General Harrison proceeded to Ohio, where important duties required his presence.

In the plan for the ensuing campaign, to the surprise and regret of the public, General Harrison was designated for a service, far inferior to that which he had a right to expect. Regardless of the memorable victories which this gallant and experienced officer had won, and unmindful of the various and

important services which he had rendered to his country, the Secretary of War, the notorious John Armstrong, saw fit to assign to him the command of a district, where he would be compelled to remain inactive, while others were appointed to those more arduous duties, which he had heretofore fulfilled with so much honour to himself, and to the nation. As if still unsatisfied with this egregious insult which he had offered to General Harrison, the Secretary of War, on the 25th of April, 1814, appointed a subordinate officer to a separate command within his district, and notified him to that effect. On the receipt of this notification, General Harrison instantly sent in his resignation to the Secretary of War, and at the same time addressed a letter on the subject to President Madison, couched in such simple yet manly language, and expressive of such noble sentiments, that we cannot refrain from quoting it.

“I have this day,” said General Harrison, “forwarded to the Secretary of War my resignation of the commission I hold in the army.

“This measure has not been determined on, without a reference to all the reasons which

should influence a citizen who is sincerely attached to the honour and interests of his country, who believes that the war in which we are engaged is just and necessary; and that the crisis requires the sacrifice of every private consideration, which could stand in opposition to the public good. But after giving this subject a most mature consideration, I am perfectly convinced that my retiring from the army is as compatible with the claims of patriotism, as it is with those of my family, and a proper regard for my own feelings and honour.

“I have no other motive for writing this letter, than to assure you, that my resignation was not produced by any diminution of the interest which I have always taken in the success of your administration, or of respect and attachment for your person. The former can only take place when I forget the republican principles in which I have been educated, and the latter, when I shall cease to regard those feelings which must actuate every honest man, who is conscious of favours that it is out of his power to repay.”

As soon as Governor Shelby heard of the resignation of General Harrison, he lost no

time in addressing the president in his usual forcible terms, to prevent its being accepted; but unfortunately for the public interests, the president was then on a visit to Virginia, to which place the letters from General Harrison and Governor Shelby were forwarded, and that of the latter was not received until after Secretary Armstrong, *without the previous consent of the president*, had assumed to himself the high prerogative of accepting the resignation. The president expressed his great regret that the letter of Governor Shelby had not been received earlier, as in that case the valuable services of General Harrison would have been preserved to the nation in the ensuing campaign.

In this resignation, General Harrison displayed the true patriotism and disinterestedness, which have always marked his conduct. He would cheerfully have devoted his services to his country, even in an appointment inferior to that which should have been assigned to him; but he was too high-principled to retain his rank, by yielding assent to a measure, which he considered to be subversive of military order and discipline; and though his own fortune had been shattered by

the neglect of his private affairs, for the benefit of the public, and it would therefore have been exceedingly convenient to have retained the rank and pay of a major general; yet he scorned to receive the emoluments of his office, when he was no longer permitted to perform its duties actively and honourably.

It would be difficult at this period, to trace out the true motives that induced the Secretary of War to the unjustifiable course he pursued in this affair. But some knowledge of those events of the war in which he bore a part, with a little insight into human nature, would suggest that the leading causes which prompted him, were the envy and jealousy, which a narrow-minded man would naturally feel, on contrasting his own feeble efforts, and abortive attempts, with the consummate skill, the brilliant victories, and the almost uniform successes of another. That he had acted in an arbitrary and unwarrantable manner, was afterwards clearly proved.—And in the investigation which took place in Congress in the winter of 1816–17, it became so evident that General Harrison had been treated with great injustice by the war department, that a resolution, giving him a gold medal and the thanks

of Congress, was passed, with but one dissenting voice in both houses of Congress.

The leading events in the campaign of 1812-13,—the gallant defence of Fort Meigs, and the decisive victory of the Thames, are lasting memorials of General Harrison's military genius. Yet, for those isolated actions, he deserves far less praise than for the skilful operations and the Fabian policy, which led to these and other successes. The prudent care and indefatigable exertions, by which he provided for his army in a wild and almost impassable country—the promptness and unwearied activity, with which he met and defeated the schemes of his antagonists—and the admirable skill, with which he held in check an enemy far superior in numbers, and with a small force protected an extended line of frontier, and guarded the lives and property of thousands of his fellow-citizens, betokened a genius of the highest order, with a vigorous mind constantly on the alert.

CHAPTER X.

Appointment of General Harrison as Commissioner to treat with the Indians.—His election to Congress.—Is chosen a Senator of the State Legislature.—His election to the Senate of the United States.—Is appointed Minister to Colombia.—His Letter to Bolívar.—His recall.—His personal appearance and private Character.—His Letter to Harmar Denny.

Soon after the resignation of General Harrison, in the summer of 1814, President Madison evinced an unabated confidence in his abilities and integrity by appointing him to treat with the Indians, in conjunction with his old companions in arms, Governor Shelby and General Cass. In the following year, he was placed at the head of another commission, appointed to treat with the north-western tribes. The honourable and advantageous treaties made in both these cases, afforded new instances of the unfailing success, that has always attended General Harrison's negotiations with the Indians.

In 1816, he was elected, by a large majority, a member of the House of Representatives in Congress, from Ohio. During the following session, there occurred in the House

of Representatives the interesting and celebrated debate on the conduct of General Jackson in the Seminole war—on which occasion, General Harrison delivered an able and eloquent speech. He praised General Jackson for his gallantry; defended such of his acts as he thought right, and gave him credit for patriotic motives; but he voted in favour of the resolution to censure him for the unwarrantable power he had assumed in taking possession of the Spanish posts. This speech and vote were never forgiven by General Jackson.

General Harrison continued to serve in the House of Representatives of the United States, greatly to his own honour and to the satisfaction of his constituents, until 1819; when, on the expiration of his term of service, he was chosen to the Senate of the State Legislature.

In 1824, General Harrison was elected a Senator of the United States; and soon after taking his seat was appointed Chairman of the Military Committee, in place of General Jackson, who had resigned. While serving in this high station, he commanded universal respect. His views as a statesman were liberal and extended,—his remarkable readiness in debate soon rendered him a prominent member,—

and the nervous and impassioned eloquence, and classical felicity of illustration, with which he enforced his arguments, gained him much influence.

As Chairman of the Military Committee, General Harrison introduced a bill for the prevention of desertion in the army. This object, with his customary and generous humanity, he proposed to effect, not by increasing the punishment, but by raising the moral character of the army; by elevating the grade of the non-commissioned officer; by increasing his pay and responsibility; and by holding out additional inducements to the common soldier to perform his duty faithfully. He likewise devoted himself warmly to the subject of military pensions; and endeavoured to procure the passage of a uniform law embracing the cases of all those who then were, or who should be deserving of that species of honourable reward and justice from their country. His efforts, on this occasion, in favour of the surviving soldiers of the revolution, will not soon be forgotten by the descendants of those heroes.

In 1828, General Harrison was appointed by President Adams, envoy extraordinary and

minister plenipotentiary to the Republic of Colombia. He accepted this appointment, and proceeding immediately upon his mission, landed at Maracaybo on the 22d of December, in that year, and thence repaired to Bogotá, the capital of Colombia. He was received with the most flattering demonstrations of respect; but his liberal ideas, his stern integrity, and the plain republican simplicity of his dress and manners, were too strongly in contrast with the arbitrary opinions, and the ostentatious display of the Court at Bogotá, to permit him long to remain a favourite with the public officers and the courtiers of the Colombian Government. They soon began to fear that the people would perceive the difference between a real and a pretended patriot, and that a comparison so disadvantageous to themselves might perhaps seriously interfere with their grasping ambition for the future. But though too honest and pure-minded to be a favourite at this court, General Harrison's intelligence, his strict attention to the duties of his office, and his manly and gallant bearing commanded universal respect.

The Republic of Colombia was at that time in a very deplorable condition; the people

were ignorant of their rights, and almost in a state of anarchy; and Bolívar was apparently about to assume the despotic power of a military dictator. Shocked at this state of things, General Harrison, with the frankness of an old soldier, wrote his celebrated letter to Bolívar, not in his diplomatic capacity, but as a personal friend, and addressed him in a strain of noble and thrilling eloquence which has rarely been equalled. So chaste and vigorous is the language of this letter, and so deeply is it imbued with the purest and most exalted sentiments of republican freedom, that, limited as our space is, we cannot refrain from giving it to our readers entire.

“ Bogotá, 27th September, 1829.

SIR:—

If there is any thing in the style, the matter, or the object, of this letter, which is calculated to give offence to your Excellency, I am persuaded you will readily forgive it, when you reflect on the motives which induced me to write it. An old soldier could possess no feelings but those of the kindest character, towards one who has shed so much lustre on the profession of arms; nor can a

citizen of the country of Washington cease to wish that, in Bolívar, the world might behold another instance of the highest military attainments united with the purest patriotism, and the greatest capacity for civil government.

Such, sir, have been the fond hopes, not only of the people of the United States, but of the friends of liberty throughout the world. I will not say that your Excellency has formed projects to defeat these hopes. But there is no doubt, that they have not only been formed, but are, at this moment, in progress to maturity, and openly avowed by those who possess your entire confidence. I will not attribute to these men impure motives; but can they be disinterested advisers? Are they not the very persons who will gain most by the proposed change?—who will, indeed, gain all that is to be gained, without furnishing any part of the equivalent? That *that*, the price of their future wealth and honours, is to be furnished exclusively by yourself? And of what does it consist? Your great character. Such a one, that, if a man were wise, and possessed of the empire of the Cæsars in its best days, he would give all to obtain. Are you pre-

pared to make this sacrifice, for such an object?

I am persuaded that those who advocate these measures, have never dared to induce you to adopt them, by any argument founded on your personal interests; and that, to succeed, it would be necessary to convince you that no other course remained, to save the country from the evils of anarchy. This is the question, then, to be examined.

Does the history of this country, since the adoption of the constitution, really exhibit unequivocal evidence that the people are unfit to be free? Is the exploded opinion of a European philosopher, of the last age, that "in the new hemisphere, man is a degraded being," to be renewed, and supported by the example of Colombia? The proofs should, indeed, be strong, to induce an American to adopt an opinion so humiliating.

Feeling always a deep interest in the success of the revolutions in the late Spanish America, I have never been an inattentive observer of events pending, and posterior to the achievement of its independence. In these events, I search in vain for a single fact to show that, in Colombia at least, the state of

society is unsuited to the adoption of a free government. Will it be said that a free government did exist, but, being found inadequate to the objects for which it had been instituted, it has been superseded by one of a different character, with the concurrence of a majority of the people?

It is the most difficult thing in the world for me to believe that a people in the possession of their rights as freemen, would ever be willing to surrender them, and submit themselves to the will of a master. If any such instances are on record, the power thus transferred has been in a moment of extreme public danger, and then limited to a very short period. I do not think that it is by any means certain, that the majority of the French people favoured the elevation of Napoleon to the throne of France. But, if it were so, how different were the circumstances of that country from those of Colombia, when the constitution of Cucuta was overthrown! At the period of the elevation of Napoleon to the first consulate, all the powers of Europe were the open or secret enemies of France—civil war raged within her borders; the hereditary king possessed many partisans in every pro-

vince; the people, continually betrayed by the factions which murdered and succeeded each other, had imbibed a portion of their ferocity, and every town and village witnessed the indiscriminate slaughter of both men and women, of all parties and principles. Does the history of Colombia, since the expulsion of the Spaniards, present any parallel to these scenes? Her frontiers have been never seriously menaced—no civil war raged—not a partisan of the former government was to be found in the whole extent of her territory—no factions contended with each other for the possession of power; the executive government remained in the hands of those to whom it had been committed by the people, in a fair election. In fact, no people ever passed from under the yoke of a despotic government, to the enjoyment of entire freedom, with less disposition to abuse their newly acquired power, than those of Colombia. They submitted, indeed, to a continuance of some of the most arbitrary and unjust features which distinguished the former government. If there was any disposition, on the part of the great mass of the people, to effect any change in the existing order of things; if the Colombians act

from the same motives and upon the same principles which govern mankind elsewhere, and in all ages, they would have desired to take from the government a part of the power, which, in their inexperience, they had confided to it. The monopoly of certain articles of agricultural produce, and the oppressive duty of the Alcavala, might have been tolerated, until the last of their tyrants were driven from the country. But when peace was restored, when not one enemy remained within its borders, it might reasonably have been supposed that the people would have desired to abolish these remains of arbitrary government, and substitute for them some tax more equal and accordant with republican principles.

On the contrary, it is pretended that they had become enamoured with these despotic measures, and so disgusted with the freedom they did enjoy, that they were more than willing to commit their destinies to the uncontrolled will of your Excellency. Let me assure you, sir, that these assertions will gain no credit with the present generation, or with posterity. They will demand the facts which induced a people, by no means deficient in intelligence, so soon to abandon the principles

for which they had so gallantly fought, and tamely surrender that liberty, which had been obtained at the expense of so much blood. And what facts can be produced? It cannot be said that life and property were not as well protected under the republican government, as they have ever been; nor that there existed any opposition to the constitution and laws, too strong for the ordinary powers of the government to put down.

If the insurrection of General Paez, in Venezuela, is adduced, I would ask, by what means was he reduced to obedience? Your Excellency, the legitimate head of the republic, appeared, and, in a moment, all opposition ceased, and Venezuela was restored to the republic. But, it is said, that this was effected by your personal influence, or the dread of your military talents, and that, to keep General Paez, and other ambitious chiefs, from dismembering the republic, it was necessary to invest your Excellency with the extraordinary powers you possess. There would be some reason in this, if you had refused to act without these powers; or, having acted as you did, you had been unable to accomplish any thing without them. But you succeeded

completely, and there can be no possible reason assigned, why you would not have succeeded, with the same means, against any future attempt of General Paez, or any other general.

There appears, however, to be one sentiment, in which all parties unite; that is, that, as matters now stand, you alone can save the country from ruin, at least, from much calamity. They differ, however, very widely, as to the measures to be taken to put your Excellency in the way to render this important service. The lesser, and more interested party, is for placing the government in your hands for life; either with your present title, or with one which, it must be confessed, better accords with the nature of the powers to be exercised. If they adopt the less offensive title, and if they weave into their system some apparent checks to your will, it is only for the purpose of masking, in some degree, their real object; which is nothing short of the establishment of a despotism. The plea of necessity, that eternal argument of all conspirators, ancient or modern, against the rights of mankind, will be resorted to, to induce you to accede to their measures; and the unsettled

state of the country, which has been designedly produced by them, will be adduced as evidence of that necessity.

There is but one way for your Excellency to escape from the snares which have been so artfully laid to entrap you, and that is, to stop short in the course which, unfortunately, has been already commenced. Every step you advance, under the influence of such councils, will make retreat more difficult, until it will become impracticable. You will be told that the intention is only to vest you with authority to correct what is wrong in the administration, and to put down the factions, and that, when the country once enjoys tranquillity, the government may be restored to the people. Delusive will be the hopes of those who rely upon this declaration. The promised hour of tranquillity will never arrive. If events tended to produce it, they would be counteracted by the government itself. It was the strong remark of a former President of the United States, that, "Sooner will the lover be contented with the first smiles of his mistress, than a government cease to endeavour to preserve and extend its powers." With whatever reluctance your Excellency may commence

the career ; with whatever disposition to abandon it, when the objects for which it was commenced have been obtained ; when once fairly entered, you will be borne along by the irresistible force of pride, habit of command, and, indeed, of self-preservation, and it will be impossible to recede.

But, it is said, that it is for the benefit of the people that the proposed change is to be made ; and that by your talents and influence, alone, aided by unlimited power, the ambitious chiefs in the different departments are to be restrained, and the integrity of the republic preserved. I have said, and I most sincerely believe, that, from the state into which the country has been brought, you alone can preserve it from the horrors of anarchy. But I cannot conceive that any extraordinary powers are necessary. The authority to see that the laws are executed ; to call out the strength of the country, to enforce their execution, is all that is required, and is what is possessed by the Chief Magistrate of the United States, and of every other republic ; and is what was confided to the executive, by the constitution of Cucuta. Would your talents or your energies be impaired in the

council, or the field, or your influence lessened, when acting as the head of a republic?

I propose to examine, very briefly, the results which are likely to flow from the proposed change of government: 1st, in relation to the country; and 2d, to yourself, personally. Is the tranquillity of the country to be secured by it? Is it possible for your Excellency to believe, that when the mask has been thrown off, and the people discover that a despotic government has been fixed upon them, they will quietly submit to it? Will they forget the pass-word which, like the cross of fire, was the signal for rallying to oppose their former tyrants? Will the virgins, at your bidding, cease to chaunt the songs of liberty, which so lately animated the youth to victory? Was the patriotic blood of Colombia all expended in the fields of Vargas, Bayaca, and Carebobo? The schools may cease to enforce upon their pupils the love of country, drawn from the examples of Cato and the Bruti, Harmodius and Aristogiton; but the glorious example of patriotic devotion, exhibited in your own hacienda, will supply their place. Depend on it, sir, that the moment which shall announce the continuance

of arbitrary power, in your hands, will be the commencement of commotions which will require all your talents and energies to suppress. You may succeed. The disciplined army, at your disposal, may be too powerful for an unarmed, undisciplined, and scattered population; but one unsuccessful effort will not content them, and your feelings will be eternally racked by being obliged to make war upon those who have been accustomed to call you their father, and to invoke blessings on your head, and for no cause but their adherence to principles which you yourself had taught them to regard more than their lives.

If by the strong government which the advocates for the proposed change so strenuously recommend, one without responsibility is intended, which may put men to death, and immure them in dungeons, without trial, and one where the army is every thing, and the people nothing, I must say, that, if the tranquillity of Colombia, is to be preserved in this way, the wildest anarchy would be preferable. Out of that anarchy a better government might arise; but the chains of military despotism once fas-

tened upon a nation, ages might pass away before they could be shaken off.

But I contend that the strongest of all governments is that which is most free. We consider that of the United States as the strongest, precisely because it is the most free. It possesses the faculties, equally to protect itself from foreign force or internal convulsion. In both, it has been sufficiently tried. In no country upon earth, would an armed opposition to the laws be sooner or more effectually put down. Not so much by the terrors of the guillotine and the gibbet, as from the aroused determination of the nation, exhibiting their strength, and convincing the factious that their cause was hopeless. No, sir, depend upon it, that the possession of arbitrary power, by the government of Colombia, will not be the means of securing its tranquillity; nor will the danger of disturbances solely arise from the opposition of the people. The power, and the military force which it will be necessary to put in the hands of the governors of the distant provinces, added to the nature of the country, will continually present to those officers the temptation, and the means of revolt.

Will the proposed change restore prosperity to the country? With the best intentions to do so, will you be able to recall commerce to its shores and give new life to the drooping state of agriculture? The cause of the constant decline, in these great interests, cannot be mistaken. It arises from the fewness of those who labour, and the number of those who are to be supported by that labour. To support a swarm of luxurious and idle monks, and an army greatly disproportioned to the resources of the country, with a body of officers, in a tenfold degree disproportioned to the army, every branch of industry is oppressed with burdens which deprive the ingenious man of the profits of his ingenuity, and the labourer of his reward. To satisfy the constant and pressing demands which are made upon it, the treasury seizes upon every thing within its grasp—destroying the very germ of future prosperity. Is there any prospect that these evils will cease with the proposed change? Can the army be dispensed with? Will the influence of the monks be no longer necessary? Believe me, sir, that the support which the government derives from

both these sources, will be more than ever requisite.

But the most important inquiry is, the effect which this strong government is to have upon the people themselves. Will it tend to improve and elevate their character, and fit them for the freedom which it is pretended is ultimately to be bestowed upon them? The question has been answered from the age of Homer. Man does not learn under oppression those noble qualities and feelings which fit him for the enjoyment of liberty. Nor is despotism the proper school in which to acquire the knowledge of the principles of republican government. A government whose revenues are derived from diverting the very sources of wealth from its subjects, will not find the means of improving the morals and enlightening the minds of the youth, by supporting the systems of liberal education; and, if it could, it would not.

In relation to the effect which this investment of power is to have upon your happiness and your fame, will the pomp and glitter of a court, and the flattery of venal courtiers, reward you for the troubles and anxieties attendant upon the exercise of sovereignty,

every where, and those which will flow from your peculiar situation? Or power, supported by the bayonet, for that willing homage which you were wont to receive from your fellow-citizens? The groans of a dissatisfied and oppressed people will penetrate the inmost recesses of your palace, and you will be tortured by the reflection, that you no longer possess that place in their affections, which was once your pride and your boast, and which would have been your solace under every reverse of fortune. Unsupported by the people, your authority can be maintained, only, by the terrors of the sword and the scaffold. And have these ever been successful under similar circumstances? Blood may smother, for a period, but can never extinguish the fire of liberty, which you have contributed so much to kindle, in the bosom of every Colombian.

I will not urge, as an argument, the personal dangers to which you will be exposed. But I will ask if you could enjoy life, which would be preserved by the constant execution of so many human beings—your countrymen, your former friends, and almost your worshippers. The pangs of such a situation will

be made more acute, by reflecting on the hallowed motive of many of those who would aim their daggers at your bosom;—that, like the last of the Romans, they would strike, not from hatred to the man, but love to the country.

From a knowledge of your own disposition, and present feelings, your Excellency will not be willing to believe, that you could ever be brought to commit an act of tyranny, or even to execute justice with unnecessary rigour. But trust me, sir, that there is nothing more corrupting, nothing more destructive of the noblest and finest feelings of our nature, than the exercise of unlimited power. The man who, in the beginning of such a career, might shudder at the idea of taking away the life of a fellow-being, might soon have his conscience so seared by the repetition of crime, that the agonies of his murdered victims might become music to his soul, and the drippings of his scaffold afford “blood enough to swim in.” History is full of such examples.

From this disgusting picture, permit me to call the attention of your Excellency to one of a different character. It exhibits you as the constitutional chief magistrate of a free

people, giving to their representatives the influence of your great name and talents, to reform the abuses which, in a long reign of tyranny and misrule, have fastened upon every branch of the administration. The army, and its swarm of officers, reduced within the limits of real usefulness, placed on the frontiers, and no longer permitted to control public opinion, and be the terror of the peaceful citizen. By the removal of this incubus from the treasury, and the establishment of order, responsibility, and economy, in the expenditures of the government, it would soon be enabled to dispense with the odious monopolies, and the duty of the *Alcavala*, which have operated with so malign an effect upon commerce and agriculture, and, indeed, upon the revenues which they were intended to augment. No longer oppressed by these shackles, industry would everywhere revive: the farmer and the artisan, cheered by the prospect of ample reward for their labour, would redouble their exertions: foreigners, with their capital and skill in the arts, would crowd hither, to enjoy the advantages which would scarcely elsewhere be found: and Colombia would soon exhibit the reality of the beautiful fiction of Fenelon—

Salentum rising from misery and oppression to prosperity and happiness, under the councils and direction of the concealed goddess.

What objection can be urged against this course? Can any one, acquainted with the circumstances of the country, doubt its success in restoring and maintaining tranquillity? The people would certainly not revolt against themselves; and none of the chiefs who are supposed to be factiously inclined, would think of opposing the strength of the nation, when directed by your talents and authority. But it is said, that the want of intelligence amongst the people unfits them for the government. Is it not right, however, that the experiment should be fairly tried? I have already said, that this has not been done. For myself, I do not hesitate to declare my firm belief that it will succeed. The people of Colombia possess many traits of character suitable for a republican government. A more orderly, forbearing, and well-disposed people are nowhere to be met with. Indeed, it may safely be asserted, that their faults and vices are attributable to the cursed government to which they have been so long subjected, and to the intolerant character of the religion,

whilst their virtues are all their own. But, admitting their present want of intelligence, no one has ever doubted their capacity to acquire knowledge, and under the strong motives which exist, to obtain it: supported by the influence of your excellency, it would soon be obtained.

To yourself the advantage would be as great as to the country; like acts of mercy, the blessings would be reciprocal; your personal happiness secured, and your fame elevated to a height which would leave but a single competitor in the estimation of posterity. In bestowing the palm of merit the world has become wiser than formerly. The successful warrior is no longer regarded as entitled to the first place in the temple of fame. Talents of this kind have become too common, and too often used for mischievous purposes, to be regarded as they once were. In this enlightened age, the mere hero of the field, and the successful leader of armies, may for the moment attract attention. But it will be such as is bestowed upon the passing meteor, whose blaze is no longer remembered, when it is no longer seen. To be esteemed eminently great, it is necessary to be eminently

good. The qualities of the hero and the general must be devoted to the advantage of mankind, before he will be permitted to assume the title of their benefactor; and the station which he will hold in their regard and affections will depend, not upon the number and the splendour of his victories, but upon the results and the use he may make of the influence he acquires from them.

If the fame of our Washington depended upon his military achievements, would the common consent of the world allow him the pre-eminence he possesses? The victories at Trenton, Monmouth and York, brilliant as they were, exhibiting, as they certainly did, the highest grade of military talents, are scarcely thought of. The source of the veneration and esteem which are entertained for his character, by every description of politicians — the monarchist and aristocrat, as well as the republican, is to be found in his undeviating and exclusive devotedness to the interest of his country. No selfish consideration was ever suffered to intrude itself into his mind. For his country he conquered; and the unrivalled and increasing prosperity of that country is constantly adding fresh glory to his

name. General, the course which he pursued is open to you, and it depends upon yourself to attain the eminence which he has reached before you.

To the eyes of military men, the laurels you won on the fields of Vargas, Bayaca and Carobobo will be for ever green; but will that content you? Are you willing that your name should descend to posterity, amongst the mass of those whose fame has been derived from shedding human blood, without a single advantage to the human race? Or shall it be united to that of Washington, as the founder and the father of a great and happy people? The choice is before you. The friends of liberty throughout the world, and the people of the United States in particular, are waiting your decision with intense anxiety. Alexander toiled and conquered to attain the applause of the Athenians; will you regard as nothing the opinions of a nation which has evinced its superiority over that celebrated people, in the science most useful to man, by having carried into actual practice a system of government of which the wisest Athenians had but a glimpse in theory, and considered as a blessing never to be realized, however ardently to be

desired? The place which you are to occupy in their esteem depends upon yourself. Farewell.

W. H. HARRISON.

General Harrison remained in Colombia but a short time—as General Jackson, on coming into power, availed himself of the earliest opportunity to evince the resentment which the remembrance of Harrison's speech on the Seminole war had left still rankling in his bosom, by recalling him from this mission almost immediately after he had taken possession of the Presidential chair.

Since the return of General Harrison from Colombia, he has lived in comparative retirement, upon his farm at North Bend, on the Ohio, about fifteen miles below Cincinnati. With the most enticing opportunities of accumulating wealth, during his long government of Indiana, and superintendency of Indian affairs, he acquired none; his honest and scrupulous integrity were proof against the golden temptations. His time and best energies were devoted to the service of his country, and his own interests were ever, with him, a secondary consideration. He even, when Governor

of Indiana, greatly diminished the usual emoluments of such an office, by refusing to accept any of those fees, whether as governor or superintendent of Indian Affairs, which, before his time, had been customarily paid. For his services as commander of the expedition to Tippecanoe, he never asked nor received any compensation. And subsequently, when in command of our North-western army, though he lived as frugally and fared as hardly as any of his fellow-citizens in the ranks, yet, at his own expense, he purchased clothing and necessary comforts for his sick and wounded soldiers, until he not only exhausted his pay as commander-in-chief, but seriously encroached too on his own private means. He therefore retired without the spoils of office, and with only a competency barely sufficient for his support; but rich in what he esteemed of far greater value—in a reputation undimmed by a single tarnish, and in the honour and respect of all his fellow-citizens.

We cannot refrain here from alluding to a circumstance which evinces the peculiar delicacy and honour which have always swayed General Harrison in his pecuniary transactions. A few years ago, it was ascertained

that a large tract of land near Cincinnati which had been sold some time before for a mere trifle, under an execution against the original proprietor, could not be held by the titles derived from the purchasers, on account of some irregularity in the proceedings. The legal title was in General Harrison and another gentleman, who were the heirs at law. This tract of land was exceedingly valuable and would have constituted a princely estate for both these heirs, had they chosen to insist on their legal rights—or they might have made some amicable arrangement with the purchasers, to which they would gladly have assented, and have retained at least one half of this property, by giving up the remainder. But General Harrison had never yet suffered his interest to blind his true sense of justice and high-minded honour, nor did he in this instance. On being informed of the situation of this property, he obtained the assent of his co-heir, and immediately executed deeds in fee simple to the purchasers, without claiming any consideration except the trifling difference between the actual value of the land when sold and the amount paid at the sheriff's sale. There were in this tract, too, twelve acres of

General Harrison's private property by donation from his father-in-law, which had been improperly included in the sale, and which he might have retained both legally and equitably—but such was his nice sense of honour and scrupulous regard for the rights of others, that he suffered even these twelve acres to be included in the deed given to the purchasers. This portion of the land thus relinquished by General Harrison is now worth more than one hundred thousand dollars!

In person, General Harrison is tall and slender; his features are irregular, but bold and strongly marked; his eyes are dark, keen, and penetrating, his forehead is high and expansive, his mouth peculiarly denotes firmness and genius, and the expression of his countenance is highly indicative of intelligence and benevolence of character. From early manhood he has never had the appearance of possessing a robust constitution, but from the activity and temperate habits of his past life, few men at his age enjoy their moral and physical energies in such remarkable vigour. His manners are plain, frank, and unassuming, and his disposition is cheerful, kind, and generous, almost to a fault. In his private intercourse he

is beloved and esteemed by all who know him. In the various civil and military offices he has held, he has always been moderate and forbearing, yet firm and true to his trust. No other commander has ever been more popular with our militia; and the true secret of this cannot be better explained than by his own reply, when asked how he had gained this influence: "By treating them," said he, "with affection and kindness; by always recollecting that they were my fellow-citizens, whose feelings I was bound to respect; and by sharing with them, on every occasion, the hardships which they were obliged to undergo."

His suavity of manners, his generosity and kindness of heart, invariably won him the warm affections of those who were placed under his authority; while his moderation, his disinterestedness, his scrupulous attention to the public interests, and the wisdom with which he exercised the extensive powers entrusted to him, commanded the respect and confidence of his fellow-citizens.

General Harrison is likewise strictly and truly *a pious man*. Though he has always been noted for his particular attention to public worship and Christian offices, yet religion

with him has not been a Sabbath-day garment only, but rather an every-day familiar habit—not a mere sense of incumbent duty, but a warm and spontaneous feeling, kindled into life in his early youth, and forming the hope and firm reliance of his manhood and declining years. The writer of this biography deems it no betrayal of confidence to say that he has more than once, on entering at day-break the chamber of General Harrison, found him on his knees at his bedside, absorbed in his devotions to his Maker, when he could not have supposed that any eye save that of his God was resting on him.

An incident, which occurred in Philadelphia on the visit of General Harrison to that city, in 1836, will serve, in some measure, to illustrate the peculiar depth and single-heartedness of his truly Christian and devotional feelings. On the evening preceding the only Sabbath he then spent in that city, he was visited by two of his warm political friends, who stated to him, that as there were in Philadelphia two religious sects which comprised a much larger number of followers than any others, they thought it would be *good policy* in him to attend divine service at a church of one of these

sects in the morning, and at a church of the other in the afternoon—and that they had, therefore, made arrangements to that effect. His reply was singularly characteristic. “Gentlemen,” said he, after a moment’s pause, “I thank you sincerely for your kindness, and regret only that I cannot take advantage of it—but I have already promised to attend divine service to-morrow, and *when I go to Church I go to worship my God and not to electioneer.*” This plain and simple reply came evidently from the heart, and carried a perfect conviction of its truth and sincerity to the minds of all who heard it.

In the republican institutions of our country, birth and parentage are comparatively of very little importance; and no candidate for public favour can found thereon the slightest claim to the respect or the support of his fellow-citizens. We have happily shaken off the thralling prejudices of the old world, and a title to office and honourable distinction is not with us hereditary; but every man must earn his own good name, and his claim on the favour of the people, by his own good deeds. Yet, aware, as every one must be, of the powerful influence of early education, it is worthy of

remark, as well as gratifying to know, that a candidate for public office, in whom we feel an interest, passed all the early years of his life with the brightest examples of virtue constantly before him ; and under the parental tuition of one of those illustrious patriots, whose memory is revered by every true-hearted American. It is pleasing to be assured, that his first political sentiments were imbibed in a school of the purest republican principles. And when we trace up the career of this individual, from the spring-time of his youth, to the summer of his manhood, and to the early autumn of his years, and see those principles closely adhered to throughout, we can scarcely resist the conviction, that his future course will be consistent with the past ; and that, with matured abilities, he will be still more conspicuous for his republican principles, his moderation in office, his firm integrity, and his extended and enlightened views as a statesman. Such were the early advantages of William Henry Harrison ; such has been his course thus far through life ; and such is now the bright promise, to a realization of which we may safely look forward, should the people see fit to place him in office.

The principles that would govern General Harrison, should he be elected to the Presidency, may be known by the following extracts from a letter addressed by him to the Hon. Harmar Denny, on the 2d of December, 1838.

“ Among the principles proper to be adopted by any Executive sincerely desirous to restore the administration to its original simplicity and purity, I deem the following to be of prominent importance.

“ I. TO CONFINE HIS SERVICE TO A SINGLE TERM.

“ II. TO DISCLAIM ALL RIGHT OF CONTROL OVER THE PUBLIC TREASURE, *with the exception of such part of it as may be appropriated by law to carry on the public services, and that to be applied precisely as the law may direct, and drawn from the treasury agreeably to the long-established forms of that department.*

“ III. THAT HE SHOULD NEVER ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE THE ELECTIONS, *either by the people or the state legislatures, nor suffer the federal officers under his control to take any other part in them than by giving their own votes when they possess the right of voting.*

“ IV. *That in the exercise of the veto power,*

he should limit his rejection to: 1st. Such as are in his opinion unconstitutional. 2d. Such as tend to encroach on the rights of the states or individuals. 3d. Such as, involving deep interests, may in his opinion require more mature deliberation or reference to the will of the people to be ascertained at the succeeding elections.

“V. That he should never suffer the influence of his name to be used for purposes of a purely party character.

“VI. That in removal from office of those who hold their appointments during the pleasure of the executive, the cause of such removal should be stated if requested, to the senate, at the time the nomination of a successor is made.

“And last, but not least in importance,

“VII. That he should not suffer the executive department of the government to become the source of legislation; but leave the whole business of making laws for the Union to the department to which the constitution has exclusively assigned it, until they have assumed that perfected shape, where and when alone the opinions of the executive may be heard.

“A community of power in the preparation of the laws between the legislature and the

Executive Departments, must necessarily lead to dangerous combinations, greatly to the advantage of a President desirous of extending his power. Such a construction of the constitution could never have been contemplated by those who framed it, as they well knew that those who propose the bills will always take care of themselves, or the interests of their constituents; and hence the provision in the constitution, borrowed from that of England, restricting the originating of revenue bills to the immediate representatives of the people. So far from agreeing in opinion with the distinguished character who lately retired from the presidency, that Congress should have applied to him for a project of a banking system, I think that such an application would have manifested not only great subserviency upon the part of that body, but an unpardonable ignorance of the chief danger to be apprehended from such an institution. That danger unquestionably consists in a union of interests between the executive and the bank. Would an ambitious incumbent of the executive chair neglect so favourable an opportunity as the preparing of the law would give him, to insert in it provisions to secure his in-

fluence over it? In the authority given to the President by the constitution, "to recommend to Congress such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient," it was certainly never intended that the measures he recommended should be presented in a shape suited for the immediate decision of the legislature. The sages who made the constitution too well knew the advantages which the crown of England derives from the exercise of this power by its ministers, to have intended it to be used by our Chief Magistrate, or the heads of departments under his control. The boasted principles of the English constitution, that the consent of the democratic branch is not only necessary to receive money from the people, but that it is its inviolable prerogative also to originate all the bills for that purpose, is true in theory, but rendered utterly false and nugatory in effect, by the participation of the ministers of the crown in the details of legislation. Indeed the influence they derive from sitting as members of the House of Commons, and from wielding the immense patronage of the crown (constitutional or usurped) gives them a power over that body, that renders plausible, at least, the flattery, or as it is more probable,

the intended sarcasm of Sir Walter Raleigh, in an address to James I., that the demand of the sovereign upon the Commons for pecuniary aid, was required only "that the tax might seem to come from themselves."

* * * * * "The question may, perhaps, be asked of me, what security I have in my power to offer, if the majority of the American people should select me for their Chief Magistrate, that I would adopt the principles which I have herein laid down, as those upon which my administration would be conducted. I could only answer by referring to my conduct, and the disposition manifested in the discharge of the duties of several important offices which have heretofore been conferred upon me. If the power placed in my hands has, even on a single occasion, been used for any purpose other than that for which it was given, or retained longer than was necessary to accomplish the objects designated by those from whom the trusts were received, I will acknowledge that either will constitute a sufficient reason for discrediting any promise I may make, under the circumstances in which I am now placed. I am, dear sir, truly yours,

"W. H. HARRISON.

"To the Hon. HARMAR DENNY."

Our confined limits restrain us from making more extensive extracts from this admirable letter — the noble and truly republican sentiments of which, together with its plain yet manly and vigorous language, forcibly remind us of the invaluable writings of our revered *Washington*.

The friends of General Harrison found no especial claim on his military services. His own sentiments on this subject we have already quoted; and his friends would scorn, as much as he would, any attempt to dazzle a single one of his fellow-citizens by the glory of his military renown, brilliant though it be. They would point rather to his numerous civil services, in the forty years he has devoted to his country; to the various and important offices he has so ably filled—in the territorial governments, in the legislature of his own state, and in the house of representatives and senate of the United States; and to the high order of abilities displayed in his speeches in congress, in his public acts, and in his voluminous public correspondence. And we here take occasion to say, that all his letters and public papers have been exclusively written by himself; and that so far from his having

called in the mental aid of another, to prepare his messages and dispatches, as some of our distinguished men have condescended to do, he has never even employed an amanuensis, to perform the manual labour of his correspondence. His ruling principles through life, appear to have been, an ardent love for his country, and an earnest desire to serve her best interests; with a devotion to the pure republican maxims of the revolution, always unwavering and consistent; unlike the scheming politicians of a more modern school, whose own interest is the polar star that guides them, whatever may betide their country.

The services of General Harrison have always been rendered to his country and not to any political faction: nor have his civil or military promotions ever been obtained by party arrangements or underhand manœuvres; but, on the contrary, they were given him at the earnest wish and by the spontaneous confidence of his fellow-citizens. Neither has his present nomination for the presidency been made by a discontented faction or political party, but by the voluntary choice of a great majority of the people uttered by their chosen

delegates. And happily, the more his claims to the high office for which he has been nominated are canvassed, the more acceptable will he become. A veteran soldier who has won for his country every battle he has fought, an experienced statesman whose integrity has been thoroughly tried and proved, a practical republican of the good old school, and an *honest man* — whose attachment to the true interests of the people is unquestionable, and who will rally about him the great mass of honest and intelligent citizens, and with their aid and support, will rescue the constitution, of late so trampled upon by party violence and executive usurpation.

With tried patriotism, with abilities of the highest order, with integrity pure as the unsullied snow, and with the truest republican principles, William Henry Harrison is now before his fellow-citizens, as a candidate for the highest office in their gift. In the long course of his public life, he has always openly avowed and proved himself a staunch advocate of popular rights, and is therefore truly **THE CANDIDATE OF THE PEOPLE.** He comes before them, not with a crowd of

pampered and still-grasping officials to intrigue and bribe for him, but with the noble frankness of an honourable and high-minded man, willing and desirous to be judged impartially by his fellow-citizens, and ready to abide by their honest decision.

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THE END.

