

## Tippecanoe; A Cadet Ride Too!

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"Tippecanoe and Tyler Too!". With this stirring slogan, William Henry Harrison and John Tyler won election to the presidency and vice-presidency of the U.S. in 1840. The rallying cry's origins can be found in a key moment in the settling of the Midwest by European Americans when William Henry Harrison, governor of the Indiana Territory, defeated the forces of Tecumseh near his confederation's capital in Indiana on November 7, 1811.

Certainly, most of the ROTC cadets of Wheaton College's and Lewis University's Crusader Battalion did not know this until they began their Military History course.

Now, however, they know the battle in detail having experienced what the Army calls a Staff Ride and what Cadet Command calls a Cadet Ride. On Saturday, 19 September 1992 Professor of Military Science, LTC Bill France, and his counterpart in Military History at Lewis University, Br. Robert Murphy led 22 cadets to the battlesite. The story of that day and how Br. Robert Murphy and LTC France worked to make it reality are the subject of this article.

This is Army training at its best for Senior ROTC cadets. As cadet 1SG Tammy Haylett said, "Our exercises at Tippecanoe added reality to my imagination (of the battle)."

### Instructor Preparation for a Cadet Ride

The requirement for a Cadet Ride had been in place for nearly five years. This excellent teaching tool in Military History and professional military leadership provides the instructor and the cadet a rich opportunity to bring the lessons of war out of the classroom, and into the real world where the events being studied actually occurred.

A great obstacle to the cadet ride is the geographical problem of getting to a site that offers enough material to study and is within economical distance. The ideal is a battlesite, although certain substitutes can apply. For example, a visit to a good experientially based museum like the First (Infantry) Division Museum at Cantigny in Winfield,

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Illinois is an excellent substitute.

But, nothing can replace standing on the actual site and walking where soldiers fought, bled, died, won, or lost a battle. LTC France knew this from his own experience leading three staff rides in Korea at Task Force Smith, Chipyong-Ri, and Pork Chop Hill. Br. Murphy knew this from having done Revolutionary War and Civil War staff rides the past summer during a month long military history symposium at the United States Military Academy at West Point. It was Br. Murphy who realized how close Tippacanoe was to Wheaton and Lewis and began the key task of researching the battle.

Br. Murphy found the necessary resource textbooks at the West Point library to supply the historian's understanding of the context in which the battle took place, and its impact on the conflict between the European American culture and Indian American culture. On his way back west to Lewis University, he visited the battlesite and museum park. There he met with the museum curator who provided additional printed resources particular to the site itself.

In consultation with LTC France, a decision was made to schedule the Cadet Ride for the early fall to correspond with the period being studied in the Military History courses.

An instructor's visit to the site is critical to the success of the cadet ride. The key difference between the staff ride done by active duty personnel and a cadet ride done by ROTC instructors is this research. A staff ride requires every participant to perform his or her own research and to concentrate on finding and using primary source material. A soldier's personal diary, the actual order used, or a unit's pay roster are typical examples of primary source material. Of course, living veterans are ideal. A battle in 1811 obviously rules out living sources, however. For the cadet ride, the critical ingredient is a knowledgeable instructor and good, available secondary sources which draw from primary materials and use them in their presentations. A typical secondary source is a history text. Br. Murphy found several accounts written after 1911 which avoided the anti-AmerIndian biases rooted in the philosophy of Manifest Destiny and concentrated on the details of how the battle was conducted.

It was this source material, both from the West Point library and from booklets bought at the battlesite museum that Br. Murphy and LTC

France used to prepare the cadets for the cadet ride. The bibliography is included here for those who would like to do the same cadet ride. Most notable is The Battle of Tippecanoe bought at the battlesite museum. The author, Richard J. Reid, details the battle by using the nine Principles of War as a means of analysis. This helps reinforce the Military Qualification Skill Level One task for military history that a cadet must master before commissioning. A bibliography for the cadet ride is as follows:

Beard, Reed., The Battle of Tippecanoe: Historical Sketches of the Famous Field Upon Which General William Henry Harrison Won Renown That Aided Him in Reaching the Presidency: Lives of the Prophet and Tecumseh, with Many Interesting Incidents of their Rise and Overthrow: The Campaign of 1888 and Election of General Benjamin Harrison (Conkey, Chicago, © 1911)

Eckert, Allan W. , A Sorrow In Our Heart: The Life of Tecumseh (Bantam, New York, © 1992)

Gilbert, Bill , God Gave Us This Country: Tekamthi and the First American Civil War (Atheneum, New York, © 1989)

Green, James Albert., William Henry Harrison, His Life and Times (Garrett and Massie, Richmond, VA., © 1941)

Hook, Jason., American Indian Warrior Chiefs: Tecumseh, Crazy Horse, Chief Joseph, Geronimo (Firebird, Poole, © 1989)

Library of Congress, Index to the William H. Harrison Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, © 1960)

Robertson, William G., The Staff Ride (Center of Military History United States Army, Washington D.C. © 1987)

Sugden, John, Tecumseh's Last Stand (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, © 1985)

The following texts are the items available at the battlesite museum:

Reid, Richard J. , The Battle of Tippecanoe, (West Kentucky Printing and Office Supply, Central City, KY, © 1983) NOTE: This is the "green book" which is written using the 9 principles of war as a tool of analysis.

McCollough, Alameda ed., The Battle of Tippecanoe, Conflict of Cultures (The Research and Publications Committee of the Tippecanoe County Historical Association, Tippecanoe County, Indiana, 5th printing in 1991)

Tippecanoe County Historical Association, Feast of the Hunters' Moon, a brochure describing a re-enactment ceremony held each year in September (published by the Association)

Tippecanoe County Historical Association, Historical Map of Tippecanoe County, Indiana, a map showing the historical sites in relation to current Indiana (published by the association).

Tippecanoe County Historical Association, The Harrison Trail--From Vincennes to the Battle of Tippecanoe, a brochure showing a map of the trail (published by the Association)

Tippecanoe County Historical Association, Tippecanoe Battlefield, Battle Ground, Indiana, a brochure briefly describing the battle (published by the Association)

### An Overview of the Battle

Tippacanoë was fought by militia and federal troops under the command of General William Henry Harrison, the ninth president and governor of the Indiana Territory at the time of the battle. These troops fought against American Indian (AmerIndian) tribes joined in the confederation formed by the famous AmerIndian leader Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet.

The battle was fought as a defense by General Harrison of his bivouac site near the town which Tecumseh had created to serve as the capital of his confederation of AmerIndian tribes. The little village near the Tippacanoë River had blossomed during the summer and fall of 1811 into a huge assembly area for warriors and their families from the nine confederation tribes from the Ohio river valley.

To Harrison and his men, this assembly had meant only one thing - the threat of war. To the AmerIndians under Tecumseh and the Prophet, Harrison's march north in September-October 1811 from Vincennes to Tippacanoë meant the same. Tecumseh's role in the Battle of Tippacanoë was indirect because he had travelled south to recruit more Indian tribes into his confederation. Tecumseh left his brother, the Prophet, in command, but with orders to avoid conflict with the American military. Harrison saw this as an opportunity to force an engagement capitalizing on the weaker command and inexperience of the Prophet.

A surprise, pre-dawn attack on 7 November 1811 by three AmerIndian forces led by their chieftans could have been devastating had it not been for Harrison's planning and preparation of his troops. Harrison's troops responded well to the surprise attack showing excellent discipline and the results of good training given during the long march north. The attack began at about 4:00 AM ending at about 6:30 AM with first light. When the AmerIndians saw their dead, they withdrew knowing that the Prophet's prayers to turn the white man's bullets into air had been in vain. Harrison began a short exploitation, quickly withdrawing his men back into his encampment and entrenching his position for an anticipated second day of attack. The AmerIndians never attacked again. The battle was over. The next day Harrison's troops found the entire Prophet's town abandoned. They burned it to the ground. This effectively ended Tecumseh's dream of forming an AmerIndian federation against the white man's relentless claim on Indian land.

The battle was a clash between two cultures which marked the end of

AmerIndian rule over the rich Ohio valley and signaled the continued push of European Americans into AmerIndian land to the west. The battle has also been claimed by some historians to be a part of the case against Great Britain which led to the War of 1812. Harrison's troops found British muskets still in their shipping cases in one of the buildings in Prophet's town on the 12th of November 1811. There were also unconfirmed rumors of British officers being present in Prophet's town to advise the Indians.

This clash between AmerIndians and the still infant United States Army represents a rich source of lessons in military history. How do you capture such lessons for the cadet?

### Creating the Experience

Br. Murphy and LTC France worked together to form a schedule and a comprehensive letter of instruction (LOI) to the cadet students which layed out for them the order of study, format for preparation, and guidance for presentation. This covered both the weeks before the ride and the actual conduct of the ride for 19 September 1992.

The letter includes a rationale for the cadet ride, the basic structure of the experience, a listing of the topics for consideration, the schedule of events, and a listing of key questions to be used in preparing the presentations. The letter in its entirety is included here for reference:

**The Crusader Battalion  
MS 331 Military History**

AOTB-BIL-WC

MEMORANDUM FOR: MS 331 Course Students

**SUBJECT: Cadet Ride to Tippecanoe, Saturday, 19 September '92**

**1. Purpose:** To provide students with a plan for the conduct of a cadet ride to the Tippecanoe battlefield, Lafayette, Indiana on Saturday, 19 September 1992.

**2. Goal:** To give each participating student the opportunity to apply the lessons of military history to a specific historical example i.e. General William Harrison's campaign into northern Illinois territory culminating in the battle of Tippecanoe fought on 7 November 1811. Specific objectives as found on page 5-6 of The Staff Ride by William G. Robertson include:

- a. To expose students to the dynamics of battle, especially those factors which interact to produce victory or defeat.
- b. To expose students to the "face of battle," the timeless human dimensions of warfare.
- c. To provide case studies in the application of the principles of war.
- d. To provide case studies in leadership, at any level desired.

- e. To provide case studies in unit cohesion.
- f. To provide case studies in how logistical considerations affect operations.
- g. To show the effects of terrain upon plans and their implementation.
- h. To encourage officers to study their profession through the use of military history.

### 3. Requirements:

a. General: MS 331 students under LTC France's instruction will present information briefings on site covering the "enemy" side of the battle i.e. Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet. MS 331 students under Brother Bob Murphy's instruction will present the "friendly" side of the battle i.e. General Harrison and his army of U.S. regulars and militia. Each group of cadets will decide who will be their "spirit" i.e. cadets under LTC France will pick a leader to be the "Spirit of Tecumseh" and the "Spirit of the Prophet" (these will be one cadet) and cadets under Brother Murphy will pick a "Spirit of Harrison". These cadets will act as Officers in Charge for organizing the cadet briefings and will coordinate with each other and the two MS 331 instructors. This way the cadet ride will be organized properly to cover the topics listed next.

b. Specifically, the briefings will cover the following topics in the order shown:

(1) Prologue - a summary of the events from after the American Revolution up to the battle of Tippecanoe with emphasis on how these events shaped the leadership styles of Tecumseh, the Prophet, and General Harrison. These briefings will cover:

(a) Movement into the western territories and how it shaped the European Americans (friendly) need for land and security.

(b) How this movement shaped the Indian's attitude towards the Europeans and specifically the attitude of Tecumseh and the Prophet.

(c) The significant military encounters in this time frame (St. Clair's defeat, Fallen Timbers, the Treaty of Greenville, and the Treaty of Fort Wayne) and their effect on Harrison.

(d) These same military encounters and their impact on Tecumseh and the Prophet.

(e) The events from the Treaty of Greenville up to the time of the battle and their effect on Harrison.

(f) The same immediate past and its effect on Tecumseh and the Prophet.

(2) Situation: A description of the terrain and the weather along the campaign trail from Vincennes to Tippecanoe and in and around the battlesite (Prophets Town) in September through November 1811.

(3) Order of Battle: The Indian Order of Battle to include significant tribes and chiefs involved. The friendly Order of Battle to include key players and troop units in the U.S. Regulars and Indiana Militia.

(4) Immediate Prologue to the Battle: Describe events and actions by both sides from the start of the march north by Harrison's troops in September 1811 to the evening before the battle on 6 November 1811.

(5) Conduct of the Operation:

(a) The American Indian (AmerIndian) concept for executing the battle.

(b) The Army's concept for executing the battle.

(c) Actual conduct of the battle. Vignettes of specific players mixed with an overview of the flow of battle will make this very important part of the cadet ride.

(6) Logistical considerations: of the battle for both sides (enemy Indians and friendly Army).

(7) Aftermath for key leaders: What happens to Tecumseh, the Prophet, and Harrison in the 30 years timeframe after the battle.

(8) Lessons Learned for both sides: Follow the format for an after action review.

4. Schedule: The cadet ride will follow the following schedule for Saturday, 19 September 1992.

<u>What</u>	<u>Where</u>	<u>When</u>
LTC France's students depart Wheaton	McManis Hall, Wheaton College	0645 hours
LTC France's students join Brother Murphy's students and depart	Main Admin Building at Lewis University	0730 hours
Cadet ride arrives at park and disembark bus	Tippecanoe Battlesite	0900 hours
LTC France gives ground rules; Brother Murphy gives orientation to the site	Tippecanoe (at bus)	0900-0915
Cadets conduct their own orientation in preparation for site briefings	At Battlesite	0915-0945
All gather at the Park's Monument by end of this period - 0945		
Cadets give <u>Prologue</u>	At Monument	0945-1015
Move to Prophets Rock	Monument to Prophets Rock	1015-1030
Cadets give <u>Situation, Order of Battle, and Immediate Prologue</u>	At Prophets Rock	1030-1100
Move back to Monument	Prophets Rock to the Monument	1100-1115
Cadets give <u>Conduct of the Operation</u>	At the Monument	1115-1200
Break for Lunch	Take bus to local fast food restaurant	1200-1300
Visit Museum and hear park interpreters	Return from lunch and see museum to hear interpreters.	1300-1430

<u>What</u>	<u>Where</u>	<u>When</u>
Cadets give <u>Logistical Considerations, After-math for Leaders, and Lessons Learned</u>	In Museum's All Purpose Room	1430-1545
Return to buses and drive back to college	Buses and drive to Lewis and to Wheaton	1545-1715/ NLT 1800

5. Logistics:

a. Students will need to bring a sack lunch or enough money to purchase a meal at McDonalds/Burger King (or that type of restaurant) and a dollar (\$1.00) to enter the museum at the park. If any student has financial difficulty, see the professor.

b. Dress for ROTC Cadets will be Battle Dress Uniform. All other students should wear appropriate civilian attire for walking in grassy, wooded areas. Cadets who will be briefing should bring their briefing materials on 3x5 cards and folded maps. Please do not bring anything larger than what you can put in a pocket!

c. Grades: The cadets in this cadet ride will be receiving a grade from both Brother Murphy and LTC France for their briefing.

d. Source materials: On the first day of class for MS 331 (September 1st), the instructors will give the cadets this Letter of Instruction (LOI) and one copy of several items of information about this battle. It will be the responsibility of the "Spirit of Tecumseh/the Prophet" and the "Spirit of Harrison" to decide on how to copy and distribute this source material among the cadets preparing for the briefings. Everything that is needed to prepare for this cadet ride may be found in these materials. These materials will be returned in their original condition to the instructor after the cadet ride and no later than 22 September 1992.

e. Enclosures provide questions to help focus the briefings.

	ORIGINAL SIGNED	ORIGINAL SIGNED
3 Encl:	SAMUEL W. FRANCE	BROTHER ROBERT MURPHY
1. Enemy	LTC, EN	Instructor, MS 331
2. Friendly	PMS	Lewis University
3. Packet (TBP)	Wheaton College	

Enclosure 1

ENEMY

The following topical questions should help the cadet briefers to focus their presentations. The questions are not given in the order required by the schedule - refer to schedule in the LOI.

- (1) Describe the leadership style of Tecumseh.
- (2) Describe the leadership style of the Prophet.

- (3) Describe the order of battle of the AmerIndians under the Prophet.
- (4) What principle of war did Tecumseh violate and why?
- (5) What principle of war did the Prophet violate and why?
- (6) What was the logistical situation for the AmerIndians?
- (7) What was the center of gravity for the prophet?
- (8) Describe the weather on 6-7 November 1811.
- (9) Describe the terrain on 6-7 November 1811.
- (10) What was the Prophet's concept of the operation?
- (11) What experiences shaped Tecumseh's vision in 1811?
- (12) What experiences shaped the Prophet's status among the AmerIndians?
- (13) Explain how AmerIndian culture from 1780 to 1811 shaped the battle?
- (14) Explain the weapons and tactics used by the AmerIndians.
- (15) What aspects of the battle affected the outcome for the AmerIndians?
- (16) What failures in leadership could another AmerIndian leader have overcome that the Prophet didn't?
- (17) What lessons did the AmerIndians learn and how did they affect future encounters with European American settlers and military in the west?
- (18) Compare Tippecanoe to Fallen Timbers.
- (19) If the AmerIndians had used their British supplied muskets, how might this have changed the outcome of the battle?
- (20) Why didn't the AmerIndians attack Harrison sooner than the morning of 7 November 1811?
- (21) What was Tecumseh doing during October to November 1811?
- (22) What did Tecumseh do after Tippecanoe?
- (23) What happened to the Prophet after Tippecanoe?
- (24) What did the AmerIndians do with their dead at the battle - explain the cultural significance of this?
- (25) What type of warfare does Tippecanoe represent in the 20th century? - compare and contrast.

## Enclosure 2

### FRIENDLY

Use these questions in the same way as those found for the Enemy.

- (1) Describe how Harrison used the principle of security in his march to Tippecanoe and on 6 and 7 November 1811?
- (2) What was the significance of Fort Harrison and the Blockhouse at Fort Boyd?
- (3) What was the order of battle under Harrison?
- (4) What were Harrison's orders from Washington D.C.?
- (5) Describe Harrison's route of march - contrast today's condition with what the trail was like in 1811.
- (6) Explain the logistical system of Harrison's army.
- (7) Compare the regular army with the militia.
- (8) Describe the actions of the following subordinates of Harrison (each may be a separate vignette of 10 seconds or less) - Colonel Abram Owens, Corporal Mars, Captain Geiger, Captain Barton, Captain Burton, Sergeant Orr, Corporal David L. Thompson, Major Davelss, Captain Cook, Captain Peters, Captain Spler Spencer, Captain Jacob Warrick, Captain Robb, Ensign John Tipton, Lieutenant Hawkins, Captain Prescott, Major Wells, and Lieutenant Larrabee.
- (9) Describe the layout of Harrison's position on the evening of 6 November 1811.
- (10) Describe the actions immediately after the battle (7-9 November 1811).

- (11) Describe the casualties and their disposition after the battle.
- (12) What was Harrison's leadership style?
- (13) What experiences in Harrison's military past shaped his style?
- (14) How did the events after the battle shape the outcome of the battle i.e. how did history change its treatment of the results from 1811 up through 1830?
- (15) Describe the weapon systems of Harrison's army?
- (16) How did Harrison use the principles of war? (Offensive, Objective, Mass, Maneuver, Economy of Force, Unity of Command, Security, Surprise, and Simplicity)
- (17) Summarize the events from St. Clair's defeat and Fallen Timbers up to November 1811 and their impact on Harrison's development as a leader. NOTE: This same question will apply to Tecumseh and the Prophet during the Prologue. Discuss this question in regards to the movement west by settlers and their need for security; in regards to the significant military encounters of St. Clair's defeat, Fallen Timbers, the Treaty of Greenville, and the Treaty of Fort Wayne; and in regards to the events after the Treaty of Greenville up to the battle in November 1811.

Class began on 1 September 1992 at which time the LOI was distributed. This gave the cadets three weeks to prepare for the ride on Saturday, 19 September 1992.

LTC France appointed a cadet from his Wheaton College class to act as the guiding "Tecumseh Spirit." Br. Murphy appointed a cadet at Lewis University to act as the "Harrison Spirit". These two cadets were then charged to coordinate their groups, communicate with their counterpart at Lewis or Wheaton, and assign portions of the on-site briefings to each of the cadets in the two history classes.

The basic order for the cadet ride follows the movement to battle in the years prior to 1811 and the battle itself with cadets representing the two opposing perspectives. Each group provided oral briefings with various visual aids at several points at the site. For example, the first briefing occurred at General Harrison's command post within the perimeter established on the evening of 6 November 1811 the day before the battle. The group then moved to the Prophet's Rock where the Prophet is supposed to have stayed during the entire battle saying prayers to the Great Spirit to protect his Indian warriors. From the Prophet's Rock the group moved to the perimeter on the site of the first wave of Indian attacks. The group moved this way in a chronological order until the final short cavalry exploitation where the group concluded its ride with an after action review.

Cadets met several times prior to the day's experience as working groups responsible for parts of the briefing. On the bus ride down to Tippacano near Lafayette, Indiana the cadets from the two colleges

consulted with each other to finalize their presentations. They used the two instructors as sources to confirm their final preparation. This also allowed the two "Spirit" cadet leaders to finish face-to-face coordination.

Shortly after arrival at the battlesite, the cadets did a quick walk-through of the site. Briefings began at the battle monument as mentioned where Harrison had his headquarters located. During the various briefings and walking on-site the cadets brought out the history and lessons learned. The cadets reviewed the 30 year history of cultural friction between AmerIndian and AmerEuropean from the 1780s to 1811. They pointed out the peculiar nature of the Prophet's hold on the Indian's belief system. By tradition we are told that the Prophet prayed during the battle that the white man's gun powder would turn to dust and the bullets would turn to air. The cadets related the order of battle of both sides, the weather and terrain in 1811, and the general strategy and tactics of the U.S. Army and the AmerIndian confederation. Walking back east, the party stopped at Burnett's creek. Here the Wheaton cadets, representing the Spirit of Tecumseh, told of the AmerIndian plan for attack. The Lewis cadets reported the defensive response of the regular and militia forces.

After a lunch break, the cadets returned to briefly visit the museum, take part in a presentation given by the park interpreter, and then discuss the aftermath of the battle, the logistical considerations of war in 1811, and the lessons learned. This last portion was done as an After Action Review as the cadets are taught from Field Manual 25-101 on training management. The cadets sat in a circle as they had done all day, but now the format was to pose questions and seek answers. What were the lessons that each side learned? What lessons can be found in this 19th century battle that apply to modern soldiers? How did the nine Principles of War apply to this battle? What threads of continuity are seen in this portion of military history? What is the purpose of the cadet ride? Why is it part of your training? How can we do the cadet ride better next year?

### Comments from the Cadets

In both the After Action Review on the day of the Cadet Ride and in two classes to follow comments were solicited from the cadets. What follows is a sampling of their responses:

On the value of the cadet ride itself:

"Most people have a better understanding of concept when they see them

put into practise. I have heard that the study of history makes the present more understandable. The cadet ride proves this." (Cadet Cherry Worrell, MS 3 nursing major)

"It (the cadet ride) enables a group to come together to work as a unit to finish a single task successfully. The cadet ride promotes comraderie." (Cadet Sharon Twaddle, MS 3 nursing major)

"At first I thought the cadet ride was just one of those things we had to do, but after going I think I learned an important lesson. If you really want to survive on a battle field, then you better pay attention to all that stuff the Army is trying to teach you today. Harrison's men won because they learned." (Cadet Tammie Oemke, MS 3 nursing major)

"You can learn from other leader's mistakes even when the technology and tactics have changed." (Cadet Melanie Jobst, MS 3 nursing majors)

"Utilizing the Principles of War to analyze your situation, you learn about history and learn what is important to teach a soldier about good and bad leadership. Specifically, the cadet ride teaches the value of having a game plan well in advance and being prepared to work together." (Cadet Michelle Hahn, MS 4 nursing major)

On the lessons learned:

"Teamwork is the key and confidence in a leader are important." (Cadet Stephanie Candela, MS 3 nursing major)

"The AmerIndians had no concept of the volley (fire). They were hit by them (Harrison's fire) and had no way of returning fire . . . there was truly no chain of command and the role of the supreme (Indian) leader was unclear. The Principles of War are paramount; applying in situations as unlike as you can imagine." (Cadet Cherry Worrell, MS 3 nursing major)

"I was impressed with the AmerIndians. They had a chain of command, tactics, and a plan of battle, and a cause that they really believed in." (Cadet Chris Holman, MS 3 nursing major) The authors note that Chris and Cherry have two opposite viewpoints on these factors when analyzing the AmerIndian order of battle.

"AmerIndian warfare seemed to be a much more conceptual and spiritual experience than it was for the European Americans." (Cadet Bridget Pierce,

MS 3 nursing major)

"A major fault for the AmerIndians was their overconfidence in the supernatural." (Cadet Tony Galvin, MS 3 aviation major)

And finally, on the lessons learned that apply to today's soldiers:

"I now realize the value of training and drilling. Harrison won the battle of Tippacano because he trained his men, all of them, militia and regulars, together until they became a single unit." (Cadet Chris Holman, MS 3 nursing major)

"No matter when the battle was or where it was, the purpose remains the same: win or lose." (Cadet Sharon Twaddle, MS 3 nursing major)

"Tippacano confirms the value of security when commanding a unit." (Cadet Scott Raiger, MS 3 criminal and social justice major)

"Concealment remains a fairly important part in battle . . . the team was and is important since your life depends on the team's effort. One man battles reduce your chance to succeed." (Cadet Tammie Oemke, MS 3 nursing major) Note that Tammie is referring here to the indian warrior's mentality of fighting alone ("one man battle").

"Know your enemy. Do not assume that because they seem to be inferior, that they are." (Cadet Tony Galvin, MS 3 aviation major)

"Proper leadership wins more battles than anything else." (Cadet Denice Burt, MS 3 nursing major)

### Comments from the Instructors

If this cadet ride had one over-riding lesson, then from the instructor's point of view, this was that leadership has an extraordinary influence on the outcome of battle. Both professors also noted that the two teams of cadets worked remarkably well together. This helped to build team cohesion in a cadet battalion which is housed in two colleges 45 minutes, 25 miles apart. An important by-product of the cadet ride was this binding together of the MS 3 (junior) cadets because next year these same cadets will be the seniors leading the cadet battalion. The instructors also noted that the initial nervousness of the first few cadets to brief on site gave way to a more confident and relaxed style as the two

instructors kept coaching and encouraging the cadets. The cadets had done much preparation with the materials they had been given and with each other prior to the ride to Tippacanoe. Their presentations demonstrated this work. The cadet's use of instructors as partners in the learning experience also taught lessons about how cooperation between superiors and subordinates is essential for cohesion and success. The homemade maps, charts, and concept boards which the cadets used in their briefings illustrated the importance of briefing at several levels.

The cadets impressed the instructors with their comments at the end of the day regarding the keys to Harrison's success: his preparation, his knowledge of AmerIndians, his training program, his careful attention to security, and his use of reinforcements throughout the attack. We noted that in all the briefings the cadets showed great respect for each other's skills and abilities in an atmosphere of friendly competition as each side tried to show the correctness of their own position, be it Harrison's or Tecumseh's side. We were also impressed with how the cadets identified with the basic position of each side in the battle, while respecting the uniqueness of their opponent. They clearly showed how the AmerIndians had an imaginative, spiritual, and emotional approach to their position, while the EuroAmerican position was more rational, material, and logical.

In looking at how the cadet ride was put together, the instructors saw the value of mixing up the two college's cadet companies while at the same time keeping their identity intact in the task of representing the two sides of the battle. By using the two cadet "Spirit" leaders, the instructors gave the cadets a way to keep the ball rolling during the cadet ride. This technique reinforced the leadership laboratory nature of the ride and made control of the day a cadet issue. As a result, the day passed very quickly. Finally, the landscape itself made the most dramatic impact on the cadets. The terrain had the power of speaking to the events in a way which the classroom could not. This was true even with the limitation imposed by the date of the cadet ride. The ride was in September when the trees still had their leaves, while the battle was fought in November when the trees and landscape would have been bare. This would have affected the combatants differently, but the cadets still saw the difference.

One vignette at the end of the cadet ride speaks volumes. This happened while we sat in a circle at the northeast end of the battlesite just east of the museum discussing the After Action Review. During this discussion one of the cadets felt a pointed object in the ground under herself. She began to dig out of annoyance and then curiosity. Other

cadets nearby joined her in digging. When they uncovered the pointed metal object, they realized that they might have discovered an artifact. The museum curator was alerted to the find. They reported to Br. Murphy that the metal object was probably a bayonet that had been dropped by the cavalry in its pursuit of the fleeing Indians on the morning of 7 November 1811. All our study showed that where we were doing the review was in fact where Harrison had sent his mounted troops riding in his very short lived exploitation. In still another way history had become real for these cadets and their efforts in the cadet ride earned them all a group grade of A plus.

Perhaps, the best compliment to our efforts as instructors came a week later during the field problem devoted to training these same MS 3 junior cadets. The MS 3 cadets unanimously chose "Tecumseh" and "The Prophet" as their challenge and password for the weekend's patrolling exercise. The experience had definitely "stuck".

### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF AUTHORS:

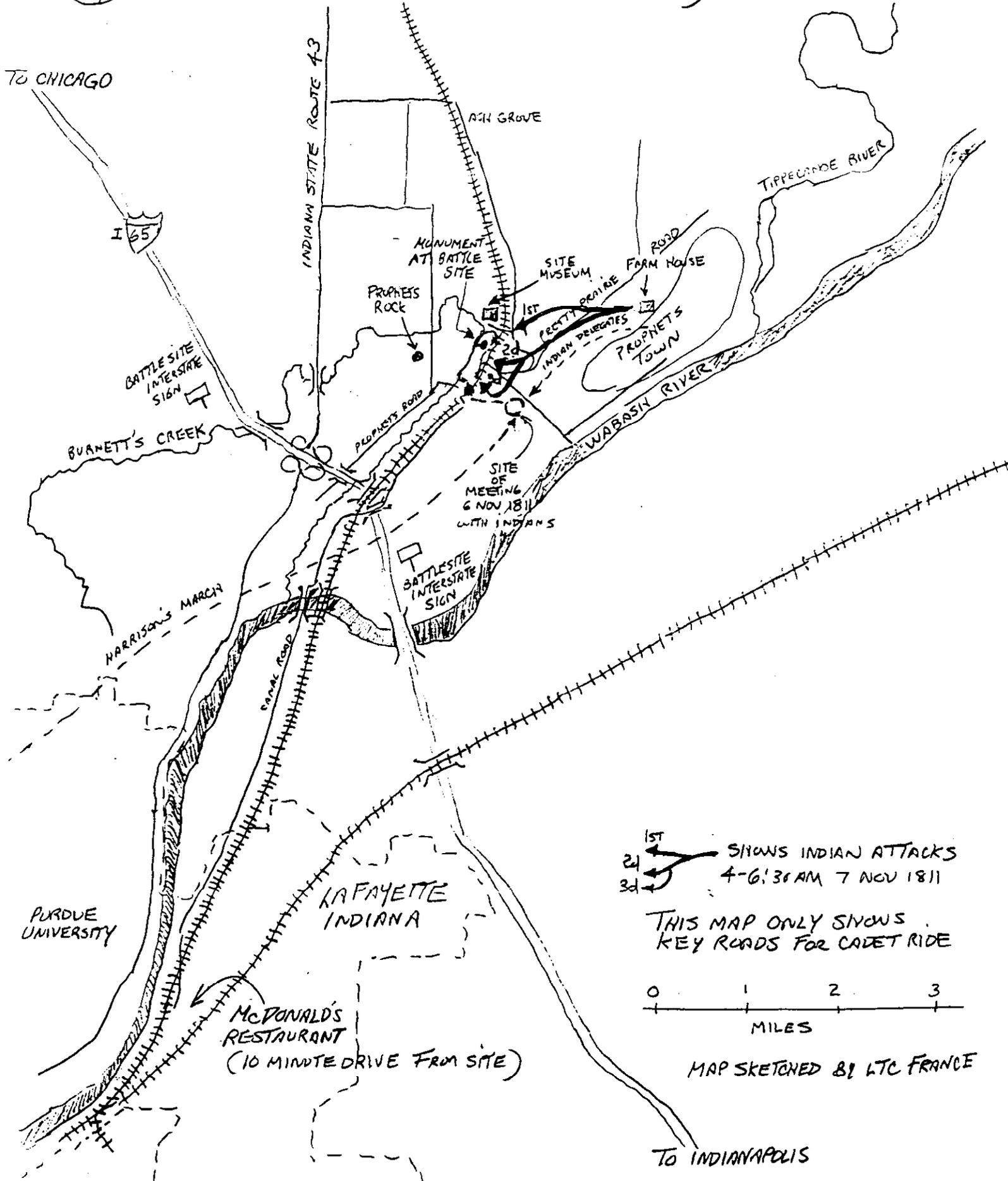
LTC Samuel W. France is a native of Verona, New Jersey. He graduated with a Bachelor of Science from West Point in 1974. Upon commission as a second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers, he was assigned to Fort Leonard Wood as a training officer, and later a platoon leader and battalion motor officer. After advanced course he went to Germany as a group engineer for a Hawk ADA group and company commander for the 94th Engineer Battalion. After Germany he served with the South Atlantic Division, Corps of Engineers as an exchange officer to the Air Force engineers and then as a structural engineer for underground nuclear testing in Field Command, Defense Nuclear Agency. He served as an operations and executive officer for the 802d Engineer Battalion in Korea before coming to the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth as a resident student. After graduation from CGSC he taught tactics for two years. He is currently the Professor of Military Science at Wheaton College ROTC. He wears the Ranger Tab and Airborne patch.

Brother Robert Murphy, O. Carm. is a member of the Order of Carmelites, a Roman Catholic Religious Order. He works at Lewis University in Romeville, Il. in the Department of History. He also serves as Director of University Ministry and Special Counsel to the President. Br. Murphy has advanced degrees in History, Pastoral Counseling, Campus Ministry and Education. His experience includes service as a teacher on both the junior and senior high school levels. He is frequently featured as a speaker and

adult educator at conferences and meetings in the Chicago metropolitan area. Br. Murphy took part in the USMA US Military History Fellowship in the summer of 1992. He is the son of a retired United States Naval Captain and spent all of his childhood and adolescence on Navy bases all over the country. He is proud to call himself "a navy brat".

# TIPPECANOE 1992

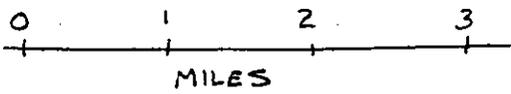
(EVENTS OF NOV 1811 DEPICTED)



1st  
2d  
3d

SHOWS INDIAN ATTACKS  
4-6:30 AM 7 NOV 1811

THIS MAP ONLY SHOWS  
KEY ROADS FOR CADET RIDE

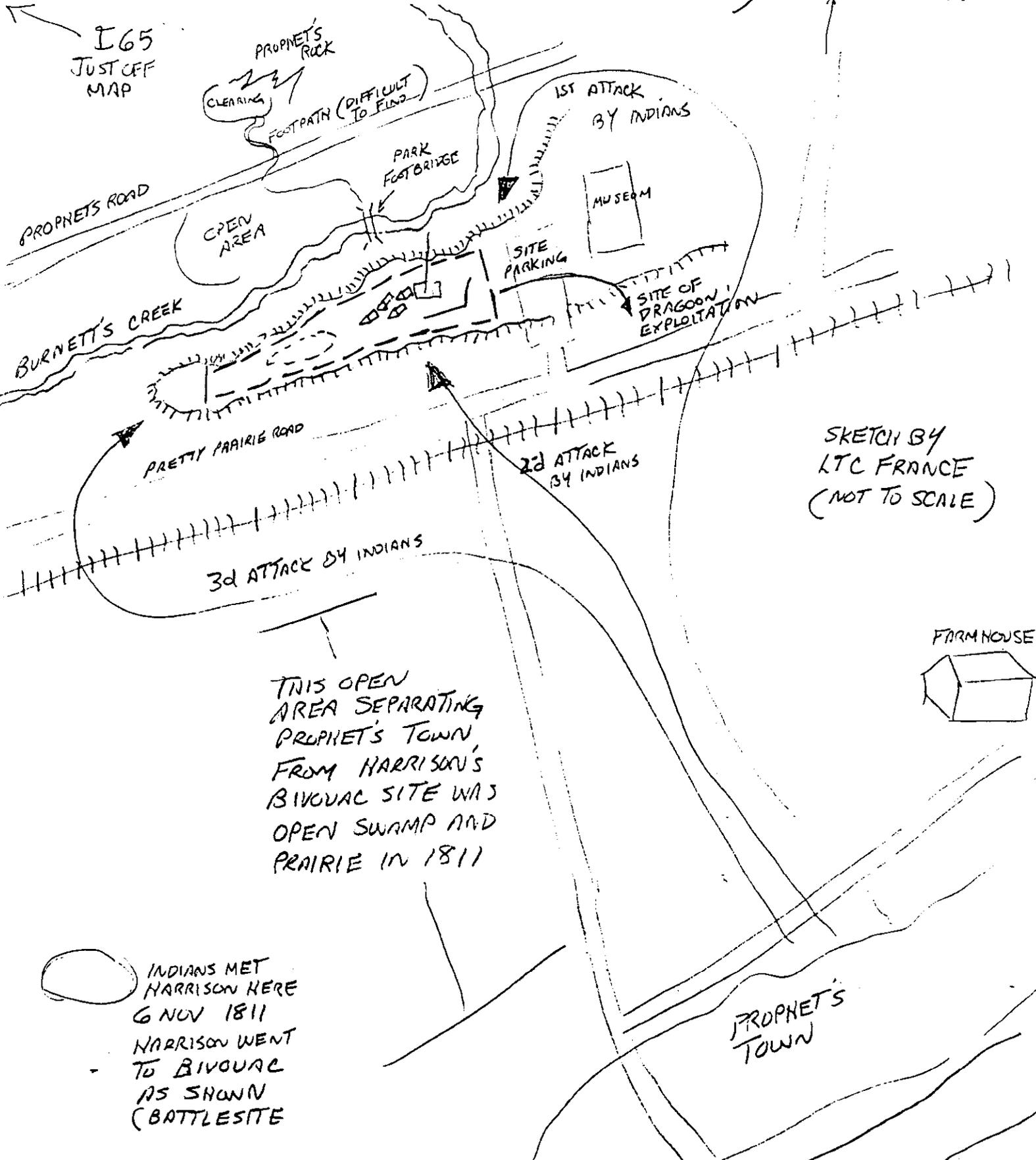


MAP SKETCHED BY LTC FRANCE

TO INDIANAPOLIS

# BATTLESITE PARK 1992

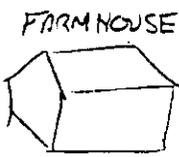
(7 NOV 1811 EVENTS DEPICTED)



SKETCH BY  
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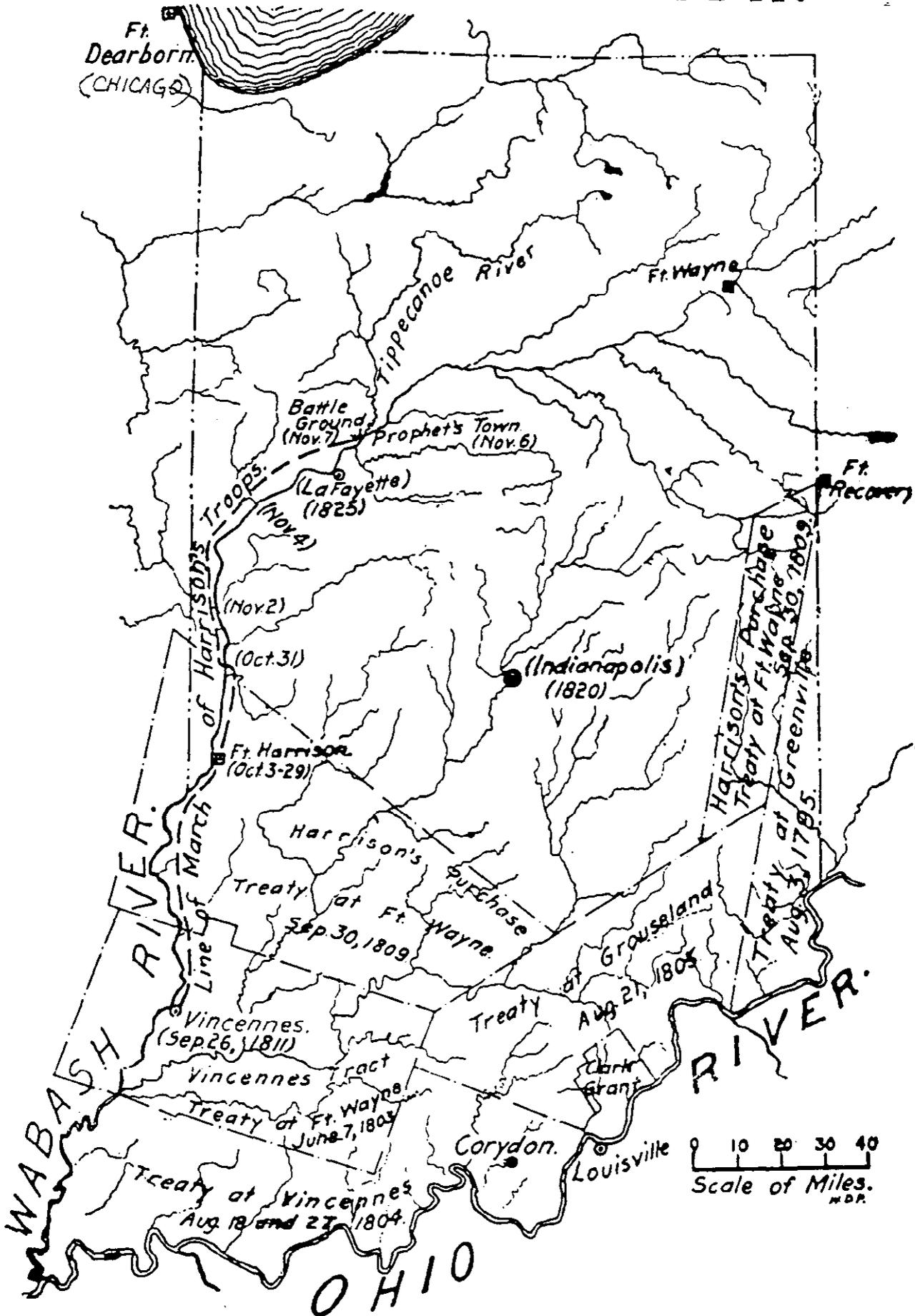
THIS OPEN  
AREA SEPARATING  
PROPHET'S TOWN  
FROM HARRISON'S  
BIVOAC SITE WAS  
OPEN SWAMP AND  
PRAIRIE IN 1811

INDIANS MET  
HARRISON HERE  
6 NOV 1811  
HARRISON WENT  
TO BIVOAC  
AS SHOWN  
(BATTLESITE)

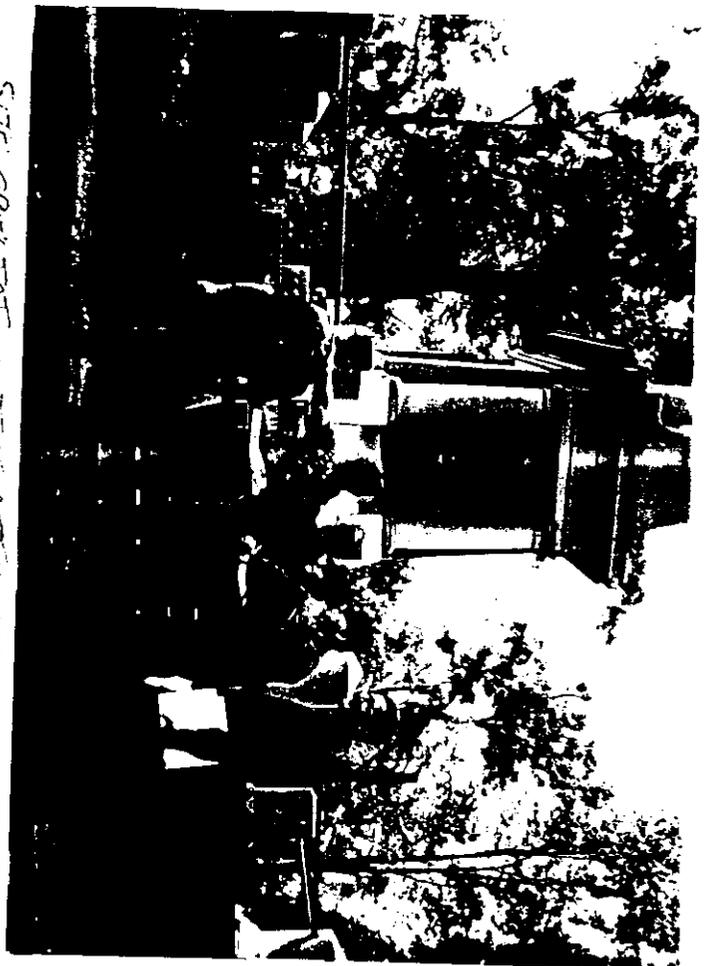


PROPHET'S  
TOWN

# INDIANA IN 1811.



CONFERENCE WITH US CIVIL ENGINEERS CAREY ROE 14 SEP 92



SITE ORIENTATION WITH SITE ARRIVAL - 12:00 PM



ADDITIONAL PHOTOGRAPH OF THE SITUATION AT ARRIVAL



PALETTE DANCE FROM PREPARATION FOR 1ST BIRTHDAY



SITE ORIENTATION ABOUT MIDDLE OF MORNING CAREY ROE 14 SEP 92

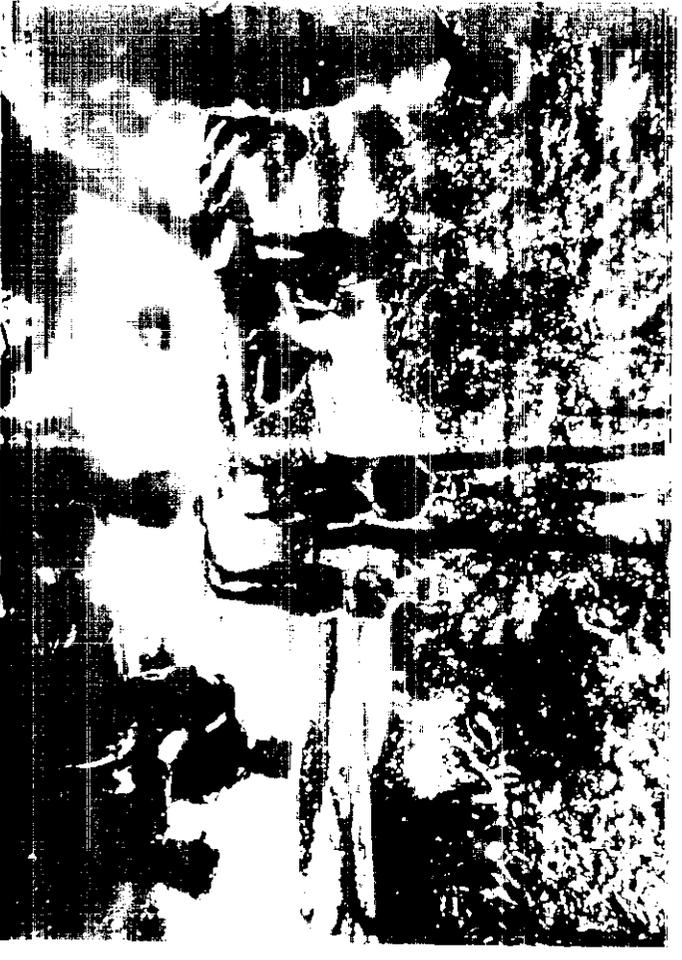
WHEATON COLLEGE / LEWIS UNIVERSITY TIPPOCANOE CROSET RIDE 19 SEP 92



LEWIS COLLEGE STAFF MEMBER'S OFFICE OF SOUTHERN



CROSET'S AREA ON EAST TENDON'S PRESENTS TOWN



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23 JUL 92

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09:12AM

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DYNIX # 155195

AUTHOR Hook, Jason.

TITLE American Indian warrior chiefs : Tecumseh, Crazy Horse, Chief  
Joseph, Geronimo /

IMPRINT Poole : Firebird, 1989.

# PAGES 192 p. : ill. ; 26 cm.

SUBJECT(S) 1) Indians of North America -- Biography.

Press <Return> to see Copy status : PRT

Tecumseh sources

1. new biographies by Allen Eckert, R. David Edmunds
2. Alvin Josephy,  Patriot Chiefs 6th ed. New York: Viking Press, 1972
3. R. David Edmunds, ed. American Indian Leaders (Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1980).
4. Wiley Sword, George Washington's Indian War (Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1985).
5. R. David Edmunds, The Shawnee Prophet (Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1983)

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08:57AM

Call Number 970.00497 T255e

Status : CHECKED IN

DYNIX # 180476

AUTHOR Eckert, Allan W.

TITLE A sorrow in our heart : the life of Tecumseh /

IMPRINT New York : Bantam, c1992.

# PAGES xvii, 862 p. : maps ; 25 cm.

SUBJECT(S) 1) Shawnee Indians -- Biography.  
2) Indians of North America -- Wars -- 1750-1815.  
3) Indians of North America -- Northwest, Old -- History.

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COMBINED ARMS RESEARCH LIBRARY  
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09:04AM

Call Number 355.3310924 H323g

Status : CHECKED IN

DYNIX # 45301

AUTHOR Green, James Albert, 1862-1955.

TITLE William Henry Harrison, his life and times /

IMPRINT Richmond, Va. : Garrett and Massie, 1941.

# PAGES xii, 536 p. : ill., facsim., map, ports. ; 28 cm.

SUBJECT(S) 1) Generals -- United States.  
2) United States -- History -- War of 1812 -- Biography.

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*Includes :*

*Appendix I - The Harrison Literature*

*Appendix II - General Wm. H. Harrison's Family*

*and a Bibliography.*

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Call Number REFERENCE  
012 H323in  
DYNIX # 1168

Status : ~~CHECKED IN~~  
*Missing*

AUTHOR Library of Congress. Manuscript Division.

TITLE Index to the William H. Harrison papers.

IMPRINT Washington : Library of Congress, 1960.

# PAGES viii, 10 p. ; 29 cm.

SERIES Presidents' papers index series

SUBJECT(S) 1) Presidents -- United States -- Correspondence.

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2) Presidents -- United States -- Miscellanea.

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Call Number 973.51 B368b

Status : CHECKED IN

DYNIX # 136938

→ NOW IN PUBLIC DOMAIN

AUTHOR Beard, Reed, 1862-

TITLE The battle of Tippecanoe : historical sketches of the famous field upon which General William Henry Harrison won renown that aided him in reaching the presidency : Lives of the Prophet and Tecumseh, with many interesting incidents of their rise and overthrow : The campaign of 1888 and election of General Benjamin Harrison /

IMPRINT Chicago : Conkey, c1911.

→ This is a copy of the original  
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# PAGES 134 p. : ill., port. ; 21 cm.

SUBJECT(S) 1) Tippecanoe, Battle of, 1811.

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Call Number 970.00497 T255g Status : CHECKED IN

DYNIX # 130700

AUTHOR Gilbert, Bil.

TITLE God gave us this country : Tekamthi and the first American  
Civil War /

IMPRINT New York : Atheneum, 1989.

# PAGES ix, 369 p. : maps ; 25 cm.

SUBJECT(S) 1) Indians of North America -- Northwest, Old -- Wars.  
2) Indians of North America -- Wars -- 1750-1815.

- - - - More on Next Screen - - - -

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3) Shawnee Indians -- Biography.  
4) Shawnee Indians -- Wars.  
5) Northwest, Old -- History -- 1775-1865.

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Call Number 973.52 S947t

Status : CHECKED IN  
1 other copy

DYNIX # 101086

AUTHOR Sugden, John, 1947-

TITLE Tecumseh's last stand /

IMPRINT Norman : University of Oklahoma Press, c1985.

# PAGES xiii, 298 p. : ill. ; 22 cm.

SUBJECT(S) 1) Thames, Battle of, 1813.  
2) United States -- History -- War of 1812 -- Campaigns.  
3) Northwest, Old -- History -- War of 1812 --

- - - - More on Next Screen - - - -

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Campaigns.

4) United States -- History -- War of 1812 --  
Participation, Indian.

- - - - End of Title Info - - - -

THE  
BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE

HISTORICAL SKETCHES

OF THE

FAMOUS FIELD UPON WHICH GENERAL WILLIAM HENRY  
HARRISON WON RENOWN THAT AIDED HIM IN  
REACHING THE PRESIDENCY

LIVES OF THE PROPHET AND TECUMSEH

WITH MANY INTERESTING INCIDENTS  
OF THEIR RISE AND OVERTHROW.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1888

AND ELECTION OF

GENERAL BENJAMIN HARRISON

BY

REED BEARD

AUTHOR OF "BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES OF AMERICAN PRESIDENTS"

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FOURTH EDITION.

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## CHAPTER V.

### The Battle.

THE camping ground was a spot of high oak land rising several feet above a marshy prairie fronting it on the southeast, and extending to the Indian town. The height at the west bank of this tract was much greater and overlooked a small prairie, through the edge of which, near the border of the camping ground, ran a small stream, now known as Burnett's creek. This stream was skirted on either side by a dense growth of willow and other shrubs. The place was an admirable camping ground, but it afforded every facility for a night surprise, which was just the kind of an attack meditated by the Indians. General Harrison, familiar with the methods of Indian warfare, was ever ready for emergencies. To offset this danger, he ordered his army to encamp in readiness for battle, the men sleeping upon their arms. The front, or southeast, and rear lines along the creek were guarded by columns of infantry, separated on the north, or left flank, by about 150 yards, but at the right, or south end, where the ground approached an abrupt point, the front and rear lines were but about eighty yards distant. This flank occupied a line about 150 yards north of the point, and was composed of Captain Spencer's company of eighty mounted riflemen. This company was known as the Yellow-jackets, because of the color of their uniform. The left flank was more exposed and consisted of 120

mounted riflemen, under command of Major-general Wells, of the Kentucky volunteers. The front line, facing the marshy prairie to the southeast, was composed of Major Floyd's battalion of United States infantry, flanked on the left and right by two companies.

The rear line, facing Burnett's creek, was occupied by Major Baen's battalion of United States infantry, and four companies of militia infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Decker. Two companies of dragoons, consisting of sixty men, under command of Major Joseph H. Daveiss, occupied a position in the rear of the left flank, while Captain Parke, with a larger force, was placed to the rear of the front. In case a night attack was made, the dragoons were instructed to parade dismounted, with pistols in belt, as a reserve corps.

The following account of the battle of Tippecanoe is taken from the official dispatch sent by General Harrison to the secretary of war, on the 18th of November, eleven days after the battle:

"I had risen at a quarter after four o'clock, and the signal for calling out the men would have been given in two minutes, when the attack commenced. It began on the left flank; but a single gun was fired by the sentinels, or by the guard in that direction, which made not the least resistance, but abandoned their officer and fled into camp; and the first notice which the troops of that flank had of the danger, was from the yells of the savages a short distance from the line; but, even under these circumstances, the men were not wanting to themselves or to the occasion. Such of them as were awake, or were easily awakened, seized their arms and took their stations; others, which were more tardy, had to contend with the enemy in the doors of their tents. The storm first fell upon Captain Barton's company, of the Fourth

United States Regiment, and Captain Guiger's company of mounted riflemen, which formed the left angle of the rear line. The fire upon these was excessively severe, and they suffered considerably before relief could be brought to them. Some few Indians passed into the encampment near the angle, and one or two penetrated to some distance before they were killed. I believe all the other companies were under arms, and tolerably formed, before they were fired on. The morning was dark and cloudy. Our fires afforded a partial light, which, if it gave us some opportunity of taking our position, was still more advantageous to the enemy, affording them the means of taking a surer aim. They were, therefore, extinguished as soon as possible.

"Under these discouraging circumstances, the troops (nineteen-twentieths of whom had never been in an action before) behaved in a manner that can never be too much applauded. They took their places without noise, and with less confusion than could have been expected from veterans placed in a similar situation. As soon as I could mount my horse, I rode to the angle that was attacked. I found that Barton's company had suffered severely, and the left of Guiger's entirely broken. I immediately ordered Cook's company, and the late Captain Wentworth's, under Lieutenant Peters, to be brought up from the center of the rear line, where the ground was much more defensible, and formed across the angle, in support of Barton's and Guiger's. My attention was then engaged by a heavy firing upon the left of the front line, where were stationed the small company of United States riflemen (then, however, armed with muskets), and the companies of Baen, Snelling and Prescott, of the Fourth Regiment.

"I found Major Daveiss forming the dragoons in the rear of those companies, and understanding that the

heaviest part of the enemy's fire proceeded from some trees about fifteen or twenty paces in front of those companies, I directed the major to dislodge them with a part of the dragoons. Unfortunately, the major's gallantry determined him to execute the order with a smaller force than was sufficient, which enabled the enemy to avoid him in the front and attack his flanks. The major was mortally wounded, and his party driven back. The Indians were, however, immediately and gallantly dislodged from their advantageous position, by Captain Snelling, at the head of his company.

"In the course of a few minutes after the commencement of the attack, the fire extended along the left flank, the whole of the front, the right flank and part of the rear line. Upon Spencer's mounted riflemen, and the right of Warrick's company, which was posted on the right of the rear line, it was excessively severe. Captain Spencer, and his first and second lieutenants, were killed, and Captain Warrick mortally wounded. Those companies, however, still bravely maintained their posts; but Spencer's having suffered so severely, and having originally too much ground to occupy, I reinforced them with Robb's company of riflemen, which had been driven, or, by mistake, ordered from their position in the left flank, toward the center of the camp, and filled the vacancy that had been occupied by Robb with Prescott's company of the Fourth United States Regiment. My great object was to keep the lines entire—to prevent the enemy from breaking into the camp, until daylight should enable me to make a general and effectual charge. With this view I had reinforced every part of the line that had suffered much; and as soon as the approach of morning discovered itself, I withdrew from the front line Snelling's, Posey's (under Lieutenant Allbright) and Scott's, and from the rear line

Wilson's companies, and drew them up upon the left flank; and, at the same time, I ordered Cook's and Baen's companies—the former from the rear, and the latter from the front line—to reinforce the right flank, foreseeing that, at these points, the enemy would make their last efforts. Major Wells, who commanded on the left flank, not knowing my intentions precisely, had taken the command of these companies—had charged the enemy before I had formed the body of dragoons with which I meant to support the infantry; a small detachment of these were, however, ready, and proved amply sufficient for the purpose. The Indians were driven by the infantry at the point of the bayonet, and the dragoons pursued and forced them into a marsh, where they could not be followed. Captain Cook and Lieutenant Larrabee had, agreeably to my order, marched their companies to the right flank and formed them under fire of the enemy; and, being then joined by the riflemen of that flank, had charged the Indians, killed a number, and put the rest to precipitate flight.

“The whole of the infantry formed a brigade, under the immediate orders of Colonel Boyd. The colonel, throughout the action, manifested equal zeal and bravery in carrying into execution my orders—in keeping the men to their posts, and exhorting them to fight with valor. His brigade-major, Clarke, and his aid-de-camp, George Croghan, Esq., were also very serviceably employed. Colonel Joseph Bartholomew, a very valuable officer, commanded, under Colonel Boyd, the militia infantry. He was wounded early in the action, and his services lost to me. Maj. G. R. C. Floyd, the senior officer, of the Fourth United States Regiment, commanded immediately the battalion of that regiment, which was in the front line. His conduct, during the action, was entirely

to my satisfaction. Lieutenant-colonel Decker, who commanded the battalion of militia on the right of the rear line, preserved his command in good order. He was, however, but partially attacked. I have before mentioned to you that Major-general Wells, of the Fourth Division of Kentucky Militia, acted, under my command, as a major, at the head of two companies of mounted volunteers. The general retained the fame which he had already acquired in almost every campaign, and in almost every battle which has been fought with the Indians since the settlement of Kentucky. Of the several corps, the Fourth United States Regiment, and the two small companies attached to it, were certainly the most conspicuous for undaunted valor. The companies commanded by Captains Cook, Snelling and Barton; Lieutenants Larrabee, Peters and Hawkins, were placed in situations where they could render most service, and encounter most danger; and those officers eminently distinguished themselves. Captains Prescott and Brown performed their duty, also, entirely to my satisfaction, as did Posey's company of the Seventh Regiment, headed by Lieutenant Allbright. In short, sir, they supported the fame of American regulars; and I have never heard that a single individual was found out of the line of his duty.

"Several of the militia companies were in no wise inferior to the regulars. Spencer's, Guiger's and Warrick's maintained their posts amid a monstrous carnage—as, indeed, did Robb's, after it was posted on the right flank. Its loss of men (seventeen killed and wounded), and keeping its ground, is sufficient evidence of its firmness. Wilson's and Scott's companies charged with the regular troops, and proved themselves worthy of doing so. Norris' company also behaved well. Hargrove's and Wilkin's companies were placed in a situation where they

had no opportunity of distinguishing themselves, or, I am satisfied, they would have done it. This was the case with the squadron of dragoons also. After Major Daveiss received his wound, knowing it to be mortal, I promoted Captain Parke to the majority, than whom there is no better officer. My two aids-de-camp, Majors Hurst and Taylor, with Lieutenant Adams, of the Fourth Regiment, the adjutant of the troops, afforded me the most essential aid, as well in the action as throughout the campaign.

“The arrangements of Captain Piatt, in the quartermaster’s department, were highly judicious; and his exertions on all occasions—particularly in bringing off the wounded—deserve my warmest thanks. But, in giving merited praise to the living, let me not forget the gallant dead. Col. Abraham Owen, commandant of the Eighteenth Kentucky Regiment, joined me, a few days before the action, as a private in Captain Guiger’s company. He accepted the appointment of volunteer aid-de-camp to me. He fell early in the action. The Representative of his State will inform you that she possessed not a better citizen, nor a braver man. Maj. J. H. Daveiss was known as an able lawyer and a great orator. He joined me as a private volunteer; and, on the recommendations of the officers of that corps, was appointed to command the three troops of dragoons. His conduct, in that capacity, justified their choice. Never was there an officer possessed of more ardor and zeal to discharge his duties with propriety, and never one who would have encountered greater danger to purchase military fame. Captain Baen, of the Fourth United States Regiment, was killed early in the action. He was unquestionably a good officer and a valiant soldier. Captains Spencer and Warrick, and Lieutenants McMahan and Berry, were all my particular friends. I have ever had the utmost confidence in their

valor, and I was not deceived. Spencer was wounded in the head. He exhorted his men to fight valiantly. He was shot through both thighs and fell; still continuing to encourage them, he was raised up, and received a ball through his body, which put an immediate end to his existence. Warrick was shot immediately through the body. Being taken to the surgery to be dressed, as soon as it was over (being a man of great bodily vigor and able to walk) he insisted on going back to the head of his company, although it was evident that he had but few hours to live."

The American loss in the engagement was thirty-seven killed and 151 wounded, of which twenty-five were mortal. Among the killed or mortally wounded were: Colonels Joseph Hamilton Daveiss and Abraham Owen; Captains W. C. Baen, Spier Spencer and Jacob Warrick; Lieutenants Thomas Berry, Richard McMahan, Thomas Randolph, Esq., and Col. Isaac White.

Among the wounded were: Lieutenants Luke Decker and Joseph Bartholomew; Dr. Edward Scull; Adjutant James Hunter; Lieutenants George Gooding, George P. Peters; Ensign Henry Burchstead; Capt. John Norris and Capt. Frederic Guiger.

The Indians engaged in this conflict have been variously estimated at from 350 to 1,000 warriors. The exact number can never be told. It is probable that it was about equal to that of the American army. Their loss was about the same as that of the whites, there being thirty-eight bodies found on the field after the battle. This fact, when considered with the custom of the Indians to carry off their dead, indicates a heavy loss.

The Prophet, during the battle, stationed himself upon a small point of elevated ground near by and chanted war songs to encourage his followers. He had

predicted the crushing defeat of Harrison's army, and said that the bullets would leave the Indians unburnt. When, during the course of the battle, he was informed that some of his braves had been killed, he commanded the Indians to fight on, promising them an easy victory.

The Indians, in this battle, were under the command of three chiefs, viz.: White-loon, Stone-eater and Winne-mac. The warriors had been gathered from many tribes, including the Shawnees, Wyandottes or Hurons, Kickapoos, Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes, Ottawas, Chippewas, Sacs and a few Miamis.

This defeat caused the Indians to lose faith in The Prophet. The great majority of them returned to their tribes. The Prophet, for a time took refuge in a Wyandotte settlement on the Wild Cat creek; he then went to Canada and remained under British protection for some time. But he afterward returned to Ohio and settled with the Shawnee Indians, and with that tribe removed to the Indian lands west of the Mississippi, where he died in 1834, having been a pensioner of the British government since 1813.

The battle of Tippecanoe was fought contrary to the orders of Tecumseh, who, when he returned from the South with his confederacy completed, found that all had been ruined by the folly of his brother.

Tecumseh joined the British army in the War of 1812, and met his death in the battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813. It is said that the bullet which killed him was fired by Col. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, who was afterward elected vice-president of the United States.

## CHAPTER VIII.

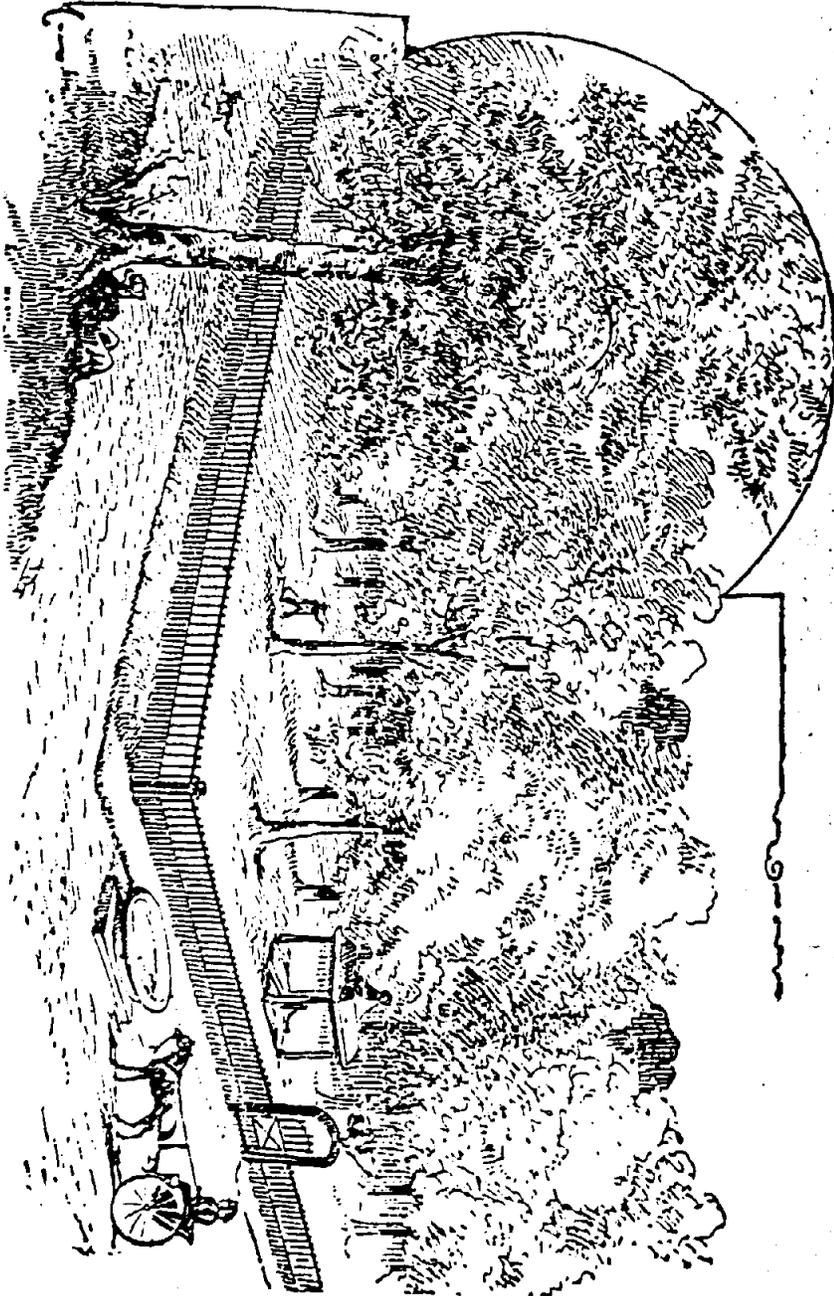
### The Battlefield.

THE field upon which the battle of Tippecanoe was fought is located in Tippecanoe township, of Tippecanoe county, seven miles north of the city of Lafayette, Ind. The land upon which the battle occurred is situated in sections twenty-three and twenty-six, township twenty-four, range four west, and is embraced in a tract of 200 acres entered by John Tipton, November 13, 1829. Mr. Tipton was a native of Tennessee, and enlisted in Governor Harrison's army as an ensign at Corydon, Ind. He was in the struggle of Tippecanoe, and after that battle received promotion for his valiant conduct.

General Harrison buried his dead and burned logs over their graves to conceal the spot of interment. The Indians, however, found the place and disinterred the fallen brave. General Hopkins visited the battlefield the following year, gathered the scattered remains and replaced them in their graves.

In the spring of 1830, the year following the Tipton purchase, a large meeting of survivors of the battle and other distinguished persons, among whom was General Harrison, was held upon the battlefield. The bones of the dead were collected and placed in one grave on the tract deeded by Tipton to the State on the 25th anniversary of the battle of Tippecanoe, November 7, 1836. This tract embraced sixteen and fifty-five hundredths acres

THE PASTURE GROUND, FROM THE NORTH-EAST.



(more or less). Shortly afterward it was inclosed by a rail fence. This spot has been a favorite place for holding great political gatherings. The whigs rallied there for three days during the "Tippecanoe and Tyler" campaign of 1840, and again in 1844, when Henry Clay was their standard bearer. In 1856 it was the scene of rival republican and democratic rallies. The latter was addressed by John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, then a candidate of his party for the vice-presidency. The campaign of 1888 revived the memories of Tippecanoe, and on October 17th and 18th a large republican rally was again held at the Battle Ground.

The Indiana Constitutional Convention of 1851 made provisions for the preservation of the battlefield. Section 10, of Article XV, of the Constitution, reads as follows:

"Tippecanoe Battle Ground. It shall be the duty of the General Assembly to provide for the permanent inclosure and preservation of the Tippecanoe Battle Ground."

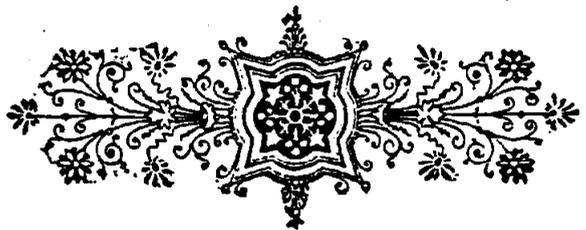
This act of the constitutional convention was a great recognition of the importance of that historic field. In compliance therewith, it was soon afterward inclosed with a substantial board fence.

By an act of the General Assembly, approved December 13, 1872, the sum of \$24,100 was appropriated to erect an iron fence around this famous field. This duty devolved upon the governor, secretary, auditor and treasurer of State, who accomplished the work in elegant style, using only about \$13,000 of the amount placed at their command. The remaining \$6,000 was returned to the State treasury.

An act of March 7, 1887, provided \$3,500 for repainting the fence and necessary repairs. The act also appropriated \$300 annually thereafter, which sum is used as

salary of custodian of the grounds and for needed repairs. The commissioners of Tippecanoe county were made the supervisors of this work, and have expended about \$2,500 of the amount appropriated. It is now proposed to erect a building upon the grounds, to be occupied by the custodian.

A village was founded immediately north of the battlefield, and bore the name of Harrisonville until the construction of the Louisville, New Albany & Chicago Railroad in 1853, when that place, with additions, was incorporated as Battle Ground City, which is now the home of about 500 souls. The place is noted in religious circles as the camp-meeting ground for the Northwest Indiana Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Many religious meetings have been held there almost as strong, numerically, as the great political assemblies for which the site has been so noted in the past.



## CHAPTER XI.

### Roll of Companies.

THE following are the rolls of the various companies under command of Gen. William Henry Harrison in his campaign against the Indians in the autumn of 1811, which terminated in the overthrow of the Confederacy and the destruction of the Prophets' Town. The names were taken from the official records at Washington:

*Roll of the General Staff of the Army commanded by General Harrison from September 6 to November 24, 1811:*

William McFarland, Lt.-Col. and Adjt.; Henry Hurst, Maj. and A. D. C.; Waller Taylor, Maj. and A. D. C.; Marston G. Clark, Brigade Inspector, *promoted* to the same Sept. 20; Robert Buntin, Jr., 2d Lt. and Forage Master; Robert Buntin, Sr., Capt. and Q. M.; Nathaniel F. Adams, Lt. and Adjt., *belonged to the U. S. regular army.*

*Roll of Capt. Dubois' Company of Spies and Guides, of the Indiana Militia, from September 18 to November 12, 1811:*

Toussaint Dubois, Capt.;

PRIVATES—Silas McCulloch, G. R. C. Sullivan, William Bruce, William Polk, Pierre Andre, Ephraim Jordan, William Shaw, William Hogue, *discharged* Oct. 4; David Wilkins, John Hollingsworth, Thomas Learens, Joseph Arpin, Abraham Decker, Samuel James, David Mills, Stewart Cunningham, Bocker Childers, Thomas Jordan.

*Roll of a Detachment of the Field and Staff of Indiana Militia from September 11 to November 24, 1811, under the Command of Lieut.-Col. Bartholomew:*

Joseph Bartholomew, Lieut.-Col., *wounded* in action Nov. 7; Regn Redman, Major; Andrew P. Hay, Surgeon's Mate; Joseph Brown, Adjt.; Joseph Clark, Q. M., *appointed* Surgeon's Mate Oct. 29; Chapman Dunslow, Sergeant-Major; James Curry, Q. M. Sergeant.

*Roll of the Field and Staff of the Fourth Regiment of Infantry of the Indiana Militia, under the command of Colonel Decker, from September 18 to Nov. 19, 1811:*

Luke Decker, Lt.-Col.; Noah Purcell, Major; Daniel Sullivan, Lt.-Adjt.; William Ready, Sergt.-Major; Benj. V. Becker, Q. M.; William Gamble, Q. M. Sergt., *appointed* Q. M. Sergt. Sept. 25 and made up for pay as Private on rolls of Captain Wilson's Company of Infantry to Sept. 21; Edward Scull, Assistant Surgeon; James Smith, Q. M. *promoted* to Captain on Nov. 9 and paid as such from Nov. 10 on the rolls of Captain Warrick's Company.

*Roll of the Field and Staff of Major Parke's Dragoons, of the Indiana Militia, from September 21 to Nov. 19, 1811:*

Joseph H. Daveiss, Major, *killed* in action Nov. 7; Benjamin Parke, Major, *promoted* from the time; Davis Floyd, Adjt.; Charles Smith, Q. M.; General W. Johnston, Q. M., *promoted* from the ranks Oct. 30, 1811; William Prince, Sergt.-Major.

*Roll of Capt. Spier Spencer's Company of Mounted Riflemen of the Indiana Militia, from September 12 to November 23, 1811:*

Spier Spencer, Captain, *killed* in action Nov. 7; Richard McMahan, 1st Lieut., *killed* in action Nov. 7; George

F. Pope, 2d Lieut., *resigned* Oct. 21; Samuel Flanagan, 2d Lieut., *promoted* from Ensign to 2d Lieut.; John Tipton, Captain, *promoted* from Private to Ensign; Jacob Zenoë, 2d Lieut., *promoted* from Private Nov. 7; Phillip Bell, Ensign, *promoted* from Private to Ensign, Nov. 7; Pearce Chamberlain, Sergeant; Henry Batman, Sergeant; Elijah Hurst, Sergeant; Benjamin Boyard, Sergeant; Robert Biggs, Corporal, *badly wounded*; John Taylor, Corporal; Benjamin Shields, Corporal; William Bennington, Corporal; Daniel Cline, Musician; Isham Stroude, Musician.

PRIVATES—John Arick, Ignatius Able, Enos Best, Alpheus Branham, Gadon Branham, Daniel Bell, James Brown, Jesse Butler, Mason Carter, John Cline, Marshall Dunken, *killed* in action Nov. 7; William Davis, *killed* in action Nov. 7; Thomas Davidson, James Dyce, Henry Enlow, William Hurst, William Hurst, Jr., Beverley Hurst, James Harberson, James Hubbond, Robert Jones, James Kelley, Thomas McColley, Noah Mathena, William Nance, Thomas Owens, Samuel Primer, Edward Ransdell, Sandford Ransdell, James Spencer, Christover Shucks, Joshua Shields, *badly wounded*; Samuel Sand, *killed* in action Nov. 7; George Spencer, Jacob Snider, Jon'n Wright, James Wilson, John Wheeler, James Watts, Isham Vest, George Zenoë, P. McMickle, Levi Dunn, *deserted*; William Fowler, *not duly mustered*.

*Roll of Capt. Jacob Warrick's Company of Infantry, of the Indiana Militia, from September 16 to November 19, 1811:*

Jacob Warrick, Capt., *mortally wounded* in action; James Smith, Capt.; William Calton, Lieut., *discharged* September 27; James Duckworth, Ensign; Robt. Montgomery, Sergt.; Robt. McGary, Sergt.; Jeremiah Piercall, Sergt.; Isaac Woods, Sergt.; Benj. Venables, Corpl.; Thomas Black, Corpl.; Robert Denney, Corpl.; Thomas

Montgomery, Jr. Corpl., *promoted* to Lieut. Sept. 30, in place of W. Calton.

PRIVATES—James Alsop, James Stewart, Jesse Key, Bennet Key, Jesse Brewer, Richard Davis, Asa Musick, Smith Mounce, *deserted*, Oct. 15, from garrison; James Stapleton, Fielding Lucas, John McGary, Thomas Montgomery, *discharged* from garrison, Oct. 15; John Montgomery, James Weathers, Ephraim Murphy, Langston Drew, William Gwins, William Black, Joshua Capps, Andrew McFaddin, Lewis Sealy, James Bohannon *deserted* from burrow, Sept. 27; Daniel Duff, Squire McFaddin, Wilson Jones, Jeremiah Robinson, Hugh Todd, Martin Laughon, William Todd, John Gwins, Burton Litton, George Linxwiler, Peter Whetstone, *deserted* from garrison Oct. 15; William Stevens, Timothy Downy, John Coyler, Benj. Stoker, *promoted* to Corporal Sept. 30; Thomas Aldmond, Miles Armstrong, William Aldmond, William Young, Thomas Duckworth, Maxwell Jolly, John Robb, John Neel, Randolph Clark, William Black.

*Roll of Capt. David Robb's Company of Mounted Riflemen, of the Indiana Militia, from October 25 to November 19, 1811:*

David Robb, Captain; Joseph Montgomery, Lieut.; John Waller, Ensign; Elsberry Armstrong, Sergt.; Henry Reil, Sergt.; John Benson, Sergt.; William Maxilon, Sergt.; Ezekiel Kite, Corpl.; George Anthees, Corpl.; James Robb, Corpl., William Johnston, Corpl.; Bryant Harper, Trumpeter.

PRIVATES—Abm. Decker, James Tweedle, John Za. Orton, Armstead Bennett, William Peters, Stewart Cunningham, Francis Hall, Booker Shields, William Tweedle, John Slaven, John Suverns, James Langsdow, Thomas Sullivan, Jesse Music, Daniel Fisher, *mortally wounded*

on Nov. 7, and died Nov. 12; William Allsop, Joseph Garress, Thomas C. Vines, Edward Butner, *mortally wounded* on Nov. 7, and died next day; Saml. James, Thomas Shouse, Frederick Reel, William Selvey, James Bass, George Leech, Jr., David Mills, Thomas Givens, John Black, Jonah Robinson, Isaac Rogers, John Rogers, William Carson, George Litton, David Knight, William Downing, Thomas Jordon, *transferred* to Capt. Dubois' Co., Nov. 20; James Banks, William Bass, James Minor, Hugh Shaw, Peter Cartwright, David Lilley, Thomas Garress, James Asberry, *killed* in action Nov 7; Joseph Tobin, Robert Wilson, John Riggs, John Christ, Theodorus Davis, Thomas Parker Vanpett, John Crawford, Kader Powell, *killed* in action Nov. 7; Thomas Dunn, Jacob Korter, William Askin, Jonathan Humphreys, Alex. Mahen, *badly wounded* Nov. 7; William Witherholt, Moses Sandridge, David Edwards, John Drago, Saml. Hamilton, Robert Tenneson, Richard Potts, Joseph Wright, George Robinson, *badly wounded* Nov. 7; Thomas West.

*Roll of Capt. Norris' Company of Infantry of the Indiana Militia, from September 11 to November 24, 1811:*

John Norris, Captain, *wounded* in action Nov. 7; John Harrod, Lieut.; Joseph Carr, Ensign; George Drummond, Sergeant; William Coombs, Sergeant; Bazil Prather, Sergeant; David Smith, Sergeant; Henry Ward, Corporal; John Harman, Corporal; Joel Combs, Corporal; Robert Hombs, Corporal; David Kelly, Corporal, *appointed* Corporal Sept. 30; Elisha Carr, Drummer; Joseph Perry, Fifer.

PRIVATES—Robert McNight, William Stacey, Gasper Loots, Samuel Duke, Edward Norris, James Shipman, Henry Cusamore, Peter Sherwood, C. Fipps, George Ditsler, John Gray, John Kelly, Jacob Daily, David

Cross, Thomas Clendennan, *killed* in action Nov. 7; Robert Cunningham, Abraham Kelley, *substituted* in place of Samuel Walker and *killed* Nov. 7; Henry Jones, *killed* in action Nov. 7; James Curry, Samuel McClung, Q. M. Sergt., Sept. 27; James Smith, John Perry, Jeris Fordyce, Benoni Wood, James Kelly, Cornelius Kelly, Amos Goodwin, E. Wayman, William Harman, John Newland, John Tilferro, Micajah Peyton. Loyd Prather, Adam Peck, Samuel McClintick, Benj. Thompson, John Weathers, William Eakin, Evan Arnold, John D. Jacob, Hugh Espy, Robert Tippin, Townly Ruby, John McClintick, William Rayson, William Aston, Reubin Slead, Josiah Taylor, George Hooke, Daniel McCoy, Jacob Pearsall, Henry Hooke, Samuel Neal, Thomas Highfill, Robert McClellan, James Taylor.

*Roll of Capt. William Hargrove's Company of Infantry, of the Indiana, Militia, from September 18 to November 19, 1811:*

William Hargrove, Capt.; Isaac Montgomery, Lieut.; Cary Ashley, Ensign, *resigned* in October 1811; Henry Hopkins, Ensign, *promoted* to Sergeant Oct. 27, 1811; Bolden Conner, Sergt.; James Evens, Sergt.; Daniel Millar, Sergt., *promoted* from Corpl., Oct. 27, 1811; William Scales, Sergt., *promoted* from Private Oct. 27, 1811; David Johnson, Corporal; Paten Wheeler, Corporal; William Taylor, Corporal; David Brumfield, Corporal, *promoted* in Oct. 1811;

PRIVATES—Samuel Anderson, John Braselton, Jer. Harrison, John Fleanor, Joseph Ladd, Pinkney Anderson, Thomas Archer, William Archer, James Lenn, Charles Collins, Joshua Day, *deserted* Oct. 2, 1811; Charles Penelton, *deserted* Oct. 16, 1811; William Person, John Mills, Robert Milborn, Jon'n. Cochran, John Lout, Nathan. Woodrough, James Young, John Tucker, Arthur

Meeks, *deserted* Oct. 12, 1811; John Conner, Reuben Fitzgerald, *wounded* slightly Nov. 7; Zachary Skelton, Jacob Skelton, Benj. Scales, William Gordon, Laben Putman, Reding Putman, John Many, Johnson Fitzgerald, Thomas Arnett, James Skelton, Elias Barker, Saml. Whealor, Robert Whealor, William Mangorn, Coonrod Lancaster, *deserted* Oct. 2; James McClure, Haz. Putman, Benj. Cannon, Joshua Stapleton, William Skelton, William Harrington, Randolph Owens, Isaac Twedle, James Crow, Richard M. Kirk, George Coningham, James Skidmore, Joseph Mixson, Samuel Gasten, Edward Whitacor, Charles Meeks, *reduced* from Corpl. Oct. 26; Robert Skelton, *badly wounded* Nov. 7; David Lawrence, *discharged* Sept. 19; Joseph English, *discharged* Sept. 19; Robt. Montgomery, *discharged* Sept. 19; Cabreen Merry, *discharged* Sept. 19.

*Roll of Capt. Thomas Scott's Company of Infantry, of the Indiana Militia, from September 18 to November 19, 1811:*

Thomas Scott, Capt.; Jon'n. Purcell, Lieut.; John Scott, Ensign; John Welton, Ensign; Francis Mallet, Ensign; Lanty Johnston, Ensign; Samuel Roquest, Ensign; John Moore, Corpl.; Abm. Westfall, Corpl.; Elick C. Dushane, Corpl.; Charles Bono, Corpl.

PRIVATES—Jesse Willas, James McDonald, Jon'n. Hornback, Alpheus Pickard, John McCoy, Zebulon Hogue, Andrew Westfall, William Watson, Walter Neil, William A. Clark, William Welton, Henry Lain, Abraham Wood, *killed* Nov. 7; John Collins, William Williams, Saml. Risley, William Collins, Charles Fisher, Robert Johnston, Absolom Thorn, William Penny, William Young, William Jones, John Collins, Jr., William Bailey, Charles Mail, Richard Westrope, Thomas McClain, Joseph Ridley, Henry O'Niel, Joseph Alton, Baptist

Topah, Antoine Gerome, Mitchel Rusherville, Charles Dudware, John Baptist Bono, Joseph Bushby, Henry Merceam, Augusta Lature, Louis Abair, Charles Soudriett, Ambrose Dashney, Francis Berbo, Francis Bonah, *killed* Nov. 7; Semo Bolonga, *died* Nov. 18; Louis Lovellett, Francis Boryean, John Mominny, *discharged* Oct. 8; Pierre Delurya, Sr., Pierre Delurya, Jr., Joseph Besam, Louis Boyeam, Dominic Pashy, Antoine Cornia, Antoine Ravellett, John Baptist Cardinal, Jack Obah, *killed* Nov. 7; Toussaint Deno, Joseph Reno, Eustace Sevanne, Nicholas Velmare, Joseph Sansusee, Francis Arpah, Antoine Shennett, Madan Cardinal, Louis Lowya.

*Roll of Capt. Walter Wilson's Company of Infantry, of Indiana Militia, from September 18 to November 18, 1811:*

Walter Wilson, Captain; Benjamin Beckes, Lieut., *appointed* Q. M. Nov. 18; Joseph Macomb, Ensign; Thomas I. Withers, Sergeant; Thomas White, Sergeant; Isaac Minor, Sergeant; John Decker, Sergeant; Daniel Risley, Corporal; William Shuck, Corporal; John Grey, Corporal; Peter Brinton, Corporal.

PRIVATES—William Gamble, William Brinton, Batest Chavalar, Asa Thorn, Thomas Chambers, Joseph Harbour, Adam Harness, James Jordon, John Chambers, John Anthis, Lewis Frederick, Lewis Reel, *died* October 13; Richard Greentree, Samuel Clutter, Jacob Anthis, James Walker, Nathan Baker, John Barjor, Sinceky Almy, Peter Bargar, Moses Decker, Joseph Voodry, Woolsey Pride, Robert Brinton, *deserted* Oct. 24; Abraham Pea, Thomas Milbourne, *deserted* Oct. 24; William Pride, Benjamin Walker, Jacob Harbonson, *deserted* Oct. 24; Sutton Coleman, *deserted* Oct. 24; Joab Chappel, Robert McClure, John Risley, *deserted* Oct. 24; Jon'n. Walker, *deserted* Oct. 24; Isaac Walker, David Knight, James Purcell.

*Roll of Capt. Andrew Wilkin's Company of Infantry, of the Indiana Militia, from September 18 to November 18, 1811:*

Andrew Wilkins, Captain; Adam Lisman, Lieut.; Samuel McClure, Ensign; John Hadden, Sergeant; Thomas Black, Sergeant; Samuel Leman, Sergeant; Charles Booth, Sergeant; Daniel Carlin, Corporal; John Edwards, Corporal; Richard Engle, Corporal; Abraham Bogard, Corporal.

PRIVATES—John Johnston, John Mills, Abraham Johnston, James Mitchel, Robert Murphy, Jesse Cox, William Ashby, Loudwick Earnest, Edward Wilks, Rubin Moore, Thomas Anderson, Samuel Middleton, James Calleway, James Tims, Isaac Luzader, Samuel Carruthers, Asa McCord, Nathaniel Adams, Robert Lilley, John Elliot, William Hollingsworth, William Francis, Obediah F. Patrick, Aron Quick, John Murphy, Ebenezer Blackston, James Horrel, Samuel Culbertson, John Davis, Christopher Coleman, Robert Elsey, Henry Matny, Robert Bratton, William Flint, John Rodarnel, John Culbertson, Joseph Hobbs, Albert Davis, Thomas Horrel, *discharged* Sept. 26; Joseph Edwards, William Hill, *appointed* Corporal Oct. 18; John Engle, Henry Collins, John Meek, Thomas Johnston, Madison Collins, William Black, Luke Matson, John Harden, Edward Bowls, Robert Polk, Charles Ellison, George Gill, James Grayham, Joseph McRonnels, Jon'n Purcell, George Bright, Peter Lisman, William Arnet, Samuel Ledgerwood, Martin Palmore.

*Roll of a Company of Riflemen, of the Indiana Militia, Commanded by Capt. Jas. Bigger from September 11 to November 24, 1811:*

James Bigger, Capt.; John T. Chunn, Lieut.; Joseph Stillwell, Ensign; John Drummons, Sergt., *wounded* on Nov. 10; Isaac Nailor, Sergt.; Rice G. McCoy, Sergt.;

Thomas Nicholas, *discharged* Oct. 16; Josiah Thomas, *promoted* to Sergt. Oct. 6; James B. McCullough, Corpl.; Jonathan Heartley, Corpl.; Thomas Chapple, Corpl.; David Bigger, Corpl.; John Owens, Drummer; Jacob L. Stillwell, Fifer.

PRIVATES—James Robertson, Joseph Warnick, *killed* in action Nov. 7; John Hutcherson, Daniel Peyton, Daniel Williams, James Garner, Amos Little, Hezekiah Robertson, Joseph Daniel, John Denney, James King, John Gibson, Jr., John Walker, Daniel Pettitt, John Carr, William Nailor, Vinyard Pound, Andrew Holland, John Heartley, Daniel Kimberlain, Samuel Stockwell, David Owens, Jr., Robert Robertson, Jr., *deserted* Sept. 25; Absalom Carr, Thomas Gibson, *wounded* Nov. 7; James Robertson, Jr., James Anderson, William Tissler, *killed* in action Nov. 7; William Hutto, Thomas Burnett, Charles Mathews, John Covert, William Wright, John Finley, John Martin, Isaac Stark, John Kelley, Wilson Sargent, David Cople, William G. Gubrick, James Elliot, John Agins, Moses Stark, John Reed, George Reed, Benj. Pool, James McDonald, Isaac D. Huffman, Alex. Montgomery, William Hooker, *deserted* Oct. 14; Leonard Houston, *wounded* Nov. 7; James Mooney, Tobias Muller, Lucius Kibby, John Gibson, Sr.

*Roll of Lieut. Berry's Detachment of Mounted Riflemen, of the Indiana Militia, from September 12 to November 23, 1811:*

Thomas Berry, Lieut.; *killed* in action, Nov. 7; Zachariah Linley, Sergeant, *badly wounded*.

PRIVATES—John Briere, not regularly mustered; John Beck, Frederick Carnes, John Dougherty, Thomas Elliott; Griffith Edwards, Joseph Edwards Peter Hanks, *mortally wounded* Nov. 7; David Hederick, Henry Hickey, *killed* Nov. 7, 1811; Caleb Harrison, Anthony Taylor, William

Lee, Jacob Lutes, Daniel McMickle, killed Nov. 7; Henry Moore, Peter McMickle, badly wounded; George Mahon, Frederick Wyman, Samuel Lockhart.

*Roll of Capt. Benjamin Parke's Troop of Light Dragoons, of the Indiana Militia, from September 18 to November 19, 1811:*

Benjamin Parke, Captain, promoted to the rank of Major; Thomas Emerson, Lieut.; George Wallace, Jr., Lieut.; John Bathis, Cornet; Christian Grater, Sergt.; William Harper, Sergt.; Henry Rubbe, Sergt.; John McClure, Sergt.; William H. Dunnica, Corpl.; Charles Allen, Corpl.; Reuben Sallinger, Corpl.; Levi Elliot, Corpl.; John Braden, Sadler.

PRIVATES—Charles Smith, Peter Jones, Joshua Bond, Permena Becks, William Prince, Jesse Slawson, Touissant Dubois, Jr., Thomas Randolph, John McDonald, Miles Dolahan, John Dolahan, John Elliot, Mathias Rose, Jr., Henry Dubois, Jesse Lucas, William Berry, William Parcell, John Crosby, Leonard Crosby, William Mehan, killed in action Nov. 7; Samuel Drake, Saml. Emerson, Saml. Alton, never joined; Nathan Harness, Daniel Decker, John Seaton, never joined; Howson Seaton, John Flint, never joined; John D. Hay, Hiram Decker, Ebenezer Hilton, John I. Neely, John McBain, appointed Trumpeter Sept. 29; Pierre Laptante, James Steen, Andrew Purcell, John Pea, Albert Badolett, Josiah L. Holmes, William W. Holmes, Thomas Coulter, Charles McClure, Jacque Andre, Thomas McClure, John Bruce, never joined; Thomas Palmer, General W. Johnston, William A. McClure, Clanton Steen, never joined; James McClure, Archd. McClure, James Neal, John Wyant, Charles Scott, James S. Petty, Isaac White, killed November 7; John McClure, Henry I. Mills, Robert M. Evans, never joined; James Mud, George Croghlin, Abner Hynes,

Benj. Sanders, James Nabb, John O'Fallen, William Luckett, Landon Carter, Robert Buntin, Jr., John I. Smith, Robert Sturgen, James Harper.

*Roll of a Company of Light Dragoons, of the Indiana Militia, Commanded by Capt. Chas. Beggs from Sept. 11 to Nov. 23, 1811:*

Charles Beggs, Captain; John Thompson, Lieut., promoted Lieut. Sept. 18; Henry Bottorf, Lieut., promoted Lieut. Sept. 18; Mordecai Sweeney, Cornet, promoted Lieut. Sept. 18; Davis Floyd, Sergt., promoted Adjutant Sept. 20; John Carr, Sergt., appointed Sergt., Oct. 24; James Sage, Sergt.; James Fisler, Sergt.; Abraham Miller, Sergt.; George Rider, Corpl.; Sion Prather, Corpl.; Hugh Ross, Corpl.; Samuel Bottorf, Corpl.; John Deats, Trumpeter.

PRIVATES—Jacob Cressmore, William Kelley, killed in action Nov. 7; William Lewis, not regularly mustered; James Ellison, Timothy R. Rayment, John Cowan, Jon'n Gibbons, William Perry, Edward Perry, John Goodwin, James Hay, John Newland, George Twilley, Milo Davis, Marston G. Clark, promoted Brigade Major Sept. 20; Saml. Carr, Jos. McCormack, Richard Ward, John Farris, Charles F. Ross, John Thompson, promoted Lieut. Sept. 18. *Roll of the Field and Staff of Major Samuel Wells' Corps of Mounted Riflemen from Oct. 16 to Nov. 24, 1811:*

Samuel Wells, Major; James Hunter, Adjt. *Roll of Captain Peter Funks' Company of Kentucky Mounted Militia from Sept. 14 to Nov. 23, 1811:*

Peter Funks, Captain; Lewis Hite, Lieut.; Samuel Kelly, Cornet; Adam D. Mills, Sergt.; James Martin, Sergt.; Henry Canning, Sergt.; Lee White, Sergt., appointed Sergt. Sept. 24; Elliott Wilson, Corporal, appointed Corporal Oct. 16; William Cooper, Trumpeter, appointed Trumpeter September 16; Samuel Frederick, Farrier.

PRIVATES—Thomas Stafford, William Shaw, transferred to the Spies Sept. 23; William Ferguson, James Hite, John Shaw, Joseph Kennison, John Smith, Moses Williamson, William M. Luckett, transferred to Parke's Co. Sept. 23; John Murphy, James Muckleroy, Enos Mackey, John Edlin, Samuel Wells, William Duberley, Isaac Hollingsworth, Samuel N. Lickett, left the Company to join Parke's Company Sept. 23; Benjamin W. Gath, Thomas P. Mayors, William F. Tully.

*Roll of Frederick Guiger's Company of Mounted Riflemen, of the Kentucky Militia, from October 23 to November 18, 1811:*

Frederick Guiger, Captain, wounded slightly, Nov. 7; Presley Ross, Lieut.; William Edwards, Ensign; Robert Macintire, Sergeant, wounded Nov. 7; Robert Edwards, Sergeant; Daniel Macclellon, Sergeant; John Jackson, Sergeant; Stephen Mars, Corporal, killed in action, Nov. 7; John Hikes, Corporal; John Nash, Corporal; Henry Waltz, Corporal; Joseph Paxton, Trumpeter.

PRIVATES—Martin Adams, Phillip Allen, Thomas Beeler, William Brown, James Ballard, Thomas Calliway, John Dunbar, James M. Edwards, Richard Findley, Joseph Funk, John Grimes, Isaac R. Gwathney, Henry Hawkins, James Hanks, John Loek, Elijah Lane, Hudson Martin, Samuel Pound, Jonathan Pounds, Peter Preast, John W. Slaughter, James Summerville, killed Nov. 7; Edmond Ship, Thomas Trigg, Samuel W. White, William Trigg, George W. Wells, Springor Augustus, Charles L. Byrn, Joseph Barkshire, John Buskirk, Adam Burkett, Charles Barkshire, Robert Barnaba, Temple C. Byrn, Zach. Ingram, Patrick Shields, Joseph Smith, killed Nov. 7; Thomas Speeks, Wilson Taylor, Greenbury Wright, George Beck, William Cline, Nicholas Fleener, Joshua Jest, Daniel Minor, John

Maxwell, John Owsley, killed Nov. 7; Michael Plaster, Josh. Maxwell, Abm. Walk.

*Roll of the Field and Staff of the Fourth Regiment of Infantry for November and December, 1811:*

John P. Boyd, Colonel; Zebulen M. Pike, Lt. Colonel; James Miller, Lt. Colonel; G. R. C. Floyd, Major; Josiah D. Foster, Surgeon; Hosea Blood, Surg's Mate; John L. Eastman, A. Adj't.; Josiah Bacon, Q. M.; Nathl. F. Adams, Pay Master; Winthrop Ager, S. Major; William Kelly, Q. M. Sergt.

*Roll of a Company of Infantry under command of Capt. Josiah Snelling, of the Fourth Regiment, Commanded by Col. John P. Boyd, from August 31 to October 31, 1811:*

Josiah Snelling, Captain; Charles Fuller, 1st Lieut.; John Smith, 2d Lieut.; Richard Fillebrown, Sergeant; Jacob D. Rand, Sergeant; Daniel Baldwin, Sergeant; Ephraim Churchell, Sergeant; John Shays, Corporal; Timothy Hart, Corporal; Samuel Horden, Corporal; Benjamin Moores, Corporal; Amos G. Corey, Musician; Nathaniel P. Thurston, Musician; John Mills, Musician.

PRIVATES—John Austin, Cyrus J. Brown, James Brice, Michael Burns, John Brewer, George Blandin, Cephas Chase, Jacob Collins, William Clough, Thomas Day, William Dole, John Davis, Abraham Dutcher, Phillip Eastman, Samuel French, Rufus Goodenough, Alanson Hathaway, William Healey, William Jackman, Henry Judewine, Abraham Larrabee, Asa Larrabee, Gideon Lincoln, Edward Magary, Serafino Massi, Luigi Massi, Vincent Massi, James McDonald, Samuel Pritchett, James Sheldon, Samuel Porter, James Palmer, Joseph Pettingall, William B. Perkins, Samuel Pixley, Jonathan Robinson, died Oct. 6; Greenlief Sewey, Elias Soper, Westley Stone, Seth Sergeant, John Trasher, Phillip Trasher, Joseph Tib-

betts, killed in action Nov. 7; David Wyer, Mark Whall, John Whiteley, John P. Webb, Giles Wilcox, Thomas Blake, died Oct. 11; Daniel Haskell, deserted Sept. 25. *Roll of a Company of Infantry under command of Capt. George W. Prescott, of the Fourth Regiment, Commanded by Col. John P. Boyd, from October 31 to December 31, 1811.*

George W. Prescott, Captain; Ebenezer Way, 1st Lieut.; Benjamin Hill, 1st Lieut.; John Miller, Sergeant; William Huggins, Sergeant; Aaron Tucker, Sergeant; Robert Sandborn, Corporal; Ephraim D. Dockbarr, Corporal; John Silver, Corporal; Samuel Fowler, Corporal; Moses Blanchard, Musician; John Ross, Musician.

PRIVATES—John Aslton, Ira Bailey, George Bailey, Abel Brown, Benjamin Burnham, Enoch Carter, Almer Clark, Stephen Clay, Nathan Colby, Jonathan Colby, John Corser, William Corser, James Cobby, Abraham Folsom, John Forriest, Thomas Glines, Henry Godfrey, John Gorrell, Levi Griffin, Peter Griffin, John Green, Edmund Heard, Benjamin Hudson, Jonathan Herrick, Amos Ingalls, David Ingalls, William Kelley, William Knapp, Stephen Knight, Peter Ladd, Aaron Ladd, Samuel Ladd, Johnson Lovering, Moses Mason, James Merrill, John Norman, Ezra C. Peterson, Lemuel Parker, John Sandborn, mortally wounded Nov. 7, and died Nov. 9; Barnard Shields, Nathaniel Simpson, Luther Stephenson, William Sharpless, Israel Tilton, John Virgin, Oliver Wakefield, Silas Wells, Isaac Wescott, Jonathan Willey, James Williams.

*Roll of Capt. Baen's Company of Infantry, under command of First Lieut. Charles Larrabee, in the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Col. John P. Boyd, from Oct. 31 to Dec. 31, 1811.*  
William C. Baen, Captain, mortally wounded in action

Nov. 7, and died Nov. 9; Charles Larrabee, 1st Lieut.; Lewis Beckham, 2d Lieut.; James Tracy, 1st Sergt.; Bernard A. T. Cormons, 2d Sergt.; William Stoney, 3d Sergt.; Simeon Cruml, 1st Corpl.; Edward Allen, 2d Corpl.; Amos G. Carey, Musician; John Mills, Musician; Zebolon Sanders, Musician.

PRIVATES—George Bentely, died Dec. 16, at Fort Knox; Darius Ballow, Augustus Ballow, William Button, Jeremiah Boner, Ebenezer Collins, John Doullue, Sylvester Dean, Daniel Delong, Daniel Doyers, John Davis, Dexter Earll, mortally wounded in action Nov. 7; Timothy Foster, Brian Flanigan, Russel Freeman, Andrew Griffin, John Glover, Samuel Gunison, Samuel Hawkins, Peter Harvey, John D. Hall, John Jones, Titus Knapp, Wetherall Leonard, John T. Mohannah, John Miller, Nathan Mitchell, Francis Nelson, Smith Nanthrup, Benjamin S. Peck, James Pine, Isaac Rathbone, Daniel Rodman, Benjamin Vandeford, Nathaniel Wetherall, James Whipple, William Williams, Job Winslow.

*Roll of a Company of Infantry, under Command of Capt. Joel Cook, in the Fourth Regiment, Commanded by Col. John P. Boyd, from Oct. 31 to Dec. 31, 1811:*

Joel Cook, Capt.; Josiah Bacon, 2nd Lieut.; James A. Bennett, Sergt.; Daniel Shelton, Sergt.; Caleb Betts, Sergt.; Harvey Munn, Sergt.; Nathaniel Heaton, Corpl.; John Anthony, Corpl.; David B. Kipley, Corpl.; Abijah Bradley, Musician; Samuel Thompson, Musician.

PRIVATES—William Bird, Alexander Brown, Gurden Beckwith, George Brasbridge, William Barnett, Alfred Cobourne, Denison Crumby, died of his wounds Dec. 28; Eliakim Culver, Robert Coles, Charles Cogger, died of his wounds Dec. 3; William Foreman, Joseph Francis, Ezra Fox, Levi Gleason, Benjamin Holland, Roswell

Heminway, Timothy Hill, John Hutchinson, Michael Houck, Abraham Johnson, David Knickerbocker, George Kilbourn, Daniel Lee, *died* of his wounds on the battle-field Nov. 8; William Moore, William Neville, James Penick, Michael Pendegrass, Elisha Persons, James Parker, John Pinkley, Daniel Rogers, Amos Royce, *died* of his wounds on the battle ground Nov. 8; Robert Riley, Nathan Snow, *died* of his wounds Nov. 14; Daniel Spencer, Evered Shelton, Wm. M. Sanderson, Samuel Smith, John S. Clair, Robert Thompson, Anson Twitchell, John Williams, Jonathan Wallingsford, Jesse Elam.

*Roll of a Company of Infantry, under command of Capt. Return B. Brown, of the Fourth Regiment Commanded by Col. John P. Boyd, from Oct. 31 to Dec. 31, 1811:*

Return B. Brown, Captain; Oliver G. Burton, 1st Lieut.; John Smith, 2d Lieut.; Ebenezer Mowser, Sergeant; David Robinson, Sergeant; Levi Jenison, Sergeant; Daniel Reed, Sergeant; Ephraim Sillaway, Corporal; Joel Kimball, Corporal; Wm. D. Ausment, Corporal; Samuel S. Bingham, Drummer; Henry Haydon, Fifer.

PRIVATES—Lewis Bemis, Bazalul Bradford, Elias Barrett, Augustus Bradford, Benjamin Bartlett, Eli Boyd, Henry Brock, Zalmon Blood, Caleb Cotton, Wm. W. McConnell, Comadovas D. Cass, Rowland Edwards, Joseph Flood, Joseph Follet, Ebenezer P. Field, Harvey Geer, Peter Greeney, Walter T. Hitt, Samuel Hillard, Moody B. Lovell, Bliss Lovell, John Morgan, Wm. Murgettroyd, David H. Miller, Obediah Morton, Moses Pierce, Jacob Prouty, James Roberts, Mayhew Rollings, Jared Smith, Peter R. Sciles, David Tutbill, David Wells, Josiah Willard, John Yeomans, *killed* in battle.

*Roll of Capt. Robert C. Barton's Company, of John P. Boyd's Fourth Regiment of United States Volunteers, for November and December, 1811:*

Robert C. Barton, Captain; Abraham Hawkins, 2d Lieut.; Oringe Pooler, Sergeant; Marshall S. Durkee, Sergeant; Horace Humphrey, Corporal; John McWithy, Corporal; William Turner, Corporal, *promoted* to Corporal Nov. 1, and *wounded* in action; Daniel Kellogg, Drummer.

PRIVATES.—John Andrickson, Jesse S. Clark, Philip Coats, Robert Douglass, *wounded* in action Nov. 7; William Foster, *wounded* in action Nov. 7; Ichabod Farrar, John D. Jones, David Kerns, *mortally wounded* in action Nov. 7, *died* Nov. 8; Isaac Little, Timothy McCoon, John McArthur, Joseph Poland, Silas Perry, William Stephenson, Samuel Souther, *wounded* in action; Rowland Sparrowk, Lewis Taylor, *mortally wounded* in action Nov. 7, and *died* Nov. 8; Lemman E. Welch, *mortally wounded* in action Nov. 7, and *died* Nov. 8; George Wilson, Henry Bates, Thomas Clark.

*Roll of a Company of Infantry (the Late Capt. Wentworth) command of Lieut. Charles Fuller, of the Fourth Regiment, Commanded by Col. John P. Boyd from Oct. 31 to December 31, 1811:*

Paul Wentworth, Capt., *resigned* Oct. 29; Nathaniel F. Adams, 1st Lieut. and Pay Master; Charles Fuller, 1st Lieut.; John L. Eastman, 1st Lieut.; George P. Peters, 2d Lieut.; Isaac Ricker, Sergt.; David H. Lewis, Sergt.; James Pike, Sergt.; Jedediah Wentworth, Corporal; Henry Moore, Corporal; Solomon Johnson, Corporal; Henry Tucker, Corporal; Nathan Brown, Musician; Joel Durell, Musician.

PRIVATES—William Andrew, John Adams, William Brown, William Bowles, John Burns, Joseph Burditt, *mortally wounded*, Nov. 7; Samuel Cook, Caleb Critchet,

## THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE.

Ivory Courson, Samuel Coffin, Elisha Dyer, Jeremiah Emerson, Jonathan Elkins, Noah Turnald, Joseph Farrow, Robert Gordon, John S. Gordon, William Griggs, Solomon Heartford, John Hurd, William Ham, Jonathan W. Ham, Stephen Hawkins, Stephen Harris, Jonathan Harris, Joseph Hunt, James Heath, David Heath, Nathaniel Jones, Samuel King, William King, killed in action Nov. 7; Jacob Keyser, Asa Knight, Joseph Layman, William Layman, Joseph Mears, James McDuffee, Robert Mcintosh, confined at Fort Knox under sentence of a general court martial; Jerry Maulthrop, Isaac M. Nute, wounded Nov. 7, and died next day; Jacob Nute, Jonathan Nute, Henry Nutter, Richard Perry, William Perkins, Jacob Peavey, Curtis Pippis, John Rowell, John Rice, Stephen Ricker, John M. Rollins, Stanton Smilie, Isaac Tuttle, John S. Watson, Ichabod Wentworth, Robert Whitehouse, Enoch Worthen, John Welch, Silas Wood, Charles Wait, Timothy Waldron, Zadoc Williams, Philip Allen.

*Roll of a Company of Infantry (the Late Capt. Walche's), under command of Lieut. O. G. Burton, of the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Col. Jno. P. Boyd from October 31 to December 31, 1811:*

O. G. Burton, First Lieut.; George Gooding, 2d Lieut.; Montgomery Orr, Sergt.; Knewland Carrier, Sergt.; Major Mantor, Sergt., promoted to the rank of Sergeant, Nov. 1; James Mitchell, Corpl., killed in battle, Nov. 7; Daniel L. Thomson, Corpl., killed in battle, Nov. 7; Sallis, Corpl.; William Demon, Corpl.; Lucius Musician.

PRIVATES—Leonard Arp, Noyes Billings, Amos Blanchard, Calib Barton, Levi Cary, killed in battle, Nov. 7; Jonathan Crewell, died Nov. 8; Zenos Clark, Daniel Gilman, died Nov. 17; Issachar Green, Thomas Harvey, William King, Samuel Pettis, William Pomaroy, Joseph

## ROLL OF COMPANIES.

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Russel, James Stephenson, died with wounds Dec. 6; John Spragen, William Sargeants, Samuel B. Spalding, Morten Thayer, Samuel Tibbets, John Vickery, Alexander Bowen.

*Roll of the Late Capt. Whitney's Company of Riflemen, under command of Lieut. A. Hawkins, of the Rifle Regiment, commanded by Col. Alexander Smythe, from October 31 to December 31, 1811:*

Pretemon Wright, Sergt.; Teuben Newton, Sergt. Aaron W. Forbush, Sergt.; James Phillips, Sergt.; Henry Barker, Corporal; Aaron Mellen, Corporal; William Hunter, Corporal; Henry Burchsted, Ensign; Adam Walker, Musician.

PRIVATES—Ebenezer T. Andrews, Otis Andrews, John Arerin, William Brigham, died in hospital Dec. 4; Stephen Brown, William Brown, Samuel Briggs, Robert Cutter, Jonas Dalton, Teuben Durant, Francis Ellis, Thomas Hair, James Haskell, died at Port Knox Dec. 2; Ephraim Hall, Samuel Johnson, Silas Kendall, Patrick Norton, Israel Newhall, Frederick Roods, Marcus D. Ramsdill, Elijah B. Ramsdill, Thaddeus B. Russell, William Reed, Francis Reittre, Edward R. Suck, Samuel Thing, Ira T. Trowbridge, killed in action Nov. 7; Nehm. Wetherill, Ezra Wheelock.





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February 15, 1993

Dr. John A. Lynn  
Department of History  
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign  
Urbana, IL 61801

Dear John:

After overhearing your conversation with Lt. Col. Best about the Tippicanoe "staff ride," I've been thinking about what sort of preparatory material you might want. Not that you asked, but that's the burden of a collegial relationship.

I think the challenge will be to reconstruct the Indian - whoops, NATIVE AMERICAN - side of the campaign and battle. I've noted some references on the back of the excerpt from Prucha's MacMillan series book on the Army on the frontier. Prucha's footnotes offer additional sources.

The reigning expert on the Indian side of the war for the Old Northwest Territory is Dr. R. David Edmunds, who has written a biography of "The Prophet" and (I think) another on Tecumseh. I know Edmunds has written articles on Tecumseh, some for historical journals in Ohio like Timeline. I suspect your bravura library can do a search and produce the references.

*Journal of Military History*

There is a piece on Ohio territory Indian warfare in the most recent JMH that is well done. My basis for judgment is a little venture I made into the period for a commissioned lecture for Dave Skaggs at BGSU, "William Henry Harrison, Julius Caesar, and the conquest of the Old Northwest, 1794-1813", unpublished. My theme was that Harrison imbibed Caesar's Commentaries and its tips on barbarian (and barbarous) campaigning; as an aide to Anthony Wayne in the campaign of 1792-94 Harrison carried the general's copy, and they studied together. Although Harrison got careless at Tippicanoe, he relearned the lesson of security and concentration and practiced both in the campaign in Maumee river valley in 1813 and the final elimination of the Indian confederacy army at the Battle of the Thames. Thus endeth today's lecture.

Again, thank you for your good planning and hospitality during our recent visit. The MH 4 OSU had a meeting last week and agreed that we prize our Illinois relationship and your friendship.

of labour of all sorts precludes the expectation of any compensation of the legion." Wayne negotiated with the as, who were stunned by their defeat and the failure of the British support them, and he was determined to conclude a treaty even if he had to treat at a place chosen by the Indians, for he asserted, "I am as sick and tired of this kind of war as any man in America, the meekest Quaker not excepted."<sup>52</sup>

In the summer the Indians began to assemble at Greenville. Their hope of maintaining the Ohio boundary was now gone, and on August 3 they agreed to Wayne's terms, giving up once and for all the two-thirds of Ohio and sliver of Indiana marked by the Treaty of Greenville line.<sup>53</sup> "Mad Anthony's" work was done. He bade farewell to his loyal Legion on December 14, 1795, turned his command over to Wilkinson for the time being, and returned to the East. The next year, on an inspection tour of the western posts, he made new dispositions of the troops and then headed back again toward Philadelphia. He got no farther than Presque Isle on Lake Erie, where he died on December 15, 1796, and was buried as he had requested at the foot of the flagpole.<sup>54</sup>

☆

While Wayne's regular troops and militia were subduing the Indians in the Northwest, American diplomatic endeavors were bearing fruit in London. Jay's Treaty, signed with Great Britain on November 19, 1794, whatever its political ramifications within the United States might have been, made a signal contribution to American control of the Northwest. The British agreed to withdraw all troops and garrisons within the boundaries assigned to the United States in 1783; June 1, 1796, was set as the date for the final evacuation. The provision in the treaty that permitted Indian traders from Canada to operate unrestricted within American territory was a continuing threat to American sov-

<sup>52</sup> Wayne to Knox, October 17, 1791; Knox to Wayne, December 5, 1794; Wayne to Knox, January 21, 1795. Knopf, *Anthony Wayne*, pp. 360-361, 366-367, 381.

<sup>53</sup> Kupper, *Treaties*, pp. 39-45. The cession is shown in Charles C. Royce, *Indian Land Cessions in the United States (Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part II, Washington, 1899)*, Plates 19 and 49, Cession 11. For a careful analysis of the terms of the treaty and their origin, see Dwight L. Smith, "Wayne and the Treaty of Greene Ville," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, LXIII (January, 1954), 1-7.

<sup>54</sup> Jacobs, *Biography of the U. S. Army*, pp. 182-188.

ereignty because of the inimical influence of the traders upon the Indians, yet the transfer of Fort Mackinac and Detroit (as well as the other posts) was a significant recognition of American authority that was not lost upon the Indians.<sup>55</sup>

The delay in the actual transfer of the posts is an interesting commentary on the state of the American military force, for when the time arrived for the American occupation, the United States was not ready. Secretary of War James McHenry sent a Captain Lewis of the First Sub-Legion to Quebec to make arrangements with Lord Dorchester, the Commander in Chief of Canada. Lewis asked for a delay in the British evacuation of the posts until the United States could gather troops to garrison them, and Dorchester agreed. On June 1 and 2 orders were issued to the commanders at Forts Ontario, Niagara, Miami, Detroit, and Mackinac to evacuate their posts, but they were directed to retain small detachments at the posts to guard the works and public property until the American forces actually arrived.<sup>56</sup>

Colonel John Hamtramck was directed toward Detroit, and with 500 troops he moved from Fort Wayne to within a half-mile of Fort Miami. When he received orders to take over Detroit, he dispatched Captain Moses Porter by boat with sixty-five men. They arrived at Detroit on July 10, and on the following day at noon the American flag was raised and the British troops marched out for the new post at Malden across the river. On the same day Hamtramck occupied Fort Miami and then moved on to Detroit, where he took command.<sup>57</sup> The British delivered Fort Ontario at Oswego on July 14, and on

<sup>55</sup> Hunter Miller, ed., *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America* (8 vols., Washington, 1931-1948), II, 245-274. For discussion of Jay's Treaty and its provision for transfer of British posts on United States soil, see Samuel Flagg Bemis, *Jay's Treaty: A Study in Commerce and Diplomacy* (rev. ed., New Haven, 1962); Howard L. Osgood, "The British Evacuation of the United States," *Rochester Historical Society Publication Fund Series*, VI (1927), 55-63; and A. L. Hart, *The United States, Great Britain, and British North America from the Revolution to the Establishment of Peace after the War of 1812* (New Haven, 1940), pp. 141-165.

<sup>56</sup> McHenry to Lord Dorchester, May 10, 1796; Dorchester to Duke of Portland, May 28 and June 11, 1796; Orders for evacuating the posts, June 1 and 2, 1796; Adjutant General George Beckwith to Melleny, June 3, 1796. "Copies of Papers on File in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa, Canada, Pertaining to the Relations of the British Government with the United States During the Period of the War of 1812," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXV (1894), 117-124. These documents also appear in William R. Manning, ed., *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Canadian Relations, 1784-1860* (3 vols., Washington, 1910-1943), I, 472-474.

<sup>57</sup> Hamtramck to Wilkinson, July 11 and 17, 1796, "Letters of Col. John Francis Hamtramck," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXIV (1904), 739-740.

August 11 the American flag went up at Niagara. But not until September 11, 1796, did American troops under Major Henry Burbeck take over Fort Mackinac. The British retreated to St. Joseph Island at the mouth of the St. Mary's River, where they built a new post.

The exchange of forts had gone remarkably smoothly. Timothy Pickering wrote to Rufus King, "The Posts have been delivered up in a manner perfectly acceptable; and at present we have peace on all our borders, accompanied with internal tranquility."<sup>68</sup>



The tranquility did not last forever. Advancing white settlement pushed against the Treaty of Greenville line and revived the temporarily quieted antagonisms of the Indians. The chain of posts established between the Ohio and the Maumee during the Indian campaigns had been abandoned after the Treaty of Greenville, leaving Fort Washington (itself given up in 1804), Fort Wayne, Fort Knox, and Fort Massac to stand guard in the Indian country. In 1802, when the Indians along the Mississippi in southern Illinois were disturbing the scattered settlements there, a company of troops took station at Kaskaskia. The next year Secretary of War Dearborn sent a company to occupy the mouth of the Chicago River at the southern tip of Lake Michigan. The troops, marching overland from Detroit, arrived at the site on August 17, 1803, where they began at once to build the fort that bore Dearborn's name, dragging timbers themselves to the spot because of the shortage of draft animals.<sup>69</sup>

There soon appeared on the scene the celebrated Shawnee chief, Tecumseh, and his brother, the Prophet. Tecumseh by all accounts was a great man, noted for his humanity and uprightiness of character. While the Prophet practiced mystical rites and preached a return to primitive ways, he himself became a political leader, determined to stop the westward advance of the whites. Arguing that no sale of Indian land could be valid unless agreed to by all the tribes, he set about to form a confederacy that would unite the Indians to block white aggrandizement. For aid in this great project Tecumseh depended upon

<sup>68</sup> Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence: Canadian Relations*, I, 100.

<sup>69</sup> For the story of the founding of the fort, see Milo M. Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest, 1673-1835: A Study of the Evolution of the Northwest Frontier, Together with a History of Fort Dearborn* (Chicago, 1913), pp. 127-151.

the British and from them drew arms and ammunition. With the increased tension between Great Britain and the United States that grew out of the "Chesapeake" affair in 1807, the British in Canada were quite willing to renew the active allegiance of the Indians. The vision of Tecumseh thus reopened problems that the Americans thought had been resolved at Fallen Timbers and Greenville. American sovereignty north of the Ohio had not yet been secured in the face of rising Indian apprehensions, and from 1807 to the War of 1812 Indian relations in Indiana and Illinois territories steadily worsened.<sup>60</sup>

Tecumseh and his brother won many supporters among the northwest Indians, and in 1808 the Prophet and his followers moved to the upper Wabash at the mouth of Tippecanoe Creek. This concentration of warriors on the Wabash alarmed William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory, and he was convinced that serious trouble was brewing. Yet in the face of growing Indian intransigence, Harrison concluded a new treaty at Fort Wayne on September 30, 1809, with the Miamis, Weas, and Delawares, by which he purchased a large tract of land in Indiana.<sup>61</sup> The treaty greatly agitated Tecumseh even though no Shawnee lands were involved, and in 1810 he visited Harrison at Vincennes, where he threatened the governor with hostile gestures and announced that he would never submit to the Fort Wayne Treaty. A truce was arranged, but no ultimate compromise seemed possible. The following summer Tecumseh appeared again with a large retinue. He told Harrison that he was on his way south to bring the southern nations into his confederacy.<sup>62</sup>

Harrison made use of the opportune absence of the Shawnee leader to advance against the Prophet's town. With regular troops of the Fourth Infantry under Colonel John P. Boyd, who had been dispatched to the Wabash by Secretary of War Abraham Eustis, and with militia and volunteers—some 1,000 troops in all—he moved north from Vincennes on September 19. On October 1 he reached the site of modern

<sup>60</sup> Numerous extracts from letters written by officials in the West describing the hostile movements of the Indians are printed in *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, I, 797-801.

<sup>61</sup> Kappeler, *Treaties*, pp. 101-102.

<sup>62</sup> The troubles between Harrison and Tecumseh and the Prophet are discussed in Dorothy Burne Goebel, *William Henry Harrison: A Political Biography* (Indianapolis, 1926), pp. 109, 127; Freeman Cleaves, *Old Tippecanoe: William Henry Harrison and His Time* (New York, 1939), pp. 51-111; and Glenn Tucker, *Tecumseh: Vision of Glory* (Indianapolis, 1956), pp. 131-231. These accounts rely heavily on *Messengers and Letters of William Henry Harrison*, ed. Logan Esarey (2 vols., Indianapolis, 1922). See also *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, I, 776-780, 797-811.

Terre Haute and three miles north of the spot began to erect a fort, called Fort Harrison. By the end of October the blockhouse was finished, and leaving the sick and a small guard at the new post, Harrison moved on toward Tippecanoe. He reached the area early in November and sought a parley with the Indians, which failed to materialize. On November 7 the Indians attacked Harrison's army and were repulsed only after severe fighting in which Harrison's losses were heavy. The Battle of Tippecanoe was described by Harrison as "a complete and decisive victory," but in the end the battle settled nothing. The Prophet's town was burned and his followers were scattered, but the enmity against the whites only increased, and another step had been taken toward all-out war to see who would control the Old Northwest.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Reports of Harrison to the Secretary of War, November 8 and 18, 1811, in *Messages and Letters of Harrison*, I, 614-615, 618-630. See also Alfred Firtle, *The Battle of Tippecanoe* (Louisville, 1900). General accounts of the drift toward war are in Jacobs, *Beginning of the U. S. Army*, pp. 356-363, and Louise Phelps Kellogg, *The British Regime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (Madison, Wis., 1935), pp. 265-282. See also Christopher B. Coleman, "The Ohio Valley in the Preliminaries of the War of 1812," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, VII (June, 1920), 39-50.

## Military Frontiers in the South

IN the region south of the Ohio River, for more than a decade after the Revolution, American sovereignty was maintained as precariously as in the Old Northwest. The territory north of the 31st parallel and east of the Mississippi, to be sure, had been given to the United States by Great Britain at the Treaty of Paris in 1783, but in actual fact much of the present state of Tennessee and most of Alabama and Mississippi was held by the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Cherokees. Spain, in possession of the Floridas and Louisiana, claimed jurisdiction as far north as the Tennessee River. She sought by controlling the trade of the southern tribes and by entering into alliances with them to use the Indians as a barrier against the American settlers, who were already pushing hard against the Creeks and the Cherokees. It is clear that the Baron de Carondelet, who became governor of Louisiana at the end of 1791, would have welcomed an American-Indian war in the Southwest, if he did not indeed encourage such a conflict.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An excellent recent survey of conditions in the Old Southwest is Thomas P. Abernethy, *The South in the New Nation, 1789-1819* (Baton Rouge, 1961). An older but still valuable study is Arthur P. Whitaker, *The Spanish American Frontier, 1783-1795* (Boston, 1927). For a clear understanding of the Indian problems in the South, see the following articles, in addition to those cited specifically below: Jane M. Berry, "The Indian Policy of Spain in the South, west, 1783-1795," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, III (March, 1971), 462-477; Kenneth Coleman, "Federal Indian Relations in the South, 1781-1789," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXXV (Winter, 1957-1958), 135-158; Randolph C. Downes, "Cherokee-American Relations in the Upper Tennessee Valley, 1776-1791," *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, VIII (1936), 85-53; Downes, "Indian Affairs in the Southwest Territory, 1790-1796," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Second Series, III (January, 1937), 210-268; Albert V. Goodpasture, "Indian Wars and Warriors of the Old Southwest, 1730-1807," *ibid.*, IV (March, 1918), 3-46; (June, 1918), 106-115; (September, 1918),