CAPTAIN ALFRED PIRTLE,

Member of The Flison Club.

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THE

Battle of Tippecanoe

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BY

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Member of The Filson Club

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PREFACE.

BEGUN as a paper to be read at a meeting of The Filson Club, this history has reached such proportions that it may be termed a book. For more than three years it has been in hand — not worked upon constantly, but never out of sight. Much time has been consumed in making research after small details which add to the completeness of the work.

It is with great pleasure the names of the following friends are mentioned, who have assisted the author by affording opportunities for securing family histories: Messrs. John J. Harbison, Henry D. Robb, and James Henry Funk, of Louisville; Honorable John Geiger, of Morganfield, Kentucky; Judge B. B. Douglas and W. C. Wilson, Esquire, of Corydon, Indiana; Judge Charles P. Ferguson and Colonel John Keigwin, of Jeffersonville, Indiana, and Mrs. Susan E. Ragsdale, of Bowling Green,

Kentucky. Samuel M. Wilson, Esquire, of Lexington, Kentucky, gave valuable assistance in research. Colonel R. T. Durrett, The Polytechnic Society of Louisville, and Mr. W. E. Henry, Librarian of the State Library at Indianapolis, all offered free and unlimited access to the resources of their libraries. General Lew Wallace, at Crawfordsville, Indiana, was likewise very kind.

To all of these I tender my sincere thanks.

Colonel Durrett has, since reading the manuscript of this work, offered to write an introduction, and to no better hands could the task be committed. Therefore it remains for the author to only ask generous treatment from his readers, and with this brief *envoi* make his bow.

ALFRED PIRTLE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Battle of Tippecanoe has been supposed by some to have been the result of the ambition of General Harrison for military glory. Others have thought that it was caused by the depredations of the Indians upon the life and property of the white settlers in the Indiana Territory. Yet others have believed that it was nothing more nor less than the traditional and the inevitable result of the contact of civilization with barbarism.

While all of these as well as other causes may have had their share in this battle, there was one supreme and controlling cause which brought the white man and the red man together in mortal conflict on the banks of the Tippecanoe. That cause was a struggle for the land on which the battle was fought, and for the adjacent and the far-away lands of the Indians. It was as essentially a conflict for the soil as ever existed between the Indians and the French, the Indians and the Spanish, the Indians and the British, or the Indians and the Americans. While

this may not readily appear upon the surface, a deeper view will hardly fail to disclose the fact. Behind the depredations and the thefts, and even the murders by the Indians, there was a hope and a purpose of regaining the Indians' lost lands or of arresting further intrusions upon them by the whites. Let us appeal to history and see if it does not establish the truth of this statement.

When the white man began settlements in America in the early part of the seventeenth century the whole country was occupied by the red man. This occupancy was not like that of the white man, but it was the red man's mode of occupancy — a spot for his wigwam and an empire for his hunting-grounds — which had thus existed from a time so far back that neither history nor tradition reached to its confines. Whence the Indians came into this occupancy, whether from older countries to the east or to the west of them, or whether created and located here as auctochthons of the land is a problem which has baffled learned attempts at solution. About the essential fact, however, that the white man found the Indian here when he discovered America, and that he was here when the colonization of the country began, and that he is still here, there is no dispute.

All along the Atlantic shore from Maine to South Carolina the great Algonquin family had located its

numerous tribes, and from Carolina to the southern limits of Florida the Mobilian family had distributed its tribal divisions. With the exception of the five sections occupied by the Huron-Iroquois, the Cherokees, the Catawbas, the Uchees, and the Natches, these two great nations extended their occupancy of the country not only from Maine to Florida, but from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River. Their hunting-grounds extended beyond this great river, but with their trans-Mississippi possessions we are not now concerned. Their mode of occupying this vast territory differed essentially from that of the Americans. They were not cultivators of the soil, but left the land clothed with the original forests for the protection of the wild animals they used for food and clothing. A patch of ground for corn and vegetables, cultivated by the squaws in the most primitive way, was all of their vast territory they reduced to absolute use. They had no schools nor churches, and their dwelling-houses were rude structures of cane and bark. They were hunters and fishermen, and lived mainly upon the products of the forest and the stream. They had no fences around their lands nor any marked trees to show the limits of their territory, but depended upon the hills and valleys and streams to define their boundaries. Nothing more distinguished their savage life from that of civilized man than the quantity of land

required to support a family. It has been estimated that there were one hundred and eighty thousand Indians between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi River when the whites began taking their lands from them. This would give about six square miles, or three thousand eight hundred and forty acres, for each Indian, and more than nineteen thousand acres for every family of five. In Kentucky, which is not a densely populated State, there are about forty-eight inhabitants for every square mile, and about thirteen acres for each individual.

This was a pretty extravagant quantity of land and a very poor way of handling it, but it was the Indian's mode of occupancy which had been sanctioned by long centuries of use. It was not such an occupancy, however, as the white man, with his civilization and Christianity, respected. Bigotry and intolerance and religious persecution were then rife in the civilized world, and they chose to consider the Indian a heathen unfit to hold lands. It mattered not how long the Indians had possessed the country nor from what source they derived their title, even if an all-wise Creator might have placed them here for their continued occupancy, they were pronounced barbarians and required to give place to Christian civilization.

So soon, therefore, as white settlements were made at Jamestown, the country began to pass from the Indian

to the white man. Parts of it passed by conquest and parts by purchase, but most of it by a species of legalized robbery. Section after section of the slope between the Atlantic and the Alleghanies were absorbed by the whites until all was gone. Then the mountains were scaled and the valley of the Mississippi invaded.

As a specimen of the bargains given the whites by the red men, or rather extorted from the Indians by the white man, we may mention the treaty of 1775 between the Cherokees and Richard Henderson & Company. In this deal the Indians transferred to Henderson & Company the whole of Kentucky south of the Kentucky River, embracing about twenty million acres, for the price of fifty thousand dollars, payable in goods. It is not likely that the Indians got these goods at absolute cash value. It is probable that they were sold to them at a good round profit, and that the Indians did not really get more than the half of fifty thousand dollars for their lands. But estimating the goods to be really worth fifty thousand dollars, the Indians only got about two and a half mills, or one fourth of a cent, per acre for their lands.

Another big sale was made by the Indians in 1818, in which Kentucky was also interested; it was known as the Jackson purchase. In this sale the Chickasaw Indians transferred to the Government all their lands between the

Tennessee and the Mississippi rivers and between the Ohio River and the southern boundary of Tennessee for an annuity of twenty thousand dollars for fifteen years, and some other payments amounting to less than five thousand dollars. The territory sold contained more than seven million acres, and the price obtained at the end of fifteen years was about four and one third cents per acre.

As a matter of course such of the Indians as stopped to think and had mind enough to think correctly must have known that such sales as these would at no distant day exhaust their lands and leave them but little, if any thing, to show for them. The wonder is that some mighty chief, having the confidence of his people and the ability to direct them, did not make his appearance at an earlier day and attempt to arrest the transfer of their lands by uniting all the tribes and making transfers more difficult. If all the tribes of the Algonquin and Mobilian families had been united into one grand confederacy and their warriors placed under the lead of one chief against the whites, it is difficult to see how the settlements along the Atlantic coast could have been maintained until they were numerous enough and strong enough to spread westward to the mountains and then leap over these barriers into the Mississippi Valley.

In 1806, Tecumseh, aided by his brother, known as the Prophet, attempted to unite all the Indian tribes against the Americans. His conception of a great confederacy of all the tribes was not entirely original. Tradition had probably informed him of the effort of King Philip to unite different tribes against the New Englanders in 1675. And still nearer his own times was the attempt of Pontiac to form a grand confederacy against the British in 1763. He must have known, too, of the disastrous failure of both of these great chiefs in their undertaking to array barbarism in an united effort against civilization. The whites were used to united effort, and in war as in peace were held together by laws which made them invincible in the face of disjointed foes who as often became a rabble as a phalanx or legion of soldiers. The Indian as an individual, or as part of a limited number, was a foe to be dreaded, but his efficacy never increased proportionately with numbers. An hundred warriors hid behind rocks and trees were more formidable than a thousand in the open field.

Tecumseh, however, aided by the Prophet, improved upon the efforts of Philip and Pontiac in planning a confederacy. A striking difference in their plans was that Philip and Pontiac made war upon the whites the primary object of their confederations, while Tecumseh sought

first and foremost to prevent the whites from securing any more of the Indian's lands. War must have followed the plans of Tecumseh, but it would come secondarily and not primarily, as in the plans of the other two chiefs. Philip does not seem to have looked beyond a portion of New England for his confederates, and Pontiac seems to have had as much in view a restoration of the French to the position they held in America before the peace of 1763 as he did the benefits of his own race. His plan embraced primarily the taking of the British forts, and secondarily the destruction of the British settlements. He succeeded in destroying eight out of the twelve forts assailed, but failed to take the Detroit fort assigned to his especial care. Hence the second part of his plan to direct the confederated Indians against the British settlements never materialized. He miscalculated the relative power of barbarism and civilization when arrayed against one another, not in a single battle, but in a series of battles. The British had just whipped the French and Indians combined, and it is strange that as great a man as Pontiac should then undertake to whip the English with Indians alone.

Tecumseh's conception of a grand confederacy of all the tribes of the Indians was broad and clear. It had none of the narrowness of Philip nor the French duality

of Pontiac. He wanted to secure to his race the rest of the lands then held by them, and the difficulty with him was how to do it. After giving the subject much thought, he reached the conclusion that the country belonged to the Indians in common, and that one tribe could not alienate the lands it occupied without the consent of all the others. He claimed that the Great Spirit had placed the Indians in this country and given the lands to all of the race in common, without designating any specific portion for any particular tribe. The land, while occupied by any particular tribe, carried with it the right of occupancy, but when abandoned it reverted to all the other tribes in common. Tecumseh believed that if the Indians once agreed that the lands were held by them in common, the sales by individual tribes would be rare from the difficulties of getting the consent of all, and that the chances of a sale being for the good of all would be much increased if all approved of it. He was familiar with the principal treaties that had been made between the Indians and the whites, and the quantities of land that had passed by them. He knew of the lands that had passed by conquest as well as by purchase, and in the transactions between the whites and the Indians for hundreds of years he knew that the lands never went from the white man to the red man, but always went

from the Indian to the white man. Having reached the conclusion that the lands belonged to all the tribes alike, and that one tribe could not sell without the consent of the others, he arrogated himself into a chosen instrument in the hands of the Great Spirit to establish this doctrine. He was a great orator, and did not doubt his ability to convince the Indians of the wisdom and the necessity of his doctrine. He went from tribe to tribe as the apostle of his creed, and found eager listeners wherever he went. He first visited the neighboring tribes and then those on the lakes, and finally those on the distant gulf and those beyond the Mississippi.

But Tecumseh, great and eloquent and persuasive as he was, needed something more than his own eminent powers to establish his land-law among the Indians. He had a brother, known as the Prophet, who was possessed of the talents that were needed to further his schemes. The Prophet was an adept in cunning and duplicity and imposture, and withal as eloquent as Tecumseh. He found no difficulty in assuming the place of another prophet who had just died, and in convincing the superstitious Indians of his inspiration as a seer. He believed, as Tecumseh did, that the lands all belonged to the Indians in common, and that no tribe could sell its lands without the consent of the others. He used visions and

trances and incantations and conjurings with which to impress this land-law upon them, and, knowing that such a doctrine might sooner or later lead to war between the Indians and the Americans, he had special visions and trances and communications with supernatural powers from which he derived the authority to render warriors proof against the bullets and the swords of the Americans. By such means the Prophet helped Tecumseh to the union of the tribes and to the doctrine of all the tribal lands being held in common.

While Tecumseh was far from home explaining this land-law to the distant tribes of the south, the Prophet was at Tippecanoe preying upon the superstition of his followers. He convinced them that his charms could protect them against the bullets of the Americans, and made them believe that they could stand in the midst of battle and shoot down the whites without injury to themselves. The Prophet had possibly, in the enthusiasm of convincing his followers of their being bullet-proof, led himself to that belief. He assured them that his charms had turned the powder of the Americans into sand and deprived their bullets of penetrating power. All the Indians had to do was to attack the Americans and satiate their thirst for white blood without being in danger of harm.

Such was the belief of the warriors of various tribes from far and near that the Prophet had assembled at Tippecanoe while Tecumseh was in a far-distant land. The eager warriors, thirsting for blood and believing in their immunity from hurt, rushed upon the camp of the Americans in the darkness of the night and soon learned that the bullets of the enemy were not of the kind described by the Prophet. Instead of glancing harmlessly from the bodies of the Indians, they went through and through and inflicted wounds that ended in immediate death or long suffering. The Americans were neither asleep nor drunk, and if their powder was sand, it was a kind of sand which hurled deadly missiles just as powder did. They were driven from the American camp, and left their dead and wounded as proof that the Prophet was an impostor.

The Battle of Tippecanoe was the end of the grand confederacy of Tecumseh. Those who had escaped from the bullets of the Americans soon bore the news to adjacent tribes, and it was not long before distant tribes knew the result. The village of Tippecanoe, the home of Tecumseh and the Prophet, was burned to the ground, and the Prophet had fled to hide among stranger tribes. After all the boasting of charms and visions and trances by the Prophet, it was any thing but convincing of his

superhuman power to see his village in ashes and himself a fugitive. Before the battle was over the Prophet was far from the scene of danger.

When Tecumseh reached his home and saw the ruin his brother had wrought, his feelings may be better imagined than described. His work of years trying to teach the various tribes that their lands should be held in common to secure them against the Americans had been undone by a battle that ought never to have been fought in his absence. The bright future he had marked out for himself was all darkness now. He sought an interview with Governor Harrison and with the President of the United States, for the purpose of laying his plans before them, but failed to secure it. Despairing of ever being on living terms with the Americans, he joined the English on the breaking out of the War of 1812, and, after engaging in a number of battles against the Americans, died a soldier's death at the Battle of the Thames. He was one of the greatest Indians ever born on the American continent, and was so famous as a warrior, orator, and statesman that many soldiers claimed to have killed him in the Battle of the Thames. Nor is it known to this distant day with any degree of certainty which of the many claimants ended the life of this distinguished chief.

It is not likely that even if the Battle of Tippecanoe had not been fought and Tecumseh had succeeded in forming a great confederacy of all the Indians the United States would have recognized the right claimed for the combination to sit in judgment upon the sale of the lands of any individual tribe. The United States had again and again recognized the right to sell by the tribe occupying the land, and has ever since adhered to this view. Nevertheless, the Battle of Tippecanoe must have the credit of having broken up in its infancy the grand confederacy of Tecumseh and the Prophet, and prevented the endless collisions which its crude notions of land-law might have brought about between the two races. It was, moreover, the avant-courier of the War of 1812. Viewed in this connection, although it was insignificant when compared with the defeats of Braddock and St. Clair, and the victories of Forbes and Wayne, it was yet of vast and lasting importance. It cost much suffering and some valuable lives, but we can not say that it was not worth all it cost and more. General Harrison and his brave soldiers whom a night attack by hideous savages could not strike with panic should be remembered for their courage and for the victory they won over savages converted into demons by the Prophet's incantations.

In the account of the Battle of Tippecanoe, which follows this introductory chapter, Captain Pirtle has been faithful in collecting all the important facts relating to it and in presenting them in an unostentatious but effective way. He has gathered some information from old manuscripts and newspapers not before used in any history of this battle, and has been very careful to collect all accessible information concerning the Kentuckians who were in the action. In his narrative will be found the names of Kentuckians not before known to have been in this battle, and their descendants can hardly fail to be grateful to the author for rescuing these names from oblivion. If Captain Pirtle's monograph shall so direct public attention to Joseph Hamilton Daviess and Abraham Owen and other heroes of this battle as to insure suitable monuments over their unmarked graves, a good work will have been done in behalf of brave men and accomplished soldiers. They sleep on the battlefield which their deaths helped to consecrate to fame, but their sleep is an undistinguished repose and should have some landmark to point the living to the spots of earth hallowed by their mortal remains.

R. T. Durrett,

President Filson Club.

The Battle of Tippecanoe.

Part First.

THE BATTLE AND THE BATTLE-GROUND.

ON the waters of Mad River, at a place now known as West Boston, not far from Springfield, Ohio, there were three boys born at a birth to a Shawnee warrior of a captured Creek squaw, "Methotaska" by name. From the fact that the North American Indians had no written language, the date of this event is not certainly known, being given variously from 1768 to 1780. One of the boys passed into obscurity and oblivion, leaving behind only his name, "Kamskaka."

The other two boys became by name and deeds forever blended with the name of Harrison in the history of the Northwest, and always associated with his record in the minds of cotemporary Kentuckians—"Tecumseh" and "The Prophet."

With the picturesque appropriateness that attaches to Indian names, we find that "Tecumseh" stood for "The Wildcat Springing on its Prey," and "Elkswatawa"

(the Prophet) meant "The Loud Voice." This, it is said, was a most suitable name, and was given him only as late as 1805, when he had made a reputation as a conjurer and orator. Previously he had been known as "The Open Door," having become remarkable for stupidity and drunkenness.*

In the year 1800 the Indiana Territory, northwest of the Ohio, was formed, including the present States of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and that part of Minnesota east of the Mississippi, and its eastern boundary established by moving the southern terminal of it from a point on the Ohio River opposite the mouth of the Kentucky River to the mouth of the Big Miami River, which became, and remains, the western boundary of the State of Ohio.

William Henry Harrison, born in Charles City County, Virginia, February 9, 1773, was the third son of Benjamin Harrison, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. On reaching manhood he joined the army with the rank of ensign, was soon promoted to lieutenant, and served with General Wayne in his campaign against the Indians in 1794. The historians likewise regard Tecumseh as being very active in this same campaign, making his mark as a young warrior.

*Lossing Field Book of the War of 1812, page 188.

In 1797 Harrison had reached the rank of captain, but he resigned from the army to go into political life, becoming Secretary of the Northwest Territory, which embraced all the region belonging to the United States west of Pennsylvania and north of Virginia and Kentucky. He was thus quite a young though energetic man when he was made the first Governor of Indiana Territory in 1801.

Passing by the next nine years of the history of the prominent characters already introduced into this paper, 1810 found Tecumseh the foremost Indian in all the Territory, aspiring to be a second Pontiac and to unite all the tribes of his race in war against the ever-encroaching whites. His schemes and exertions were those of a statesman, ever endeavoring to draw the Indians into his plan of joint efforts against the common enemy, whose inroads into his own territory he resented in every possible way.

The Prophet was a cunning, unprincipled man, pretending to see visions and to work charms, gaining thus almost unlimited influence among his followers.

By 1808 a town located by the brothers, situated at the junction of Tippecanoe River with the Wabash, about one hundred and fifty miles up stream from Vincennes, was said to contain hundreds of the Prophet's

followers, who avowed themselves to be tillers of the soil and strict abstainers from whisky. By a short portage the Indians could go by canoe to Lake Erie or Lake Michigan, or by the Wabash reach all the vast system of water courses to the south and west. It was only a twenty-four hours' journey by canoe, at a favorable stage of water, down stream to Vincennes, the capital of the white man's territory, where Governor Harrison had a considerable garrison of troops of the regular army. From the town at the mouth of the Tippecanoe River Tecumseh made his tours, and here his followers and those of the Prophet assembled. This location was well chosen, being in a very rich country and very accessible. Members of most remote tribes, from the headwaters of the Mississippi as well as west of that stream, drawn by the fame of the Prophet, visited this town.

The new settlement was on the western bank of the river just below the mouth of the Tippecanoe, and was known to the Indians as Keh-tip-a-quo-wonk, "The Great Clearing,"* and was an old and favorite location with them.

The whites had corrupted the name to Tippecanoe, and it now generally became known as the Prophet's

* Fourteenth Annual Report United States Bureau of Ethnology, 1892–1893, Part II.

town. It is said the Indians had used this spot as a camping-ground for more than thirty years before the battle.

Tecumseh and Elkswatawa were not chiefs by birthright and had no such authority by official station, yet the former rapidly rose to a position of the greatest influence by his talents. He made his brother a party to his plans only in so far as he could be of use, and the two, imposing upon the credulous ignorance of the Indians, raised the Prophet to a plane of great power through his incantations, charms, and pretended visions of the Great Spirit. The Prophet was no ordinary "medicine man," but a seer and a moral reformer among his people, making prophecy his strong point. He denounced drunkenness most strenuously; he preached also the duty of the young to care for the aged. He was boastful of his powers, claiming them to be supernatural. His main characteristics were cunning and a showy smartness of speech as well as manner. He was possessed of none of the noble qualities of his brother, who was noted for his bravery in action and his eloquence in council. By the year 1809 Tecumseh had achieved a great reputation, not only as a leader in council but as a great warrior, and this added many followers to the cause for which he exerted all his

faculties. He was far above the Prophet in all that ennobles a man.

The policy of the United States Government had for some years been to extinguish by treaties the claims the Indians had to lands lying in Indiana Territory. These treaties, made by long negotiations, usually brought the Indians quantities of articles which they highly prized. In conformity with the instructions of the President, James Madison, Governor Harrison, at Fort Wayne, September 30, 1809, concluded a treaty with the head men and chiefs of the Delaware, Pottawatomie, Miami, Eel River, Kickapoo, and Wea Indians, by which, in consideration of $8,200 paid down, and annuities amounting in the aggregate to $2,350, he obtained the cession of nearly three million acres of land, extending up the Wabash beyond Terre Haute, below the mouth of Raccoon Creek, including the middle waters of White River. Neither Tecumseh, nor the Prophet, nor any of their tribe had any claim to these lands, yet they denounced the Indians who sold them, declared the treaty void, threatened the makers of it with death, and steadily maintained their unwavering opposition to the making of treaties except by consent of larger bodies of Indians, claiming that the domain was not the property of small tribes. This was a part of Tecumseh's scheme of a general confederation among all the Indians.

The Wyandotts, the tribe most feared by the other Indians, about this time became firm friends of the Shawnees, to which the two brothers belonged.

With prophetic vision Tecumseh saw that if this immense body of land was opened to settlement by the whites, the game upon which the Indians had to depend for subsistence must soon be exterminated, and that would lead in a few years to the removal of his own race to more distant and strange hunting-grounds. And this thought he used with insistence upon his countrymen.

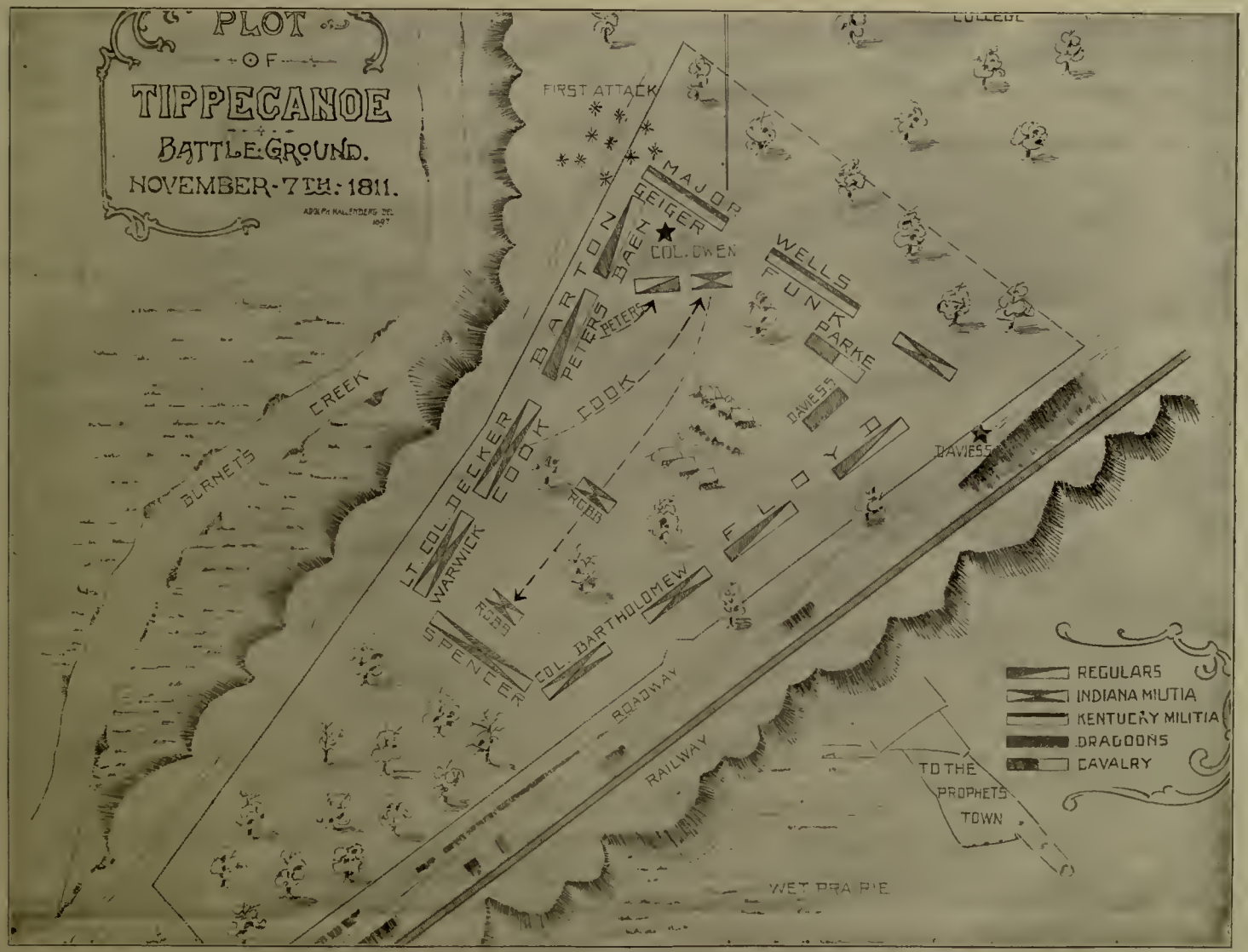
In the spring of 1810 the Indians at the Prophet's town refused to receive the "Annuity Salt" sent them in boats in compliance with the treaty, and insulted the boatmen, calling them "American dogs!" These, with other indications of hostility, caused Governor Harrison to send several pacific messages to Tecumseh and the Prophet. There was no doubt trouble brewing, and Governor Harrison seems to have made decided efforts to prevent an outbreak. Tecumseh sent word he would pay the Governor a visit, and accordingly on August 12th he arrived at Vincennes with four hundred warriors fully armed, encamping in a grove near the town. The presence of such a large body of the savages was alarming to the people of the town, but no encounter took place

between the two races, the Governor managing affairs so as to prevent any collision.

The burden of Tecumseh's arguments was against the treaty-making power of the Indians who had made that of 1809, announcing his determination not to allow the country to be settled. After two days' conference the matter was ended by the Governor promising to lay it before the President. Not long after this a small detachment of United States troops under Captain Cross were moved from Newport Barracks, Kentucky, to Vincennes, and three companies of Indiana militia and a company of Knox County Dragoons, added to the regulars, made a formidable force at the town.

The winter of 1810–11 passed without any serious outbreak, though there were numerous raids and petty annoyances on the part of the Indians which brought counter-movements on the side of the settlers.

The population of Indiana Territory had then reached about twenty-five thousand; Kentucky by the 1810 census had a population of four hundred and six thousand five hundred and eleven, while Jefferson County had thirteen thousand three hundred and ninety-nine, of which Louisville possessed one thousand three hundred and fifty-seven. Lexington at the same time had four thousand two hundred and twenty-six.



COLONEL OWEN AND COLONEL DAVIESS FELL AT POINTS INDICATED BY ★.

Most of the writers of the period speak of the influence exerted on the minds of the Indians in Ohio and Indiana at this juncture by the British from their outposts on the shore of Lake Erie and at Malden, opposite Detroit. The relations of the United States and Great Britain had become strained, and the Indians were readily brought to take their share of arms, ammunition, and blankets without any great amount of urging. New British guns were found in the Prophet's town, with the list covers still on them and the maker's mark still unsullied, when it was captured by Harrison. Captain Geiger brought one of them home to Louisville and used it for years.

Harrison was very likely alive to the prospect of military glory to be gained by a successful campaign against the Indians, so that when events had so shaped themselves as to make a collision with them probable he would hardly have prevented it.

General Clark, writing to the War Department from St. Louis, July 3, 1811, reported as follows: "All the information received from the Indian country confirms the rooted enmity of the Prophet to the United States, and his determination to commence hostilities as soon as he thinks himself sufficiently strong. His party is increasing, and from the insolence himself and party have lately manifested and the violence which has lately been com-

mitted by his neighbors and friends, the Pottawatomies, on our frontiers, I am inclined to believe the crisis is fast approaching."

In this same month Harrison suggested, as a means to prevent war, that the calamity might be avoided by marching a considerable force up the Wabash and dispersing the "banditti" the Prophet had collected.

All during the summer of 1811 the War Department was in receipt of letters from Indiana, Illinois, and near the British lines, telling of the operations of the British to foment hostilities between the Indians and the whites.

In a report to the War Department from Vincennes, September 17, 1811, Harrison said: "——— reports that all the Indians of the Wabash have been, or now are, on a visit to the British Agent at Malden; he has never known more than a fourth as many goods given to the Indians as they are now distributing. He examined the share of one man (not a chief), and found he had received an elegant rifle, twenty-five pounds of powder, fifty pounds of lead, three blankets, three strouds of cloth, ten shirts, and several other articles. He says every Indian is furnished with a gun (either rifle or fusil) and abundance of ammunition." This same person says further: "Although I am decidedly of the opinion that the tendency of the British measures is hostility to us, candor

obliges me to inform you that, from two Indians of different tribes, I have received information that the British Agent absolutely dissuaded them from going to war against the United States."

In June, 1811, General Harrison sent the following speech to Tecumseh, the Prophet, and others, by Captain Walter Wilson:

"Brothers, listen to me: I speak to you about matters of importance both to the white people and yourselves; open your ears, therefore, and attend to what I shall say. Brothers, this is the third year that all the white people in this country have been alarmed at your proceedings; you threaten us with war; you invite all of the tribes to the North and West of you to join against us. Brothers, your warriors who have lately been here deny this, but I have received information from every direction; the tribes on the Mississippi have sent me word that you intended to murder me, and then to commence a war upon our people. I have also received the speech you sent to the Potawatomies and others to join you for that purpose, but if I had no other evidence of your hostility towards us your seizing the salt I lately sent up the Wabash is sufficient. Brothers, our citizens are alarmed, and my warriors are preparing themselves, not to strike you, but to defend themselves and their women and children. You shall not surprise us as you expect to do; you are about to undertake a very rash act. As a friend I advise you to consider well of it; a little reflection may save us a great deal of trouble and prevent mischief; it is not yet too late.

"Brothers, what can be the inducement for you to undertake an enterprise when there is so little probability of suc-

cess? Do you really think that the handful of men that you have about you are able to contend with the Seventeen Fires, or even that the whole of the tribes united could contend against the Kentucky Fire alone? Brothers, I am myself of the Long Knife Fire (Virginia and Kentucky). As soon as they hear my voice you will see them pouring their swarms of hunting-shirt men, as numerous as the mosquitoes on the shores of the Wabash. Brothers, take care of their stings. Brothers it is not our wish to hurt you. If we did we certainly have the power to do it. Look at the number of our warriors east of you, above and below the Great Miami; to the south on both sides of the Ohio, and below you also. You are brave men, but what could you do against such a multitude? We wish you to live in peace and happiness.

"Brothers, the citizens of this country are alarmed. They must be satisfied that you have no design to do them mischief, or they will not lay aside their arms. You have also insulted the Government by seizing the salt that was intended for other tribes. Satisfaction must be given for that also. Brothers, you talk of coming to see me, attended by all of your young men, this, however must not be so. If your intentions are good, you have need to bring but few of your young men with you. I must be plain with you; I will not suffer you to come into our settlement with such a force.

"Brothers, if you wish to satisfy us that your intentions are good, follow the advice I have given you before; that is, that one or both of you should visit the president of the United States and lay your grievances before him. He will treat you well, will listen to what you say, and if you can show him you have been injured, you will receive justice. If you will follow my advice in this respect, it will convince the citizens of this country and myself that you have no design to attack them. Brothers, with respect to the lands that were purchased last fall, I can enter into no negotia-

tions with you on that subject; the affair is in the hands of the President. If you wish to go and see him, I will supply you with the means.

"Brothers, the person who delivers this is one of my war officers. He is a man in whom I have entire confidence. Whatever he says to you, although it may not be contained in this paper, you may believe comes from me.

"My friend Tecumseh, the bearer is a good man and a brave warrior. I hope you will treat him well. You are yourself a warrior, and all such should have esteem for each other."

At great personal risk this letter was delivered to the Indians. It is said that Tecumseh received it with great courtesy. In reply he sent the following:

"Brother, I give you a few words, until I will be with you myself — Tecumseh.

"Brother, at Vincennes, I wish you to listen to me while I send you a few words; and I hope they will ease your heart. I know you look on your young men and your women and children with pity, to see them so much alarmed. Brother, I wish you to now examine what you have from me. I hope it will be a satisfaction to you, if your intentions are like mine, to wash away all these bad stories that have been circulated. I will be with you myself in eighteen days from this day. Brother, we can not say what will become of us, as the Great Spirit has the management of us at His will. I may be there before the time, and may not be there until that day. I hope that when we come together, all these bad tales will be settled. By this I hope your young men, women and children, will be easy. I wish you, brother, to let them know when I come to Vincennes and see you, all will be settled in peace and happi-

ness. Brother, these are only a few words to let you know that I will be with you myself; and when I am with you I can inform you better. Brother I find I can be with you in less than eighteen days, I will send one of my young men before me, to let you know what time I will be with you."

In accordance with this promise he had arrived late in July within twenty miles of Vincennes, accompanied by about three hundred Indians, some twenty or thirty of whom were women. He was intercepted by Captain Wilson with a message from Governor Harrison, in which he objected to Tecumseh approaching any nearer with such a large body. Tecumseh replied that he had but twenty-four warriors in his party, and that the remainder had come voluntarily.

The people of Vincennes particularly were alarmed, believing the wily chief intended to do them great mischief, and, overawing the Governor, endeavor to gain possession of the Wabash lands he so greatly craved.

To meet this, Governor Harrison reviewed, on the day of the arrival of the Indians, seven hundred and fifty well armed Indiana militia, and stationed two companies of militia infantry and a detachment of dragoons on the outskirts of the town. Whatever designs Tecumseh may have had, he was astute enough not to incur any danger to his people by his conduct. He made the most

friendly protestations to Governor Harrison, disclaiming any intention of making war on the Government. Yet he made earnest but modest demands for the lands ceded by the Fort Wayne treaty.

Tecumseh, August 5th, started south with twenty warriors in his party to lay his plans of a confederation against the whites before the Creeks, Cherokees, and Choctaws of Tennessee and Alabama. It is impossible to understand what induced so wary a foe to make such a mistake at such a juncture!

After his departure on the journey to the south, the remainder of his followers retired to the Prophet's town deeply impressed with the martial display of the military strength of Harrison's command.

The Prophet from his town kept up his incantations, charms, and jugglery, thus increasing his importance and his influence over his superstitious followers. His town had grown into a large collection of warriors, squaws, and their children, said to have reached the number of two thousand.

The young men, restless and bent on plunder, crossed the line of the white settlements in many places, and the killing of a settler or the running off of horses became so frequent as to throw the whole Territory into a great state of excitement.

Under the direction of the Secretary of War the Fourth Regiment, United States Infantry, Colonel John Parke Boyd, with a company of riflemen, about four hundred strong in all, floated down from Pittsburgh to the Falls of the Ohio, whence, on the call of Governor Harrison, they marched to Vincennes. Adding these to those already there, Harrison had a very handsome force at hand, about five hundred being regulars.

Immediate action before Tecumseh could return was urged by Harrison's friends and by many of the frightened settlers.

War with England seemed so imminent, and the anticipation of it had so marked an effect upon the behavior and attitude of the Indians, that Harrison could now see an opportunity for a military career, for which he had been preparing himself by military studies. During the summers of the two years just passed he had introduced excellent discipline among the Indiana militia whenever on duty, improving their morale and thus making them valuable as soldiers.

Harrison passed the month of August in raising forces for an expedition to satisfy the wishes of the Western people, drilling them and preparing them as rapidly as possible for the field. No doubt was felt on the Ohio that he meant to attack the Indians at Tippecanoe, and

COLONEL JOSEPH HAMILTON DAVIESS.

From an oil portrait by Peale, owned by R. T. Durrett, of Louisville, Kentucky.

so serious a campaign was expected that Kentucky became eager to share it. Among other Kentuckians, Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daviess, Aaron Burr's prosecutor in 1806, wrote to Harrison August 24th, offering himself as a volunteer: "Under all the privacy of a letter," said he, "I make free to tell you that I have imagined there were two men in the West who had military talents; and you, sir, were the first of the two. It is thus an opportunity of service much valued by me." Daviess doubted only whether the army was to attack at once or provoke attack.

As the summer advanced Harrison called for volunteers, which call was met with a prompt and ample response. He was very popular, his voice stirring the people like a bugle call. Old Indian fighters like Major General Samuel Wells and Colonel Abraham Owen, of the Kentucky militia, instantly started for the field. Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daviess of course joined the command. Captain Frederick Geiger, residing in Jefferson County, Kentucky, raised a company of mounted riflemen.

Frederick Geiger, senior, known generally as Colonel Geiger, was born in or near Hagerstown, Maryland, June 8, 1753.* He was descended from settlers of the Mohawk Valley in New York. Nothing is now known

*He died at his home near Louisville, Kentucky, August 28, 1832.

as to his education or his history until 1789 or 1790, when he came with his wife to Kentucky and penetrated to the region of country near where Bowling Green now stands, but family tradition has it that he did not remain there a year. It is of record that he bought land on Chenoweth's Run, in Jefferson County, on May 14, 1790. In 1802 he bought a large body of land fronting on the Ohio River, running back quite a distance. Some of this tract was opposite where the Towhead Island has since formed. In May, 1808, he purchased the original part of what became his homestead on the road to Bardstown, now occupied as the Dennis Long place. The new additions to the city of Louisville bring it only about a mile from the limits. All these lands were heavily timbered with the virgin trees.

When Governor Harrison visited Louisville in August, 1811, for the purpose of raising troops, the emergency was so great that he sent a messenger to Governor Scott, of Kentucky, asking permission to call out volunteers. Captain Peter Funk, who carried the message, several years after the battle dictated a report of his connection with the expedition which is very interesting.

Colonel Geiger, under the call from Governor Harrison, at once raised a company who encamped on his land in an apple orchard on the left bank of Beargrass Creek,

just opposite the grounds of the Mellwood Distillery (as it is now), between Frankfort Avenue and the Brownsboro Road, in the month of September. They crossed the Ohio opposite Jeffersonville and marched to Vincennes. If other Kentuckians accompanied them on this march there is no record of the fact, but it is quite probable.

Captain Peter Funk was born August 14, 1782, at Funkstown, Maryland. He came to Kentucky in 1795, and resided for many years in Jefferson County, on the Taylorsville Road, about ten miles from Louisville, being in the neighborhood of such well-known citizens as William C. Bullitt, John Edwards, George and Jacob Hikes, Jacob and Andrew Hoke, Frederick Yenowine, Benjamin Levy, and Henry Garr. There may be many of the readers of this who remember Captain Funk (for he lived until April 9, 1864) and who heard him narrate his experience at Tippecanoe.

At the date of this visit of Governor Harrison to Kentucky there lived in Jefferson County another citizen whose descendants have made their impress on the community and transmitted his patriotism. I refer to Judge John Speed,* the father of James and Joshua Speed and their brothers and sisters.

Judge Speed lived on the road to Bardstown, and his place, called "Farmington," was even then famous for

*The Speed Family. Thomas Speed, page 95.

the hospitality there dispensed. By reason of physical infirmity he did not serve in the campaign of 1811 or later. In 1827, when a candidate for the legislature, he published an address to his fellow-citizens, from which is selected the following, as giving an insight not only into his own feelings and actions, but into the spirit of the inhabitants of the city where we now live:

"The call made by Governor Harrison, then Governor of Indiana, to resist a numerous body of Indians, is known by you. . . . I was in a condition for years, both before and after this period, which forbade my performing a journey of any distance, either on foot or horseback. I, however, immediately equipped, at my own expense, a nephew, the son of a widowed mother, whom I had raised, and started him as a horseman in a company of Colonel Daviess' Blues. I furnished the late Colonel Springer Augustus, then a young man, another horse. I equipped our schoolmaster, the much-lamented Mr. Somerville, who was killed in action, with a rifle, etc. They were all killed in the battle of Tippecanoe.

"When it was announced that they (the returning soldiers) were approaching the river (Ohio) on their return, at my instance and by my active exertions a most respectable number of the citizens of Louisville mounted their horses, and we met them on the bank of the river. There, at my request, they were formed into a square. Frederick W. S. Grayson, Esquire, with but a few moments' preparation, advanced on horseback and delivered them a neat, patriotic, and appropriate speech, closing with the thanks and twirling hats and huzzas of the surrounding citizens to the brave defenders of their country."

Captain Peter Funk says in his narrative that Governor Harrison was in Louisville in August, 1811, when the narrator was in command of a company of militia cavalry there. At Harrison's request he hastened to Governor Scott, at Frankfort, and obtained permission to raise a company of cavalry to join the forces of Governor Harrison at Vincennes for an expedition up the Wabash. Captain Funk enrolled his company in a few days, and early in September joined Colonel Bartholomew's regiment then marching on Vincennes. At this point he found Colonel Joseph H. Daviess, with whom there were four young gentlemen from Louisville, namely, George Croghan, John O'Fallon (who years afterward became a prominent citizen of St. Louis), Mr. Moore, afterward a captain in the regular army, and a Mr. Hynes. Also from Lexington, Colonel Daviess' residence, James Mead and Ben Sanders.*

By the rolls of the companies there were ninety-three in all enrolled in the force under Major Wells. Credit must also be given Kentucky for others whose names appear elsewhere in the records of this battle.

The Indiana militia from various points in the Territory gathered at Vincennes to the number of about six hundred.

* This narrative, written in 1862 by Mr. D. R. Poignand, of Taylorsville, Kentucky, from Captain Funk's dictation, is quoted freely in Lossing's Field Book of War of 1812.

The Fourth United States Infantry arrived at the rendezvous early in September.

The rolls of Captain Geiger and Captain Funk bear the names of ninety-one men and officers. To these must be added the names of General Wells, Colonel Abraham Owen, Major Joseph Hamilton Daviess, George Croghan, John O'Fallon, Adjutant James Hunter, James Mead, Ben Sanders, Mr. Moore, and Mr. Hynes. These have all been recorded as having participated in the campaign. The total thus arrived at reaches one hundred and one names, making a large increase in the number heretofore said to have been from the State of Kentucky. All other authorities give credit for about sixty Kentuckians.

It is possible that this error arose from not noting the men led by Captain Funk, as also the individuals mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The fact that so many more Kentuckians than the sixty-odd usually allowed were there is clearly shown, and hereafter the Commonwealth should have credit for every one of her sons who was present at the battle or took any part in the campaign.

Roll of Field and Staff, Battalion Kentucky Light Dragoons, Battle of Tippecanoe.

Name.	Rank.	Date of Enlistment.	To What Time.
Samuel Wells....	Major.	October 16, 1811.	November 24, 1811.
James Hunter ...	Adjutant.	" " "	" " "

Roll of Captain Peter Funk's Company.

Name.	Rank.	Date of Enlistment.	To What Time.
Peter Funk	Captain.	September 14, 1811.	November 25, 1811.
Lewis Hite	Lieutenant.	" " "	" " "
Samuel Kelly.....	Cornet.	" " "	" " "
Adam L. Mills....	Sergeant.	" " "	Killed.
James Martin	"	" " "	Wounded.
Henry Canning...	"	" " "	November 25, 1811.
Lee White.....	"	" " "	" " "
Elliott Wilson	Corporal.	" " "	" " "
William Cooper...	Trumpeter.	" " "	" " "
Samuel Frederick..	Farrier.	" " "	" " "
William Duberly..	Private.	" " "	" " "
John Edlin.....	"	" " "	" " "
William Ferguson.	"	" " "	" " "
Benjamin W. Gath.	"	" " "	" " "
James Hite.....	"	" " "	" " "
I. Hollingsworth ..	"	" " "	" " "
Joseph Kennison..	"	" " "	" " "
William M. Luckett	"	" " "	" " "
John Murphy	"	" " "	" " "
James Muckleroy..	"	" " "	" " "
Enos Mackey.....	"	" " "	" " "
Thomas P. Mayers.	"	" " "	" " "
Thomas Stafford ..	"	" " "	" " "
William Shaw	"	" " "	" " "
John Smith	"	" " "	" " "
William T. Tully..	"	" " "	" " "
M. Williamson....	"	" " "	" " "
Samuel Willis	"	" " "	" " "

ROLL OF CAPTAIN FREDERICK GEIGER'S COMPANY, KENTUCKY MOUNTED RIFLEMEN.

Name.	Rank.	Date of Enlistment.	To What Time.
Frederick Geiger...	Captain.	October 23, 1811.	November 18, 1811.
Presley Ross	Lieutenant.	" " "	" " "
William Edwards...	Ensign.	" " "	" " "
Daniel McClellan...	Sergeant.	" " "	" " "
Robert McIntire ...	"	" " "	" " "
Robert Edwards ...	"	" " "	" " "
John Jackson.....	"	" " "	" " "
Stephen Mars	Corporal.	" " "	Killed.
John Hicks	"	" " "	November 18, 1811.
John Nash.....	"	" " "	" " "
Henry Waltz.....	"	" " "	" " "
Joseph Paxton.....	Trumpeter.	" " "	" " "
Martin Adams.....	Private.	" " "	" " "
Philip Allen.	"	" " "	" " "
Thomas Beeler	"	" " "	" " "
William Brown	"	" " "	" " "
James Ballard.....	"	" " "	" " "
Charles L. Byrne...	"	" " "	" " "
Joseph Barkshire...	"	" " "	" " "
Adam Burkett.....	"	" " "	" " "
John Buskirk.....	"	" " "	Wounded.
Charles Barkshire..	"	" " "	"
Robert Barnaba....	"	" " "	November 18, 1811.
Temple C. Byrn ...	"	" " "	" " "
George Beck	"	" " "	" " "
Thomas Calliway...	"	" " "	" " "
William Cline	"	" " "	" " "
John Dunbar.....	"	" " "	" " "
James M. Edwards..	"	" " "	" " "
Richard Findley ...	"	" " "	" " "
Nicholas Fleener...	"	" " "	Wounded.
Joseph Funk	"	" " "	November 18, 1811.
John Grimes	"	" " "	" " "
Isaac Gwathmey ...	"	" " "	" " "
Henry Hawkins....	"	" " "	" " "
James Hanks.....	"	" " "	" " "
Zachariah Ingram..	"	" " "	" " "
Joshua Jest.....	"	" " "	" " "
Elijah Lane.....	"	" " "	" " "

ROLL OF CAPTAIN GEIGER'S COMPANY — CONTINUED.

Name.	Rank.	Date of Enlistment.	To What Time.
John Lock	Private.	October 23, 1811.	November 18, 1811.
Hudson Martin	"	" " "	" " "
John Maxwell	"	" " "	Killed.
Josh Maxwell	"	" " "	"
Daniel Minor	"	" " "	Wounded.
John Ousley	"	" " "	November 18, 1811.
Michael Plaster	"	" " "	" " "
Samuel Pound	"	" " "	" " "
Jonathan Pound	"	" " "	" " "
Peter Priest	"	" " "	" " "
Patrick Shields	"	" " "	" " "
Edmund Shipp	"	" " "	" " "
John W. Slaughter	"	" " "	" " "
Joseph Smith	"	" " "	Killed.
*Augustus Springer	"	" " "	"
Thomas Spunks	"	" " "	November 18, 1811.
James Summerville	"	" " "	Killed.
Wilson Taylor	"	" " "	November 18, 1811.
Thomas Trigg	"	" " "	" " "
William Trigg	"	" " "	" " "
Abraham Walk	"	" " "	" " "
George W. Wells	"	" " "	" " "
Samuel W. White	"	" " "	" " "
Greensberry Wright	"	" " "	Wounded.

*This is evidently Springer Augustus, not Augustus Springer. See Judge Speed's article, page 20.

As fast as it could be done, troops were sent up the Wabash about sixty-five miles to a point in the purchase of 1809 where the city of Terre Haute now stands, and there, October 6th, Governor Harrison joined them. He had for one of his aids Thomas Randolph, a prominent politician of Indiana Territory in those days. Colonel Abraham Owen, of Kentucky, an old Indian-fighter,

having served under St. Clair twenty years before, was also an aid.

Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daviess, of Kentucky, was a volunteer aid with the rank of major. Daviess occupied a singular position, which, in these times, we can hardly understand, for he raised no men, but had a commission as Major of Indiana Militia given him by Harrison while at Vincennes. He had seen service, was a man of unquestioned bravery, had immense influence with the soldiers, and was a leader of men. His reputation as one of the foremost of Kentucky lawyers had preceded him and increased his hold upon the volunteers. Perhaps, too, he had dreams of military glory, as hinted at in the letter to Governor Harrison written before he left Kentucky. He acted on the day preceding the battle as though he was determined a fight must be brought on before they marched back.

Soon after his arrival Harrison began the erection of a stockade fort, which was completed near the close of the month, and by the unanimous request of the officers was called "Fort Harrison." Less than a year afterward Captain Zachary Taylor (the twelfth President) here resisted and drove off a large body of Indians. It was built of timber from the neighboring forest, and was not intended to endure the fire of artillery.

While the building of the fort was going on, during the night of October 11th, one of the sentinels was fired on and wounded, causing considerable excitement.

The command was turned out, line of battle formed, and scouting parties sent out in various directions, but no enemy was found. Harrison regarded this as the commencement of hostilities by the Prophet, and decided to act as if war had been declared by the Prophet. October 13th Harrison reported to Secretary Eustis that "our effectives are but little over nine hundred." The rank and file consisted of seven hundred and forty-two men fit for duty. Thinking this too small a force, he sent back to Vincennes for four companies of mounted riflemen. Two of the four companies joined him, but their strength is not given. The returns showed that the army thus amounted to at least one thousand effectives. One of the officers of the Fourth United States Infantry, writing after the battle, November 21st, said the force was a little upward of eleven hundred men.

Harrison was delayed at Fort Harrison by the failure of the contractors to deliver provisions in the agreed time, much to the Governor's annoyance. The low water in the Wabash may have been the cause, since transportation by flatboats was relied upon until the command left the block-house below Vermilion River. From there the command depended on wagons.

Lieutenant Colonel Miller with a small command was left to garrison Fort Harrison* when the main body resumed the march. This Lieutenant Colonel Miller was the "I'll try" hero of the battle of Niagara, July 25, 1814.

The Americans were bent on having a battle before their return, while the Indians are said to have been strictly ordered by Tecumseh to keep the peace, and they showed some intention to avoid Harrison's attack. As early as September 25th the Prophet sent a number of Indians to Vincennes to protest his peaceful intentions, and to promise Harrison's demands should be complied with. To these Harrison returned no answer and made no demands. But the next day, September 26th, the advance was made from Vincennes, and Harrison left for the camp, joining his troops October 6th, as has been mentioned. Had he not wanted war, he had ample time to negotiate for peace.

While lying in camp and the fort was building, Harrison wrote the following letters to Governor Scott, of Kentucky, which complete the narrative of their stay at this point, as well as throw light on the causes of the apparent delay of a part of the command to join him :

* It was on a spot famous in the traditions of the Indians as the scene of a desperate battle far back in the history of the aborigines between the Illinois and Iroquois. For this reason the French, who had early settled that region, had named it "Battaille des Illinois."

"CAMP BATTAILLE DES ILLINOIS,
ON THE WABASH, 25th Oct, 1811.*

"MY DEAR SIR: The commencement of hostilities upon the part of the Prophet, and a decisive declaration made by him to the Delawares, of his intention to attack the troops under my command, made it in my opinion expedient to increase my force which has been much diminished by sickness. I took the liberty, therefore, upon the sanction of a letter which you wrote to me by Captain Funk, to request General Wells of Jefferson county, to raise two companies of volunteers in that county, to be joined by two others from this territory, and come on to me as soon as possible. I conceived that the General would be enabled to march from the Ohio with these men, before a letter could probably reach you and return; but as they are to be volunteers and the officers are to be commissioned by me, there is, I conceive, no further harm done, than *an apparent* want of attention to you—for which you will no doubt pardon me, knowing as you do the sincerity of my attachment to your person, and my high respect for your official character; under this impression I shall make no further apology.

"I am unable to say, whether the Prophet will to the last maintain the high tone of defiance he has taken, or not. Our march thus far, caused all the Weas and Miamis to abandon his cause, and I am told that nearly all of the Potawattamies have also left him. Indeed I have within a day or two, been informed that he will not fight; but the same person who gave me this information, says that he intends to burn the first prisoner he can take."

"The fort which I have erected here is now complete (as to its defence). I wait for provisions, which I expect to-morrow or the

* The Lexington, Kentucky, Reporter, November 9, 1811, taken from the Frankfort Argus.

next day, when I shall immediately commence my march, without waiting for the troops which are in the rear. I am determined to disperse the Prophet's banditti before I return, or give him the chance of acquiring as much fame as a Warrior, as he now has as a Saint. His own proper force does not at this time exceed 450, but in his rear there are many villages of Potawatimies, most of whom wish well to his cause. I believe they will not join him, but should they do it, and give us battle, I have no fear of the issue. My small army, when joined by the mounted riflemen in the rear will be formidable—it will not then exceed 950 effectives, but I have great confidence in them, and the relative proportion of the several species of troops, is such as I could wish it."

"I am, dear Sir, your sincere friend,

(Signed) WM. H. HARRISON."

"GOV. SCOTT."

"CAMP BATTAILLE DES ILLINOIS, 25th Oct. 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR., Since my letter to you, of this day was written, I have received one from General Wells, in which was inclosed a copy of your's to him. I regret exceedingly that any omission of mine, should have given you the least room to believe that I had treated you with the smallest neglect or disrespect. The fact is, that I did not believe there would be time to obtain your sanction, and I recollected that in the application I made to you for leave for Capt. Funk to join me, you answered by expressing your regret that I had not asked for infantry as well as cavalry. In any sudden emergency, the laws of this territory give authority to colonels to turn out their commands without waiting for the governor's authority, and as my letter to General Wells contemplated volunteers

only, and not a regular militia corps, I did not think the application to you (on account of the distance) was so material; however I acknowledge in strict propriety, it ought to have been done, and beg you to believe, that there is no man whom I more cordially love, nor no Governor for whom I feel a greater respect than yourself — the bare idea of your entertaining a different sentiment of me, is extremely distressing."

"I have the honor to be

With great truth

Your sincere friend,

(Signed) Wm. H. Harrison."

"Gov. Scott."

October 28th, a little more than a month from the beginning of the campaign, the command broke camp at Fort Harrison and began the march up the Wabash.

This day the Governor reported to Secretary of War W. Eustis:

"The Delaware chiefs arrived in camp yesterday and gave an account of their efforts to induce the Prophet to lay aside his hostile designs. They were badly treated and insulted, and finally dismissed with the most contemptuous remarks upon them and us. The party which fired upon our sentinels arrived at the town when the Delawares were there; they were Shawnees and the Prophet's nearest friends."

The Governor remained one day longer at Fort Harrison, and thence sent some friendly Indians to the Prophet with a message requiring that the Winnebagoes,

Pottawatomies, and Kickapoos at Tippecanoe should return to their tribes; that all stolen horses should be given up, and that murderers should be surrendered. He intended at a later time to add a demand for hostages in case the Prophet should accede to these preliminary terms. Harrison did not inform his messengers where they were to deliver their answer.

The last of the Kentuckians, General Wells, Colonel Owen, and Captain Geiger's company, joined the command here.

October 31st, after passing Big Raccoon Creek, near where is now Montezuma, the army crossed to the west bank of the Wabash. To avoid the woods, the troops marched over a level prairie to a point about two miles below the mouth of Vermilion River, not far from the bridge of the Toledo, St. Louis & Kansas City Railroad, where they erected a block-house to protect their boats, which up to this point had conveyed the provisions of the expedition, and were to be held there until the return of the column.

The Prophet's town was fifty miles away, and every foot after passing Vermilion River was hostile country; crossing that stream was invasion.

Having followed the expedition thus far, let us look at its composition.

GENERAL WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

From an old wood-cut owned by R. T. Durrett, of Louisville, Kentucky.

The rolls that have been preserved are said to be incomplete, and are, perhaps, somewhat erroneous, but they are the only data now available. The writer has not made any personal research, contenting himself with the work of his predecessors, but the attempts to make the accounts of the various writers agree have been laborious.

Taken up with care, the results here given will be sustained; the names have been mentioned by one author, and many of them by more than one, and wherever a name appears there is some authority for it.

The expedition consisted of nine companies of United States Infantry, six companies of infantry from the Indiana Militia, three companies of Indiana Mounted Riflemen, two companies Indiana Dragoons, two companies Kentucky Mounted Riflemen, and one company of Indiana Riflemen, also a company of scouts.

TIPPECANOE CAMPAIGN.

Roster of the command considered as a Brigade :

Governor WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Commander-in-Chief.

GENERAL STAFF.

William McFarland, Lieutenant Colonel and Adjutant General.

Colonel Abraham Owen,* Colonel Kentucky Militia and Aid-de-Camp.

Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daviess,* Kentucky Militia, Aid-de-Camp, also Major commanding Indiana Dragoons.

Henry Hurst, Major and Aid-de-Camp.

Walter Taylor, Major and Aid-de-Camp.

Marston G. Clark, Major and Aid-de-Camp.

Thomas Randolph,* Acting Aid-de-Camp.

Captain Piatt, Second United States Infantry, Chief Quartermaster.

Captain Robert Buntin, Indiana Militia, Quartermaster of Indiana Militia.

Doctor Josiah D. Foster, Chief Surgeon.

Doctor Hosea Blood, Surgeon's Mate.

Second Lieutenant Robert Buntin, junior, Indiana Militia, Forage Master.

THE TROOPS.

Colonel JOHN PARKE BOYD, Fourth United States Infantry, immediate commander of the troops, with rank of Brigadier General.

George Croghan, of Kentucky, Volunteer Aid.

Nathaniel F. Adams, Lieutenant and Adjutant.

* Killed.

FOURTH UNITED STATES INFANTRY.

Major GEORGE ROGERS CLARK FLOYD, commanding.

The roll of the officers of the Fourth United States Infantry here given is not precisely the same as that appearing in another part of this history. This is the roster as found at Washington at the present day:

Captain W. C. Baen.*
Captain Josiah Snelling.
Captain Robert C. Barton.
Captain Return B. Brown.
Captain George W. Prescott.
Captain Joel Cook.
First Lieutenant Abraham Hawkins.
First Lieutenant George P. Peters.†
First Lieutenant Charles Larrabee.
Second Lieutenant Jacob W. Albright, First Infantry, commanding a company of Seventh Infantry.
Second Lieutenant George Gooding,† Fourth Infantry.
Second Lieutenant Henry A. Burchester, Second Infantry, doing duty with the Fourth Infantry.‡

A battalion of Indiana Militia under command of Joseph Bartholomew, Lieutenant Colonel.

* Wounded November 7th and died November 9, 1811.

† Wounded.

‡ It is possible that the list given of the Fourth Infantry is not complete, but the returns and rolls of the Fourth Infantry are incomplete and in very bad condition, and do not afford full and exact information. [Adjutant General's Office, United States Army, 1896.]

Also a battalion of Indiana Militia under Lieutenant Colonel Luke Decker:

Captain Josiah Snelling, junior.
Captain John Posey.
Captain Thomas Scott.
Captain Jacob Warrick.*
Captain Spier Spencer.*
First Lieutenant Richard McMahan.*
Second Lieutenant Thomas Berry.*
Captain Wilson.†
Captain John Norris.†
Captain Hargrove.†
Captain Andrew Wilkins.
Captain Walter Wilson.
Captain James Bigger.
Captain David Robb.

Battalion of Kentucky Volunteers:

Major Samuel Wells, commanding.
Lieutenant James Hunter, Adjutant.
Captain Peter Funk.
Lieutenant Presley Ross.
Captain Frederick Geiger.‡
Lieutenant Lewis Hite.

Two companies of Dragoons:

Major Joseph H. Daviess, commanding.
Captain Charles Beggs.
Captain Benjamin Parke.
Lieutenant Davis Floyd, Adjutant.

* Killed.
† Mentioned in Harrison's report; they were all from Indiana.
‡ Wounded.

About two hundred and seventy of the command were mounted, and very few of the entire force had ever been in battle.

The military training of a considerable part of the militia had been obtained only during the campaign.

Harrison anticipated resistance, yet not an Indian appeared, and November 3d the army resumed its march, keeping in the open country until Tuesday, November 5th, at evening, it arrived unmolested within eleven miles of the Prophet's town.

The route on the left bank of the Wabash would have been shorter, but it was wooded and favorable to ambuscades. Harrison had had that route reconnoitered, and preparations made as if preparing to open a wagon road. It was very probable that the Prophet, expecting Harrison to march by this route, neglected to scout the country to the north of the Wabash where Harrison did march, for no Indians or Indian signs were met with until a day before the command reached the town. No signs of scouting parties were seen until the 5th of November. In support of this theory, call to mind the statements made later, that messengers had been sent to Harrison on the road down the left bank of the river.

The route taken by Harrison, from a military point of view, was decidedly the best for an advance, but for a

retreat after a lost battle it would have been all wrong. A victorious enemy between him and his base, with a wide river to cross, would very probably have been fatal. If he could have spared the time to have had his boats accompany the column, it would have been the better plan. No pen can describe the sufferings of the wounded who agonized in those wagons on the fifty miles back to the boats.

The column moved in a formation that prepared it for instant battle. The old officers and some of the men had previous experience in marching in the Indian country, and the utmost precautions were taken to avoid surprise.

As was said by Joe Daviess to some younger men while they were preparing to start on the march to join Harrison at Vincennes: "When you get into the Indian country act always as if in the presence of the enemy; and in fact you always are. However secure you may seem, be sure some of the savages are watching your march, and will strike you at the first opportunity."

Therefore, after passing the Vermilion River the column was made up thus: The mounted men formed the advance and rear guards and small parties on either flank; the infantry marched in two columns, one on each side of the trail, while the baggage wagons, led animals,

and beeves took the center. On all sides scouts moved to prevent surprise. Harrison had devised this plan of march while serving under General Wayne in 1794.

Cotemporary newspapers speak of this as an "army." To us, after the gigantic military movements we have so recently passed through in the civil war, it seems a mere handful of men, but they were destined to mark an immortal page in history. And this band of brave men on the night of November 5th had come to within a short day's march of the Prophet's town without having seen an Indian, though discovering signs of them. The morning of the 6th they were seen in front and on both flanks, when within five or six miles of the town.

Two miles from the town the army unexpectedly entered a difficult country, thick with woods and cut by ravines, where Harrison was greatly alarmed, seeing himself at the mercy of an attack, and changed the formation of the column to resist the enemy, but the defile was passed without hindrance in any way.

When clear of the woods, within a mile and a half of the town, he halted and declared he was going into camp. Daviess and all the other officers urged him to attack the town at once, but he replied that his instructions would not justify him in attacking the Indians unless they refused his demands, and he still hoped to

hear something in the course of the evening from the friendly scouts (Indians sent out at Fort Harrison). Daviess remonstrated, and every officer supported him. Harrison then pleaded the danger of further advance. "The experience of the last two days," he said, "ought to convince every officer that no reliance ought to be placed upon the guides as to the topography of the country; that, relying on their statements, the troops had been led into a situation so unfavorable that but for their celerity in changing their positions a few Indians might have destroyed them; he was, therefore, determined not to advance to the town until he had previously reconnoitered."

In a letter to Governor Scott, of Kentucky, of December 13th, he gave another reason which reads very differently and sounds as unlike as possible the reasons given to his officers. "The success of an attack upon the town by day," he said, "was very problematical. I expected that they would have met me the next day to hear my terms, but I did not believe they would accede to them, and it was my determination to attack and burn the town the following night."

Daviess and the other officers, looking at the matter only as soldiers, became more urgent, until Harrison yielded at last, and, resolving no longer to hesitate in

treating the Indians as enemies, ordered an advance with the determination to attack.*

They advanced about a quarter of a mile when three Indians, sent by the Prophet, came to meet them, bringing pacific messages and urging that hostilities should be avoided if possible. They assured Harrison that messengers with friendly intent had gone to meet him down the eastern bank of the Wabash but had missed him. They were surprised at his coming so soon, and hoped he would not disturb them or frighten their women and children.

Harrison in a letter,† written a few days after the battle, said: "I answered that I had no intention of attacking them until I discovered they would not comply with the demands I had made; that I would go on and encamp at the Wabash, and in the morning would have an interview with the Prophet and his chiefs, and explain to them the determination of the President; that in the mean time no hostilities should be committed."

His hesitation was probably due to his being unprepared for battle at the moment, and his ignorance of the strength of the enemy. He knew he had about eight hundred men for duty, and the Indians might have more

* History of the United States. Henry Adams, Vol. 6, page 99.
† Secretary Eustis, November 18, 1811.

than six hundred. He remembered that no victory had ever been won over the Northern Indians where the numbers were any thing like equal. Before him was an unknown wilderness; behind him a weary way of one hundred and fifty miles. With the rations in the wagons and the drove of beeves under charge of the Quartermaster, he had supplies for only a few days. He could not trust the Indians, and certainly if they suspected his plans as to their town they would not trust him.

Daviess felt the Governor's vacillation so strongly that he made no secret of his discontent, and said openly not only that "the army ought to attack, but also that it would be attacked before morning, or would march home with nothing accomplished."

Indeed, if Harrison had not come thus far to destroy the town, there was no sufficient reason, from a military standpoint, for his command being there at all. It appears almost certain that the little army was wanting a fight badly, and were apprehensive they might not get it.

Having decided to wait, it was next in order to choose a camping-ground. They marched on, looking for some spot on the river where wood, as well as water, could be had, coming finally within one hundred and fifty yards of the town, when numbers of the Indians, in alarm, called on them to halt.

The Indians had cleared off the timber which had originally bordered the Wabash, extending their fields for a long distance down the stream, as well as back from the river's edge, thus removing the fuel that the command needed for warmth and cooking. They had also cultivated the ground in their rude way, which made it undesirable as a camp-ground. Encountering such a surface led the column on until halted by the Indians on the very verge of the town.

Harrison told them to show him a spot suitable for a camp. They pointed toward the northwest as a proper place, back from the Wabash, on the borders of a creek, less than a mile away.

Two officers, Majors Taylor and Clarke, were sent with Quartermaster Piatt to examine it. As they reported it being excellent for their use, Harrison put the command in motion, and parted with the chiefs who had come to meet him, after an exchange of promises that no hostilities should be commenced until after an interview to be held the next day.

In his dispatch to the Secretary of War, written from Vincennes, November 18th, Harrison thus describes the battle-ground :

"I found the ground designed for our encampment not altogether such as I could wish it. It was indeed admirably calculated for the encampment of regular troops that were opposed to regulars, but it afforded great facility for the approach of savages. It was a piece of dry oak land rising about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie in front, and nearly twice that height above a similar prairie in the rear, through which, and near to this bank, ran a small stream clothed with willows and other brushwood. Toward the left flank this bench of land widened considerably, but became gradually narrower in the opposite direction, and at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards terminated in an abrupt point."

Is it not possible that the wily Prophet and his followers had an eye single to their plans when they selected the ground?

And yet in all the region round about for some distance there is no better spot for a camp where abundance of wood and water are required.

Remember the nights at this season were very cold, and since only the officers and the regulars had tents, huge fires were necessary to procure any degree of comfort. These fires were built lavishly, usually in front of the lines occupied by each portion of the command as it lay in camp, and the light of the fires at the outbreak of the battle was the cause of much loss among the whites, since the enemy had them at a disadvantage the moment a man came within the glare.

Those of my readers who have visited the battle-ground on the "Monon Route" will recognize the general features of it as described by Governor Harrison.

Going north on the railroad, we cross the Wabash canal as soon as we leave the city of Lafayette. Passing around a slight eminence, the train rushes out into view of the Wabash River bottom, here quite wide. Off to the left we see the hills and broken country which excited Harrison's fears as he found his column of weary troops among them on the morning of Wednesday, November 6th. We ride across the river, and to our right is the ground where he halted about noon and held the conference with his officers regarding their situation. The mouth of the Tippecanoe is not distinguishable as we look up the river because of the trees, but it is about a long mile away. The train soon traverses the bottom land, and we come in sight of a creek on the left, which is Burnett's Creek, and a moment later we whirl along the side of a fine area of grass enclosed by a tall iron fence, and that is the battle-ground, but the station by that name is yet a little ways beyond. Alighting at the platform we find a large village before us, which we only skirt on our walk back to the scene of the conflict, passing an extensive enclosure devoted to camp-meetings, and also a college.

Facing toward the broad fields in front of the battle-ground at the gate of the fine iron fence we see just at the foot of the railroad embankment the marshy prairie, and at the distance of about a mile is the site of the Prophet's town. No trees dot the surface, but we can see it was near the mouth of the Tippecanoe River, whose clear waters flow into the Wabash.

Entering the park, for the State of Indiana, with commendable liberality, keeps the enclosure always in good order, we can imagine it in its virgin state with a great many more trees, some logs and brush. It indicates now that it was then an excellent site for a few men to hold against a host. The creek still flows, but the hand of improvement has graded the steep bank and made a roadway. The willows and small brush still spring up as they did at the battle.

The town and other improvements stand upon the woods that opened toward the northwest.

Harrison was criticized after the battle for not entrenching his camp that afternoon, or at least throwing up some barricades of logs or fallen trees. He said that the army had barely enough axes to procure firewood. The probabilities are that the men had little time after reaching camp to make preparations for the night, but, after all, the Governor should have given the orders if he thought

it necessary. The army pitched its tents, lighted its fires, and proceeded to make itself as comfortable as possible under the circumstances, with no other protection than a single line of sentinels, although the creek in the rear gave cover to an attack within a few yards of the camp.

Harrison arranged his camp with care on the afternoon of November 6th in the form of an irregular parallelogram on account of the conformation of the ground. On the front was a battalion of United States Infantry under the command of Major George Rogers Clark Floyd * (a native of Jefferson County, Kentucky), flanked on the right by two companies, and on the left by one company of Indiana Militia under Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Bartholomew. In the rear was a battalion of United States Infantry under Captain William C. Baen, acting Major, with Captain Robert C. Barton, of the regulars, in immediate command. These were supported on the right by four companies of Indiana Militia led respectively by Captains Josiah Snelling, junior, John Posey, Thomas Scott, and Jacob Warrick. This battalion of Indiana

* Major George Rogers Clark Floyd was appointed Captain of the Seventh United States Infantry in 1808; promoted to Major of the Fourth Infantry in 1810. He served in this rank until August, 1812, when he was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and transferred to the Seventh Infantry. Becoming dissatisfied with the service, he resigned in April, 1813, returning to the vicinity of Louisville, Kentucky, near his native place. Subsequently he studied law. He died in 1821.

Militia was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Luke Decker. The right flank, eighty yards wide, was filled with mounted riflemen under Captain Spier Spencer. The left, one hundred and fifty yards in extent, was composed of mounted riflemen under Major Samuel Wells, commanding as Major, and led by Captains Frederick Geiger and David Robb.

David Robb was born in Ireland, July 12, 1771, but came to America at an early age. His father, David Barr Robb, had a family of ten children, and settled in Jefferson County, Kentucky, near Mann's Lick. David Robb, while making his home near Mann's Lick, became a famous hunter and a fine shot. His hunts sometimes took him as far up the Ohio River as the Kentucky River, whence he floated to Louisville with his furs.

One season he accumulated a large stock of fine furs which he loaded into a boat, and, with a small company, voyaged down to New Orleans to dispose of them. Thence he sailed for Philadelphia, intending to cross the mountains and reach Louisville by the Ohio, but on the voyage the ship and its company were captured by pirates. He made his escape, reached Philadelphia after many adventures, and returned home about a year after his friends had given him up for dead.

He removed to Indiana Territory about November, 1800, being one of the first settlers in Southern Indiana,

where he raised his company in the neighborhood of Corydon. He was a friend of Governor Harrison, who sent him a personal appeal to raise volunteers for the expedition, which he did, enrolling about seventy men. Years after the War of 1812 he became land agent at La Porte, occupying the office for a long period. He died April 15, 1844.

His brother, James Robb, enlisted in his company, was badly wounded, being shot through both legs. After his recovery he returned to Kentucky, became a citizen of Jefferson County, and lived to a good old age.

Resuming our account of the formation of the camp, we find that two troops of Dragoons under Colonel Joseph H. Daviess, acting as Major, were stationed in the rear of the front line on the left flank; and at right angles with these companies, in the rear of the left flank, was a troop of cavalry under Captain Benjamin Parke. Wagons, baggage, officers' tents, etc., were in the center.

As was his custom, Harrison gathered the field officers in his tent at a signal and gave them instructions for the night. He ordered that each corps that formed the exterior line of the encampment should hold its ground in case of an attack until relieved. In the event of a night attack the cavalry were to parade dismounted, with their pistols in their belts, and act as a reserve.

A camp guard of one hundred and eight men, two captains, and two subalterns were stationed under the command of the field officer of the day. This was not a large guard, but it was as many as could be expected from a corps of less than a thousand for duty. The army was thus encamped in order of battle.

Though late in the night the moon rose, the night was dark, with more or less rain at intervals; the troops lay with guns loaded and bayonets fixed, but many of them slept but little because of being so exposed, not having blankets.

The general understanding among the men was that the next day Governor Harrison would make a treaty with the Indians, yet those who had seen service thought there would be fighting. Only a small part of these men had ever been on the march or in camp in an enemy's country, and three months before a majority of them were working in the pursuits of peace. The routine of military life had made them somewhat like soldiers, yet they were still to be tried as to their steadiness and courage. Comparing the stand they made the next morning with most of the experiences of militia for the first time under fire, there is reason to be proud of the manner in which they conducted themselves, leaving a record that their children in Indiana and Kentucky have

never had occasion to be ashamed of. We will see when we come to review the events of the daylight scenes of the 7th that they were excited, as most raw troops are the day after the battle is over, but they did not run away nor seek shelter during the battle nor afterward. There were no prisoners lost, and no stragglers left the ranks.

Lossing* gives an account of the incantations of the Prophet that night in his town, at which he aroused the anger of his dupes against the whites, and promised them freedom from danger if they attacked the sleeping soldiers.

Another author† says: "It is believed that the treachery of the Indians did not take the shape of an attack on Harrison's camp until late that evening, it having been primarily arranged that they should meet the Governor in council and appear to agree to his terms. At the close the chiefs were to retire to their warriors, when two Winnebagoes selected for the purpose were to kill the Governor and give the signal for the uprising of the Indians."

It looks to us at this lapse of time that the leaders of both sides were trying to match treachery with treachery.

* Field Book War 1812, page 203.

† Indian Biography, Samuel G. Drake, 1832, page 337.

The Indians made it a practice to assault their enemies under cover of the dark hours just before daybreak, which is probably the reason the shock came when it did. They were on their own ground, and, knowing exactly how the whites had pitched their camp, they selected the best spot for dealing the first blow, expecting to rush upon the sleeping men, make a lodgment in the camp, and disperse the command without delay. Being familiar with the lay of the land, they chose their points of attack, having surrounded the silent camp and approached it noiselessly from every side, save the portion surmounting the steep banks of the creek, which were almost perpendicular and difficult to ascend at any time, but especially so in the darkness of a misty, rainy night.

While campaigning against the Indians it was always thought best, when near any body of them, to rouse the camp quietly some hours before daylight, and in this way be prepared for any thing that might happen. Harrison had learned this when a younger man, having been a captain in the regulars, and on this campaign he was in the habit of rising at four o'clock, calling his men to arms, and keeping them in line until broad daylight. On this dull morning of Thursday, November 7, 1811, he was just pulling on his boots at the usual hour, before rousing his men for parade, when a single shot was fired at the north-

western angle of the camp, near the bank of Burnett's Creek.

The man who thus opened this famous little battle was a Kentuckian named Stephen Mars, and such a name appears on the roll of Captain Frederick Geiger's company, which was raised in Louisville and Jefferson County. After delivering his fire he ran toward the camp, but was shot before reaching it.

The horrid yells of the savages woke the camp, and were followed by a rapid fire upon the ranks of the companies of Baen and Geiger that formed that angle of the camp. Their assault was furious, and several of them penetrated through the lines but never returned.

The whole camp was alarmed at once.

The officers with all possible speed put their different companies in line of battle as they had been directed the night before. The fires were now extinguished, as they were more useful to the assailants than to the assailed. Under the alarming circumstances the men behaved with great bravery and coolness, and very little noise or confusion followed the first awakening. The most of them were in line before they were fired upon, but some were compelled to fight defensively at the doors of their tents. It is likely this happened near the fires, at the point where the enemy pierced the lines. Here the Indians

made their great rush which was to have been a surprise, but it failed, and after that the battle was a trial of skill, endurance, and courage. It had to be fought out when the first dash had not been successful.

Harrison called for his horse at the first alarm, and would have been at the scene of the earliest fighting had he not met with a short delay caused by his horse breaking his tether just at the moment the Governor was ready for him.

It will be noticed in the various accounts of the battle the "white horse" is discussed a great deal. The Governor usually rode a white horse, but at the onset of the battle the noises of the combatants proved to be too much for the animal, and he broke away, escaping from the hostler just as the Governor ordered him. Harrison immediately mounted a bay horse that stood snorting nearby, and rode away with his aid, Colonel Owen, who was riding his own horse, which happened to be white. Tradition has it that the Indians, having seen the Governor on his white horse at the Prophet's town, took Colonel Owen for the Governor, and Owen fell almost at once in the fierce combat that began the battle. Colonel Daviess is also said to have ridden a white horse, likewise to have worn a white blanket coat. In a letter written long after the battle Captain Funk said Daviess rode a roan horse

bought of Frank Moore at Louisville. The latter is doubtless the exact fact.

When Corporal Stephen Mars gave the alarm in the dense darkness of the hour before day that cold morning, he ran toward the camp. This was most natural, for he was pursued closely by the Indians, who, bent on making their way into the camp, rushed right at his heels. The companies of Captain Barton and Captain Geiger were thrown into great confusion at once, became mixed up with the enemy, and hard fighting followed. One of Captain Geiger's men lost his gun and reported it to his commander, who made his way to his tent to get a new piece for the soldier. Arrived there, Captain Geiger found the Indians ransacking its contents, prodding with their knives into every thing. A brief struggle took place, which ended in their rapid retreat. Captain Geiger's saddlebags received several extensive slashes from the scalping-knives of the savages, and the grandchildren of the Captain looked upon them years afterward with many a shudder.

Harrison criticized his sentinels for not attempting to hold the enemy for a short period at least, in order that the camp might have time to form in line, but this was precisely what the Indians did not intend to allow, for it was essential to their plan of attack not to permit a moment

to be lost in throwing the whites into confusion. They succeeded to a certain extent, since a number of them were killed inside the lines and remained where they fell. Those killed outside the lines were sometimes carried out of sight and range. The plan of battle on their part was to attack on the three sides (front and the flanks) simultaneously, but the alarm was given before those on the right flank were fully ready, though the entire line was finally assaulted.

The Indians were commanded by White Loon, Stone Eater, and Winnemac. Signals during the battle were given by rattling strings of dried deers' hoofs.

Arriving at the spot where the attack began, Governor Harrison found that Barton's company had suffered severely, and the left of Geiger's company had broken badly. He immediately ordered Cook's company and that of the late Captain Wentworth, under Lieutenant Peters, to be brought up from the center of the rear line, where the ground was much more defensible, and form across the angle in support of Barton and Geiger. At that moment the Governor's attention was directed to the firing at the northeast angle of the camp, where a small company of United States riflemen, armed with muskets, and the companies of Baen, Snelling, and Prescott, of the Fourth United States Infantry, were stationed. There he found

TIPPECANOE BATTLE-GROUND—ANGLE AT POINT OF FIRST ATTACK.

Taken on the ground by Captain Alfred Pirtle.

Major Joseph H. Daviess forming the dragoons in the rear of those companies.

Daviess was gallant and impatient of restraint. One of his party was Washington Johns, of Vincennes, a quartermaster of the dragoons, and intimate with Harrison. Daviess sent him to the Governor when the Indians made their first attack, asking for permission to go out on foot and charge the foe. "Tell Major Daviess to be patient; he shall have an honorable position before the battle is over," Harrison replied. In a few moments Daviess made the same request, and the Governor the same reply. Again he repeated it, when Harrison said: "Tell Major Daviess he has heard my opinion twice; he may now use his own discretion." The gallant Major, with only twenty picked men, instantly charged beyond the lines on foot, and was mortally wounded. He was a conspicuous mark in the gloom, as he wore a white blanket coat.*

"Unfortunately," says Harrison in his dispatch to the Secretary of War, "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 front and attack him on his flanks. The Major was mortally wounded and his party driven back."

* Statement of Judge Naylor and Captain Fink. Lossing, page 205.

Many years after the battle Doctor N. Field, then living in Jeffersonville, Indiana, contributed to the Evening News of that city an article describing a visit of General Harrison to that town in 1836. His visit ended, he went to Charlestown by the way of a steamboat to Charlestown Landing.

After his arrival at that place, Harrison was called on and requested to gratify the people by making a speech. He replied that it was entirely unexpected to him, but he would not make a set speech. He was told they were anxious to have him give them some account of Tippecanoe, which he did in conversational style. He proceeded to refute the charges so often made before as to the Indians selecting his camping-ground, being surprised, changing horses with Colonel Abraham Owen, and sacrificing Colonel Joe Daviess. His narrative of the manner of Daviess' death differs from any other that the writer has met with, and is here given just as Doctor Field recorded it. The simplicity and clearness, entirely divested of any thing dramatic, throw a light upon the bravery and ambition of Daviess that reveals clearly the motive of his action—he panted to distinguish himself. Taken with the record of the day immediately preceding, it illustrates the idea advanced elsewhere in this paper, that Daviess was determined to make this battle an epoch in his life or never survive:

"As to Colonel Joe Daviess, who commanded a company of dragoons and insisted on having something to do, disliking very much to stand idle holding horses while the infantry were so hard pressed. I told him there were some Indians behind a log some seventy-five yards from our lines shooting our men, and to charge them on foot. He was instructed to form them, and when ready the line would open to let them pass out. Instead of charging them abreast, the Colonel, ardent and impetuous, rushed out, calling on his men to follow him in single file. Before reaching the log he was mortally wounded, and died the next day."

The following has been taken from "The History of Mercer and Boyle Counties," by Mrs. Maria T. Daviess, Harrodsburg, Kentucky, 1885:

"Colonel Allin, his bosom friend and comrade in arms, came to tell his kindred the sorrowful tidings" (the death of Jo Daviess). "All day long," he said, "he lay under the shade of a giant sycamore tree, his life ebbing slowly away, and he awaiting his last enemy, death, with unquailing eye. His spirit passed out with the setting sun, and by the starlight his soldiers laid him in his rude grave, wrapped only in his soldier's blanket, and as the thud of the falling earth fell on their ears they wept like children."

Captain Funk, from Louisville, says he attended Major Daviess about nine o'clock in the morning, and assisted in changing his clothes and dressing his wound. He was shot between the right hip and ribs, and it is believed the fatal shot proceeded from the ranks of his friends

firing in the gloom. Daviess was afraid the expedition might be driven away and leave the wounded behind. He exacted a promise from Captain Funk that in no event would he leave him to fall into the hands of the savages. He survived until about one or two o'clock in the afternoon of the same day. Speaking of him, Harrison said in his report: "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."

Immediately on the fall of Daviess, Harrison promoted Captain Parke to the position, just as intelligence was brought that Captain Snelling with his company of regulars had driven the enemy from their location with heavy loss.

The Indians now pressed the battle on all sides except a part of the rear line. They fell with great severity on Spencer's mounted riflemen on the right, and on Warrick at the angle. The fighting on the line of the right flank became very severe as well as bloody, and marked by many examples of heroic courage. Captain Warrick was shot immediately through the body, and borne from the scene to the field hospital located some distance within the lines of the encampment, where his wound was dressed; as soon as this was finished (being a man of

unusual vigor of body, and yet able to walk) he insisted on returning to head his company, though it was evident he had not many hours to live. He survived to see the result of the battle, but died during the day.

Other officers in this part of the field also gave up their lives. Spencer and his lieutenants were killed, and yet their men and Warrick's held their ground gallantly. They were speedily reinforced by Robb's riflemen, who had been driven or ordered by mistake from their position on the left flank, toward the center of the camp, and at the same time Prescott's company of the Fourth United States Infantry was ordered to fill the space vacated by the riflemen, the grand object being to hold the lines of the camp unbroken until daylight, so that then the army could make a general advance. In doing this the Governor was very active, riding constantly from point to point inside the lines, holding the troops to their positions, and keeping every weak place reinforced.

At length day came, disclosing the strongest bodies of the enemy on both flanks. After strengthening these, he was about to order a charge by the dragoons under Major Parke upon the enemy on the left flank, when Major Wells, not understanding the order, led his Kentuckians to execute the movement, that was gallantly and effectually done. The Indians, driven from their positions on

this front, were charged by the dragoons, who pursued them as far as their horses could be urged into the wet prairies that lay on both sides of the ridge upon which the battle was fought, and thus the Indians escaped further pursuit.

While this was going on, the troops of the right flank had rushed upon the foe and driven them into the marshy ground, while others fled beyond gunshot, disappearing among the willows or bushes on the borders of the creek.

The battle had lasted about two hours. Tradition says the Prophet stood upon a rock on the west side of the valley beyond the creek, encouraging the Indians by songs and promises of victory. He joined in the general retreat to the town. There the fugitive warriors of many tribes, Shawnees, Wyandotts, Kickapoos, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes, Sacs, and a few Miamis, rallied, all of whom, having lost faith in the potency of his conjuring, covered the Prophet with reproaches. He cunningly told them that his predictions had failed, his friends had been killed and wounded, because during the incantations before the battle his wife had touched the sacred vessel and broken the charm!

Even these superstitious creatures could not swallow this story, and the impostor was deserted by his dupes, being compelled to take refuge with a small band of

Wyandotts on Wild Cat Creek, which falls into the Wabash from the south near the Tippecanoe. The foe scattered in all directions at once, into regions where the whites would not venture.* No pursuit was attempted, and it seems strange, for there must have been a large force of mounted men in the command. But it is highly probable that the air was full of rumors of bodies of Indians in every direction. Having driven off the enemy and lost many men killed and wounded, attention to them demanded the services of all that could be spared for such duties.

Harrison was much criticized for not even sending out a single scouting party, though he had the dragoons and the Kentucky mounted men, to scour the country, but it must be said for him that his guides had not been such as he could trust, since they had led him into very difficult country on the march to Tippecanoe, and perhaps he would not trust them again. At any rate he remained quiet for a day.

Harrison was continually exposed during the action, but escaped without injury. A bullet passed through his hat and grazed his head. His loss in killed and wounded was one hundred and eighty-eight. Of those the Ken-

*The Prophet died in 1834 west of the Mississippi River, a pensioner of Great Britain since 1813.

tuckians had a considerable share, but only a few are recorded by name. Colonel Abraham Owen, from Shelby County, Kentucky, an aid to the Governor, was killed, when he and the Governor, early in the engagement, rode to the point of first attack. He was upon a white horse, which made him a mark for the enemy.

The enemies of Harrison afterward charged that he changed horses with Owen. The fact was the Governor took a dark colored horse, the first one he could lay his hands on, after his white horse had run away, as has been narrated elsewhere. The horse Owen rode was his own. He had left Kentucky with Captain Geiger's company, and Harrison had accepted him as a volunteer aid. He was a good citizen and a brave soldier.

Colonel Abraham Owen was born in Prince Edward County, Virginia, in 1769, and emigrated to Kentucky in 1785. His first public service was upon Wilkinson's campaign, in the summer of 1791, upon White and Wabash rivers. He was a lieutenant in Captain Lemon's company in St. Clair's defeat, November 4, 1791, being wounded at that engagement in the arm and on the chin. He was in the expedition led by Colonel Hardin to White River, and took part in the action which routed the Indians from their hunting-camps. In 1796 he was a surveyor in Shelby County, and afterward a magistrate.

He commanded the first militia company raised in Shelby County, of which Singleton Wilson, an old comrade in the Wilkinson campaign, was lieutenant. Captain Owen soon became major and rose to colonel, while Wilson advanced in rank to captain. Colonel Owen was soon after elected to the legislature, and, in 1799, was chosen a member of the Constitutional Convention. Shortly before his death he was a member of the State Senate.

In December following the battle the Legislature of Kentucky went into mourning for Daviess, Owen, and others who had fallen at Tippecanoe, and in 1819–1820 the memory of Colonel Owen was perpetuated by forming a county to which was given his name. Of him Harrison said in his official report: "Colonel Abraham Owen, commandant of the Eighteenth Kentucky Regiment, joined me a few days before the action as a private in Captain Geiger's company; he accepted the appointment of volunteer aid-de-camp to me; he fell early in action; the representatives of his State will inform you that she possesses not a better citizen nor a braver man."

The disposition of the troops for the night was judicious but open to criticism, which Harrison apprehended, for he said in his report: "In the formation of my troops I used a single rank, or what was called Indian file, because the extension of the line is a matter of the first

importance. Raw troops maneuver with much more facility in single than in double rank."

The irregular parallelogram was also good, as it afforded opportunity for furnishing support promptly at the points of attack.

Harrison certainly expected the enemy would assault him that morning, and he was only a little behind time in waking his men. A better moment for the Indian attack could not have been chosen, but its failure to demoralize and scatter the whites was discouraging to them.

It was a trying ordeal for a late captain of infantry to be placed in, and Harrison behaved well under the circumstances. He said: "Our troops could not have been better prepared than they were, unless they had been kept under arms all night, as they lay with their accoutrements on and their arms by their sides, and the moment they were up they were at their posts. If the sentinels and guards had done their duty, even the troops on the left flank would have been prepared to resist the Indians."

He might have added that some of the militia, poorly provided with blankets, covered the locks of their muskets with their coats to keep the pans of their guns dry. The infantry used principally cartridges containing twelve buckshot, which was a very effective charge for close action or a night attack.

The fires gradually blazed up again here and there, affording great assistance to the Indians in aiming. How fatal their aim was shown by the fate of Captain Spier Spencer. Captain Spier Spencer was the most heroic in the manner of his death of all the victims of this battle. The simple statement in Harrison's official report shows what a determined, brave man he was: "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." Could any thing have displayed true courage and manhood in a higher degree!

The force of his example imbued his men so fully with his spirit that they not only stubbornly held their ground for two hours, but drove the enemy backward, defending the right flank of the field until the fight was ended.

Spencer was a man of importance in Harrison County, having raised his company in or near Corydon. He came to that place in 1809 from Vincennes, and upon the organization of the county was appointed sheriff. The tradition in the family is that he had come from Kentucky to Vincennes (but the year is not known), and this seems very likely, as a brother, who was seriously wounded in the battle, died on his way home when the

command had reached the crossing of the Wabash River, bequeathing in a will made there certain property to friends in Kentucky. Spencer's wife was also from that State, being Elizabeth Polk, daughter of Charles Polk.

In company with her mother (maiden name Delilah Tyler) she and three other children were together captured and forcibly taken from Kentucky to Detroit by Indians, from whom they were ransomed by a French officer, Captain DuPuyster, who had learned that Charles Polk was a Mason. Captain DuPuyster sent word to the husband of the whereabouts of his wife and children, and had the pleasure of seeing them reunited.

Harrison speaks of Captain Spencer in his report in a way that would indicate that the Captain was one well known in the Territory. It is regrettable that so brave a man, who was such a sterling citizen, should not have had some contemporary historian, because the records and memoranda regarding him are almost all lost. He left several descendants, but they have only family tradition and neighborhood tales to give for even so brief a sketch as this.

His company, being mounted, had yellow trimmings on the uniform, which gave them the campaign name of "Spencer's Yellow Jackets," and they resembled those pugnacious insects, judging by the manner they stung the enemy.

Spencer took his fourteen-year-old son on the expedition, who became Governor Harrison's personal care after the loss of his father, being quartered in the Governor's tent during the remainder of the campaign. Harrison continued his interest in the boy, securing for him and a brother, at the proper age, admission to West Point.

Of the conduct of the militia Harrison said:

> "Several of the militia companies were in nowise inferior to the regulars. Spencer's, Geiger's, and Warrick's maintained their posts amidst a monstrous carnage, as, indeed, did Robb's after he was posted on the right flank; its loss of men (seventeen killed and wounded) and keeping its ground is sufficient evidence of its firmness."

Some of the militia exhibited great daring. One young man, finding the lock of his gun out of order, in spite of the remonstrances of his comrades went up to a fire, and, having made a light, remained there until he had repaired it. Though in the glare of the fire and repeatedly fired at, he escaped injury.

The Indians exposed themselves with unusual recklessness, since the Prophet had assured them that the pale-faces would be asleep or drunk, and that their bullets would be harmless and their powder turned to sand. They did not, as always practiced, avail themselves of every cover, but fought out in the open like the whites.

One of the warriors, having loosened his flint, went to a fire, which he brightened into a blaze, and sat down deliberately to his work. Soon he became a target for the enemy's fire and fell dead. A regular soldier rushed out to take his scalp, but not being an adept he was slow in his horrid task, and he, too, received a shot, but carried off his bleeding trophy and reached the lines of his friends only to die of his wound.

One hundred and fifty-four privates were returned among the casualties; fifty-two of them were killed or died of their wounds. The losses of the Indians were serious, but are variously reported. According to one report they left thirty-eight dead on the field. Six more dead were found in graves in the town. As was their almost invariable custom, they carried off all their wounded. The enemy must have suffered as severely as Harrison. Major Wells, of Kentucky, said to a friend that after the battle he counted forty-nine new graves and fifty-four Indians lying on the ground. An Indian woman captured said that one hundred and ninety-seven Indians were missing. From the reckless exposure before mentioned, they must have experienced heavy losses.

The 7th of November was spent in burying the dead, caring for the wounded, and throwing up log breastworks to defend the camp, for rumors were circulated that

Tecumseh was on the march to rescue his brother at the head of a thousand warriors.

"Night," says Captain Funk, "found every man mounting guard, without food, fire, or light, and in a drizzling rain. The Indian dogs during the dark hours produced frequent alarms by prowling in search of carrion about the sentinels."

They were evidently a good deal worked up and entirely on the defensive. If the army had cause for anxiety the morning of the 7th, it had considerably more when its situation became more fully understood. By Harrison's own account he had had with him on entering the battle only about eight hundred men. Of these almost one fourth had been the victims of death or wounds. His camp contained very little flour and no meat, for the few beeves brought along with the column were either driven off by the Indians or stampeded by the noises of the battle, and Vincennes was over one hundred and fifty miles away.

One writer says, "The soldiers had no meat this day but broiled horseflesh."* The mounted men had lost several of their horses in the stampede. Many of the cattle and most of the horses were recovered on the 8th and 9th.

* Eggleston, page 229.

Harrison was naturally a cautious man; he felt his condition keenly and the dangers surrounding him, and this apprehension finally reached his men. Hence the excitement that kept the command on the *qui vive* all the night of the 7th.

Small wonder that this battle furnished fireside talk for many years in Indiana and Kentucky!

Captain Geiger had been wounded but not disabled, retaining command of his company. His record in this short campaign was so creditable that in the War of 1812, when volunteers were called to take the field under General Harrison, he again raised a company, served through his term of enlistment, was again wounded, and returned to his home in Jefferson County, Kentucky, where he lived highly respected.

After peace he accumulated a fortune, and died August 28, 1832, leaving many descendants. His grave, marked by a granite headstone, lies on the old Bonnycastle place on the Bardstown road. Ann Funk Geiger, his wife, was born November 19, 1753, and died March 18, 1822.

Probably the most prominent man in the Indiana militia was Thomas Randolph, a distinguished politician in the early history of the Territory. Having been unsuccessful in a recent canvass, he joined the little army

ELKSWATAWA, THE PROPHET.

From an old wood-cut owned by R. T. Durrett, of Louisville, Kentucky.

organized the summer of 1811. Harrison would have given him a position but there were no vacancies, and Randolph volunteered as a private, but was acting aid-de-camp to Harrison at Tippecanoe when he was mortally wounded. The Governor bent over him, asking if there was any thing he could do for him. Randolph replied that he was gone, but to watch over his child, "And so died as a gallant gentleman in the service of his country, and they buried him on the field by the side of his friend, the Kentucky hero—Jo Daviess."*

Major Henry Hurst was born in Jefferson (then Frederick) County, Virginia, in 1769. When quite a young man he became a citizen of Kentucky, marrying in early life a Miss Sebastian, by whom he had a son named Benjamin. His first wife did not live long, and in due time after her death he married a Miss Stanhope, of Virginia, by whom he had two children, William Henry Hurst, and Mary, who became Mrs. William Leviston, whose daughter, Mrs. Nannie S. Trigg, now resides in Greenville, Mississippi. The descendants of William Henry Hurst removed to Missouri years ago.

When Henry Hurst married the second time he removed to Vincennes, Indiana, to practice law, though he may not have become a citizen there until 1806.

*American Commonwealths. Indiana. Dunn, page 410.

He was a practicing lawyer when he came to Clark County, Indiana, to attend the County Court held 1802, at Springville, a small place the exact site of which is now lost in the cultivated lands about a mile west of Charlestown. On appearing at court he announced that he was Deputy United States Attorney General, ready to indict and prosecute, in the name of the United States, all violators of the law. He must have had influential friends to have secured such a position, and probably knew Governor Harrison well, for in raising the troops in 1811 Hurst volunteered, was made a major of the militia, and appointed aid on the staff of the Governor, with whom he served with great credit. The intimacy continued until Harrison's death, since, at the inauguration, March 4, 1841, Major Hurst, mounted on a white horse, rode at the right hand of the President-elect, while the officer who had been General Harrison's aid at the battle of the Thames rode upon his left.

Major Hurst became a familiar figure in Clark County after the battle of Tippecanoe. He is said to have been a man of fine presence and an able lawyer. He served as clerk of the United States District Court, making the journey from Jeffersonville to Indianapolis on horseback to attend to his official duties there. In 1838–'39 he was a member of the legislature from Clark County. With the

dignity of a gentleman of the old school, his portly figure, bandanna handkerchief, and snuff-box were well known to all the inhabitants of Jeffersonville. He was rather blunt of speech, fond of a joke, enjoyed a social glass, and played cards, but only for diversion. He traveled the circuit for years, more for the pleasure of the company of the members of the bar than for the value of his professional income. His home for many years still stands, a two-story brick dwelling with high basement and stone front steps, on the wharf, a short distance below the ferry landing. His death occurred January 1, 1855, and his head-stone in Walnut Grove Cemetery recites that he was "aged eighty-five years."

Harrison estimated the number of the Indians at six hundred, but had no definite information. Tecumseh afterward spoke of the attack as an "unfortunate transaction that took place between the white people and a few of our young men at our village," as though it was undertaken by the young men against the will of the older chiefs. Tecumseh commonly told the truth.

Harrison's ablest military movement was availing himself of Tecumseh's overconfidence in leaving the country open to him for attack.

The Indians fled precipitately from the town, leaving all their household goods and supplies, as well as several

new firearms of British make. An Indian chief left behind with a broken leg died some time after the battle, but delivered to the Indians Harrison's message, that if they would leave the Prophet and return to their own tribes they would be forgiven.

November the 8th the dragoons and other mounted men took possession of the town. After getting all the copper kettles forsaken by their owners and as much beans and corn as they could transport, the army applied the torch, destroying all the huts and a considerable supply of corn which the Indians had stored for winter. Meanwhile preparations had been made for a rapid return march. The wagons could hardly carry all the wounded, therefore the Governor abandoned the camp furniture and private baggage. "We managed, however, to bring off the public property," he said.

At noon on the 9th the train of twenty-two wagons, each having a load of the wounded, left camp, and by night had passed the dangerous ground where a small force of Indians might have inflicted serious injury.

Six days of uneventful marching brought them to Fort Harrison, from which point the wounded floated to Vincennes in the boats. Captain Snelling and his company from the Fourth United States Infantry were left as a garrison. The remainder of the command arrived at Vin-

cennes on November 18th. By the end of the month the militia was mostly mustered out and sent to their homes.

The immediate result of this battle was to destroy all hopes of the confederacy among the Indians that had been the object of so many years of labor to Tecumseh. Also it gave the people of Indiana a quiet winter. Tecumseh, having been absent, could not do any thing to retrieve the damages done his cause by the blunder of his brother. He spent some months in negotiations with Governor Harrison to arrange for a visit of himself and a body of chiefs to President Madison, but, failing in the accomplishment of this and most of his plans, he went over to the British, to become the most prominent Indian character in the War of 1812.*

The battle of Tippecanoe was at once an object of pride throughout the Western country, and Harrison received the thanks of Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois.

The following preamble and resolution were adopted by the Legislature of the Territory of Indiana, November 18, 1811:

"WHEREAS, The services of His Excellency, Governor Harrison, in conducting the army, the gallant defense made by the band of heroes under his immediate command, and the fortunate result of the battle fought with the confederacy of the Shawnee

* He was killed in the battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813.

Prophet near Tippecanoe on the morning of the 7th instant, highly deserve the congratulations of every friend to the interests of this Territory and the cause of humanity ;

"*Resolved, therefore*, That the members of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives will wait upon His Excellency, Governor Harrison, as he returns to Vincennes, and in their own names and in those of their constituents welcome him home, and that General W. Johnston be, and he is hereby, appointed a committee to make the same known to the Governor at the head of the army should unforeseen circumstances not prevent."

The same winter the Legislature of Kentucky passed the following resolution offered by John J. Crittenden :

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

The counties in Indiana named for participants in the battle of Tippecanoe are : Harrison (organized before the battle), Spencer, Tipton, Bartholomew, Daviess, Floyd, Parke, Randolph, Warrick, and Dubois.

But Harrison's account of the victory was not taken everywhere without criticism, the battle being fought again and again through the press and in private. The Fourth United States Infantry more than hinted that had

it not been for their steadiness the whole party would have been massacred. At Vincennes Harrison's conduct was severely attacked. In Kentucky criticism was open, for the family and friends of Daviess were old Federalists who had no interest in the triumphs of a Republican official. Humphrey Marshall, Daviess' brother-in-law, published a sharp review of Harrison's report, hinting plainly that Daviess had been a victim to the Governor's blunders. With characteristic vigor of language Marshall called Harrison "a little selfish, intriguing busybody," and charged him with having made war without just cause for personal objects.*

It is not clear that Harrison was in any degree responsible for Daviess' death, for the latter evidently panted for military fame and occupied the place of a leader, while his well-known reputation for bravery is sustained by his conduct. That he was rash is more than probable, for he dashed upon the enemy without a sufficient body of men; but that Harrison was to blame for his death seems unsustained. Who knows what dreams of glory had been in his mind all through the expedition! It seems as though he courted prominence from his behavior on all occasions during the brief campaign. His death was a great blow to his friends, yet it did

*Marshall's Kentucky, Volume II, pages 507, 521.

more to hand his name down to history than all the other deeds of his remarkable career.

He was born in Bedford County, Virginia, March 4, 1774, being the son of Joseph and Jean Daviess, who were of Scotch-Irish descent, though born in Virginia, and from them he inherited the indomitable energy and great coolness of the Scotch, and the sympathetic heart and free hand of the Irish. When young Daviess was five years old his parents removed to Kentucky and opened a farm near Danville. Joseph was educated there and in Harrodsburg, becoming a good classical and mathematical scholar. At an early age he began to evince the eccentricity that always marked his history. It was a habit with him to go off into the woods, select a proper spot, and study, lying at full length on his face. Though he became a dreamer, he was easy and graceful, and, when he so desired, captivating in his manners.

In 1793 he joined, as a volunteer, a corps of cavalry raised by Major John Adair to escort a train of provisions to the forts north of the Ohio. Near Fort St. Clair he was under the fire of the savages, but escaped unhurt and saved his horse, which was the only one of the company's brought off.

Returning home, he studied law in the office of George Nicholas, then the leading lawyer of the State.

TIPPECANOE BATTLE-GROUND—VIEW OF CENTER OF REAR LINE.

Taken on the ground by Captain Alfred Pirtle.

When he became a lawyer his fame as an orator was soon spread abroad, while the stories of his strange eccentricities made him an object of interest wherever he went.

He became a Federalist, rising to great prominence among that party, but it was largely in the minority in the State, and hence, though ambitious of the honor, he never occupied a seat in Congress.

At the age of twenty-five he had achieved the reputation of being one of the best lawyers and most powerful speakers in the State. It is said that at twenty-six he had but two rivals as a public speaker — Clay and Bledsoe.

His eccentricity had grown by indulgence into such proportions that it seemed to amount to insanity. This whimsicality was most noticeable in his modes of dress. He sometimes appeared in court in hunting-shirt and coonskin cap; but in town he often wore a kind of uniform consisting of a blue coat with white sleeves, collar, and facings. One day you might meet him lounging around in a coat and vest of homespun cotton, with perhaps a slit a foot long on each shoulder, old corduroy breeches, and slip-shod, unblackened, untied shoes. The next time he might be clothed in full in the finest broadcloth, made up in the most elegant style, when his appearance was superb. It is traditional that he had a suit of red broadcloth made up just before his departure for Washington

and Philadelphia on his first trip to the East. This occasioned remark, of course, and, being asked why he had it prepared, said: "Unless I wear something of the kind, how will the people there ever know Jo Daviess is in town?"

He was the first lawyer from the West to make a speech in the Supreme Court of the United States.

December 12, 1800, he was appointed United States Attorney for the District of Kentucky, the only public office he ever held, remaining in office until George M. Bibb was appointed his successor, March 14, 1807. He made his home in Lexington in 1801.

In the autumn of 1806 Aaron Burr and his daughter, Mrs. Alston, came to Frankfort and mingled freely in the gayeties of the season.

As United States Attorney, Daviess rose in court November 3d and moved Judge Innis for an order requiring Aaron Burr to appear and answer to a charge of high misdemeanor in levying war against a nation with which the United States was at peace. Great excitement followed, as Burr and Daviess were of opposite political parties, and Daviess was accused of making the charge for political purposes.

Burr, who was in Lexington at the moment, appeared in court the next day just as the judge had overruled

the motion. After hearing what it was, he calmly requested the court to reconsider the matter and entertain the motion, which was done, and the 25th was set as the day for trial. When that date arrived, Daviess was compelled by the absence of witnesses to ask for a continuance. On December 3d Burr, with Clay and Allen for his counsel, appeared, and the case was tried.

After a struggle such as could only have occurred between such intellectual giants, the victory remained with Mr. Clay, and popular feeling was all in his favor, but many, hostile to the prosecution, went away in doubt as to which one the palm of superiority should be awarded.

In a few days Daviess had his revenge, when authentic reports arrived in rapid succession of the armed occupation of Blannerhasset's Island, the escape of the expeditionary boats from the Muskingum River and their flight down the Ohio, and finally the proclamation of the President warning the people of the West against Burr, and denouncing his schemes as dangerous and treasonable.

Certain it is that this trial greatly injured Daviess' popularity, besides crippling his practice. He never entirely recovered the former until his heroic death at Tippecanoe.

"As a lawyer he was unsurpassed ; as an orator he had few equals, and those who maintain that he was

great only as a lawyer forget that the man who is truly great, not merely distinguished or accomplished in one respect, is capable of being great in all."*

The State of Illinois, wishing to do honor to his memory, named a county "Jo Daviess," in order that it might always show which man it intended to immortalize.

The State of Kentucky in 1815 named a county Daviess for him.

Colonel Daviess was tall with a vigorous frame, which, combined with the fine intellectual expression of his face, gave him a remarkably commanding and impressive appearance. The light of his eyes was softened by a melancholy tenderness, the fine mouth sweetened by a smile of ineffable kindness. His bearing was grave and dignified, his manner courteous, even affectionate to those he loved. He was a charming colloquist, the life of every circle he entered. Although very careful to keep files of all the letters addressed to him, none of his own were found filed in his desk. There are two of his printed works extant: one an address to the Congress of the United States elaborating a system of defense for the country by organized militia, and the other a criticism on the President's conduct. His strong tincture of Federalism, however, so prejudiced the then supreme party

* Jo Daviess, of Kentucky. R. T. Coleman. Harper's Magazine, Volume 21.

(Democratic) that they did not entertain his comprehensive, and, possibly, also, very wise views.*

In 1812 the Masons of Lexington, Kentucky, held a special meeting in their hall in that city in honor of Colonel Joe Daviess, at which they passed eloquent resolutions of respect to his memory.

A writer in 1820 said: "But few vestiges of the battle were remaining. Here and there the bleached skull of some noble fellow lay on the grass, and more than once I stumbled over the logs that had formed part of the temporary breastworks thrown up after the battle, and which have since been scattered over the field. At an angle of the encampment, and where the carnage had been greatest, was a slight mound of earth, scarcely raised above the surrounding surface. Near it stood an oak tree, on the bark of which the letters 'J. D.' were rudely carved. This was the only memorial of one of the most favorite sons of Kentucky, for under that mound reposed all that remained of the chivalrous, the generous, the eloquent and highly gifted Joe Daviess."†

In 1857 Judge Levi L. Todd, of Indiana, who early in life was the friend and pupil of Joe Daviess, and who had for many years owned the sword of Colonel Daviess,

* From "The History of Mercer and Boyle Counties" (Kentucky), by Mrs. Maria T. Daviess, Harrodsburg, Kentucky, 1885.

† Signed "Indiana." Romance of Western History. Hall, page 361.

worn by him when he was killed at Tippecanoe, presented the sword to the Grand Lodge of Masons of Kentucky, of which Colonel Daviess was Grand Master at the time of his death. The reception address was made by Colonel Charles G. Wintersmith. The presentation ceremonies were among the most interesting incidents in the history of Masonry in Kentucky.

The sword is preserved with great care in the vault of the Masonic Widows and Orphans Home in Louisville.

Were the results of this campaign worth the cost? It would appear now that they were hardly equivalent to the value of the noble lives thus sacrificed, yet it gave the Western men a Western man for a commander, around whom the volunteers of the War of 1812 rallied with great enthusiasm, and in this Harrison reached the one great point of his ambition — he was of necessity the coming military man. The Battle of Tippecanoe was the outbreak of the people of Indiana and Kentucky against the Indians, but its consequences were to hasten the War of 1812. The settlers of Indiana, having measured the military qualities of Harrison, were ready for him to assume the position of their leader, and, taking advantage of the prominence given him by the battle, he was readily induced to take the leadership. The young and ambitious men of both sides of the Ohio ranked him as a

brave and skillful officer to whom they could confide their cause. As to the Indians, the settlers thought them not the invincible fiends that they had been vaunted to be, and they looked upon the Battle of Tippecanoe as an illustration of the white man's ability to meet and defeat them.

But the Indians soon forgot the lesson of Tippecanoe, for in April, 1812, they once more began their ravages of the homes of the people of Indiana Territory.

How did the Kentuckians look upon the campaign? Generally they hailed it as a victory, eulogized the dead, praised the living, and also made heroes of the wounded. They read and talked over the expedition all of the remainder of the winter, and by the arrival of spring were prepared to enthusiastically volunteer in the coming war. It was in this manner that the Battle of Tippecanoe became the forerunner of that war, yet it is not clear that it had any great influence in beginning it. True it had shown the Indians could be successfully resisted, and that they were not invulnerable nor invincible with any thing like equal numbers.

And besides all this, we have the proud legacy of knowing that in this little but bloody battle the untrained sons of Kentucky behaved with honor to themselves and glory to our dear old Commonwealth.

OFFICIAL LIST OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED.

A general return of the killed and wounded of the army under the command of his Excellency, William Henry Harrison, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Indiana Territory, in the action with the Indians near the Prophet's town, November 7, 1811:

	General Staff.	Field and Staff.	United States Infantry.	Colonel Decker's Militia.	Major Redman's Militia.	Major Daviess' Dragoons.	Major Wells' Mounted Riflemen.	Captain Spencer's Mounted Riflemen.	Spies, Guides, Wagoners.	Total.
KILLED:										
Aid-de-Camp,	1									1
Lieutenant Colonels,										
Majors,										
Captains,								1		1
Subalterns,								2		2
Sergeants,					1					1
Corporals,			2							2
Privates,			5	4	6	4	6	5		30
WOUNNEN (since dead):										
Lieutenant Colonels,										
Majors,		1								1
Captains,			1	1						2
Subalterns,										
Sergeants,										
Privates,			14	1	1		3	3		22
WOUNNED:										
Lieutenant Colonels,		2								2
Adjutants,		1								1
Surgeon's Mate,		1								1
Captains,					1		1			2
Subalterns,			3							3
Sergeants,			6	2				1		9
Corporals,			2			1	2			5
Musicians,			1							1
Privates,			43	16	5	5	19	12	2	102
Total,	1	5	77	24	14	10	31	24	2	188

NAMES OF OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED, AS PER GENERAL RETURN.

Killed.

Colonel Abram Owen, Aid-de-Camp to the Commander in Chief (General Staff).

Wounded.

Field and Staff: Lieutenant Colonel Bartholomew, commanding Indiana Militia Infantry; Lieutenant Colonel Decker, commanding Indiana Militia Infantry; Major Joseph H. Daviess, since dead, commanding squadron Dragoons; Doctor Edward Scull, of the Indiana Militia; Adjutant James Hunter, of Mounted Riflemen.

United States Troops: Captain W. C. Baen, acting Major, since dead; Lieutenant George P. Peters; Lieutenant George Gooding; Ensign Henry Burchsted.

Colonel Decker's Detachment: Captain Warrick, since dead.

Major Redman's Detachment: Captain John Norris.

Major Wells' Detachment: Captain Frederick Geiger.

Killed.

Spencer's Camp and Berry's Detachment: Captain Spier Spencer; First Lieutenant Richard McMahan; Lieutenant Thomas Berry.

(Signed) NATHANIEL F. ADAMS,
Adjutant to the Army.

To His Excellency, the Commander in Chief.

The "Battle-ground" is a tract of sixteen and fifty-five hundredths acres bought by the State of Indiana from John Tipton, who entered a body of about two hundred acres, of which it is a part, November 13, 1829. Tipton was a Tennesseean who enlisted at Corydon, Indiana Territory, in the company of Captain Spier Spencer. He had risen from corporal to ensign at the date of the battle, and, his superior officers having been killed in the action, he was promoted to captain.

Harrison buried his dead and burned logs over them to conceal the graves, but the Indians discovered the attempt to deceive them and unearthed the contents. The next year General Hopkins visited the scene and replaced the scattered remains.

In 1830 General Harrison, with other distinguished persons, attended a great gathering of the survivors on the field. The bones of the dead, on November 7, 1836, were placed in one grave in the tract deeded to the State on the above date.

Since 1840 this has been a favorite place for holding great political gatherings.

The Indiana Constitutional Convention of 1851 made provision for the preservation of the battlefield, saying: "It shall be the duty of the General Assembly to provide for the permanent inclosure and preservation of the

Tippecanoe Battle-ground." It was soon after inclosed with a good board fence, which was followed in 1873 by a substantial and handsome iron fence, in erecting which and taking care of the grounds the State expended eighteen thousand dollars. Since then three thousand five hundred dollars was appropriated in 1887 for repainting the fence and necessary repairs, and three hundred dollars a year appropriated for repairs and maintenance.

Part Second.

COMMENT OF THE PRESS.

THE newspapers of those days, as they have usually done, reflected the trend of public opinion, and contained many interesting items concerning the campaign, together with political views. The following have been selected as giving a fair average of the current news. The Lexington, Kentucky, papers were then in the lead, as that city was the center of improvement and enterprise, having early attained that position.

From the Kentucky Gazette, of Lexington, Kentucky, Tuesday, November 5, 1811:

"We have received no account from the Wabash since the last statements; but we have no doubt we shall soon be informed of the commencement of hostilities. From the strength of Governor Harrison's forces, we do not anticipate a very favorable result. If a combination has taken place between the northern and southern tribes, as seems most probable, the odds are against him. The Reporter of Saturday last says: 'Governor Harrison has ascertained that the presents from the British to the Indians for the last season were unusually great in *Arms*, *Ammunition*, etc.'"

From the same number:

"Extract of a letter of Colonel John M. Scott to the editor of this paper, dated Vincennes, October 23, 1811:

"Since my arrival at this place I have had only one letter from the Governor, and in that he merely mentioned that a party of Delaware chiefs had gone to the Prophet's town, their object to prevent war, and to persuade him to accede to the Governor's. propositions — they had not returned, I was informed, on Saturday last. It appears to be the general opinion that there is a division among the Indians, relative to war measures, though the Prophet is for it and a majority of his adherents joined to the whole Kickapoo tribe. Their attack upon the centinels and wounding one of the regular soldiers, was done no doubt to shut the door of accommodation, and to bring on the war, and thereby, to compel an union among themselves for common security.

"The Governor will not give up the point; he will bring them to his measures, either by fair means or hard knocks — they may have their choice; it would not do to relinquish the object now — the Prophet would grow insolent beyond measure. As soon as the Kentucky volunteers join, we shall hear of decisive measures immediately — no more temporising — they must be brought to a sense of their duty; and nothing but a good drubbing, in my opinion, will have the effect.

"*Laprouzier*, whose speech you gave us some weeks ago in your paper, has changed his tone, and says he was deceived by the prophet—thinks him a bad man, and to show his cincerity, has removed his people, women and children, near to the Governor's encampment and claims the protection of the United States.

"The Wabash is rising, and has been for three days past; this will enable the contractors to bring forward supplies for the army,

which were likely to fail; the Governor has been detained some time, for the necessary deposits of provisions. There are about 1100 men under his command, including militia and regulars. Col. Daveiss is a very active officer. When the fight begins we calculate he will do wonders or be killed — he is all for glory, and I suppose would not miss the chance of a fight on any account."

Kentucky Gazette, Tuesday, November 19, 1811:

"British – Savage War! From the Wabash.

[From the Western Courier.]

"It is painful to us in the extreme to hear of the loss of Colonel Daveiss, Colonel Owen, and others; but whilst we lament the death of so many brave men who have thus fallen in defense of our country, we congratulate our readers upon the issue of the battle and the victory that resulted.

"We have alternately indulged the hope that our differences with the Indians would have been amicably terminated, and again from various circumstances, such as the conference of the Indians with our *good friends*, the British, at Malden, the presents there made to them, and the intrigues which the British have uniformly had with them whenever any hostile attitude was taken by that government toward us, together with facts, we have believed that war would ensue. War we now have; and when we consider that the blow is struck in the Western woods at the same moment that Great Britain is sweeping our vessels off the ocean, and her minister is making demands which he knows can not *possibly* be indulged or acceded to, we can not but consider these events as proceeding from one common source — the English Cabinet. Such has been her career from the beginning of the Revolution to this day; she has always been first to 'light the savage

fire.' The Indians are but her tools, her allies, her agents. We hope, therefore, to witness no more protracted moderation against such inflexible hostility. Will Timothy Pickering's friends yet continue to repeat with him that Great Britain has done us '*no essential* injury'?"

In another part of the paper it was said that the Indians had killed the sentinels with arrows, and thus were able to penetrate into the camp. Twenty-six men were thus lost!

In the Kentucky Gazette for November 26, 1811, it is said:

"The Louisville Western Courier of Friday last announces the arrival of Major G. R. C. Floyd and the volunteers of that neighborhood from the Wabash expedition, on whose authority a few additional particulars respecting the late battle and the army are given:

"The troops under Governor Harrison left the Prophet's town for Vincennes on the morning of the 9th, and arrived without molestation from the enemy on the evening of the 18th, having put part of the wounded on board boats at Fort Harrison, a number of whom died on their way down. The regulars were left at Fort Knox, a few miles above Vincennes. That one hundred and seventy-nine were killed and wounded, fifty-two of whom were found dead on the battle-ground, or died since of their wounds. . . . The aggregate amount of their loss (Indians) appeared to be about three hundred. In addition to the number of whites stated in our former paper to have been killed in the battle, the following is a list of the killed and wounded of Clark County (Indiana Territory).

TIPPECANOE BATTLE-GROUND—FRONT VIEW.

Taken on the ground by Captain Alfred Pirtle.

No other returns have been received, but we believe we can state with certainty that no more of the troops from Kentucky were killed than were mentioned in our first number. Some few were wounded.

"A list of the killed and wounded of Clark County (Indiana Territory):

"KILLED.

"Joseph Warnock, Thomas Clendennan, William Fisler, William Hutchinson, Henry Jones, William Kelly.

"WOUNDED.

"John Drummond, J. Robertson, Thomas Gibson, Colonel Bartholomew, Captain Norris."

In the December 3d number of the Kentucky Gazette we find the following very interesting statement of the effect of the battle on the public mind:

"'The Wabash Expedition' is at this time as much talked of in Kentucky as were many years ago Scott's and Clarke's campaigns, St. Clair's defeat, or Wayne's victory. Every one has his own story to relate and his own remarks to make on this memorable expedition. Some are disposed to censure the President, others to blame Governor Harrison, but with very little reason for either. All applaud the bravery of the soldiers and deplore the loss of the heroes who sunk on the field of battle beneath the weight of their laurels. Two of the volunteers from Lexington have returned to their friends. A few days ago one of Governor Harrison's aids passed through this place with dispatches for the Executive. We will patiently await the developments of their contents without hazarding conjecture. Our friends that were in

the battle, it is true, have given us some information, sufficient to form our own views of the subject, but the official dispatches, say this day two weeks, will reach us from Washington City."

[Imagine readers of news waiting two weeks now to hear from anywhere in civilization!]

"In the mean time we have but little to add to former statements. On the part of our army about every *fourth* man was either killed or wounded; and on the part of the Indians, unless their numbers greatly exceeded ours, about every *third* man killed or wounded. Upwards of one hundred Indians, it is ascertained to a certainty, died on the field of battle; their wounded, agreeable to the usual proportion, must therefore have amounted to two or three hundred more. The Prophet's town was razed to the ground on the succeeding day after the battle, except one hut, in which was found an old squaw.

"Since the return of the army to Vincennes, two or three friendly Delaware chiefs came in; their representation of the disappointment of the Indians after the defeat was striking. The Prophet had told them that the white people should all be asleep or drunk, and that he would, by his conjurations, turn their powder into sand, and furnished every warrior with a charm to render him invulnerable.

"The Potawattamies and Kickapoos are said to form the greatest number of hostile Indians. A report prevailed at Vincennes that Tecumseh, with three hundred warriors from the southern tribes, was on his march up the Wabash; this was believed, but little fear existed of depredations from them; it was supposed they would disperse when made acquainted with the fate of the allies. Little Turtle is said to have abandoned his nation, reprobating their folly in commencing hostilities. We could add many other rumors and some speculations, but we forbear until additional facts occur.

The committee appointed in Congress to examine Indian affairs and Governor Harrison's dispatches may throw some light upon the subject.

"The part our good friends, the BRITISH, have acted in this business, we hope will be explained in due time."

A short time after we note the legislature had been showing its approval of the record made by General Wells:

"We learn that a dinner was given on Friday last at Frankfort by the members of the legislature to General Wells, in honor of his bravery and distinguished services in the late bloody and memorable engagement with the (British) Prophet's Indians on the Wabash. Governor Scott, Commodore Richard Taylor, and a number of the old soldiers were among the guests."

A little later the Frankfort Argus published extracts politely furnished it from a letter from Governor Harrison to Colonel John M. Scott, of Frankfort:

"VINCENNES, Dec. 2, 1811.

"Within this hour, two principal Kickapoo chiefs have arrived to sue for peace; they are certainly humbled and if they speak truth, there is scarcely a vestige remaining of the late formidable combination that was headed by the Prophet. He (the Prophet) remains at a small Huron village, about 12 miles from Tippecanoe, with about 40 warriors, and 12 or 15 Wyandots. He has applied to the Kickapoos of the Prairie to get their permission to retire to their town, but it was refused. He then requested to be permitted to send some of his people, in company with Kickapoo mission to me — this was refused.

"No mischief of any kind has been done, since the action, and the frontiers appears to enjoy as profound peace as ever they have done. Before the late expedition commenced, not a fortnight passed by without some vexatious theft being committed. Indeed, the insolence of the Indians, (not those only who were immediately under the control of the Prophet) had become insupportable. To chastise them was absolutely necessary, there was no species of injury and insult, that they did not heap upon us; and our forbearance had excited their contempt to so great a degree, that they scarcely considered us as warriors. About six weeks since some young men of the village of Peoria, told their chiefs, in the presence of a man in the employment of General Wm. Clark 'that they could kill the Americans, as easily as black birds.' It is greatly to be regretted that these scoundrels, could not have been made to respect our rights and our national character, but by the sacrifice of such men as Owen, Daviess, White Baen, Spencer, Warrick *etc.* But much as they are to be lamented, their fall has not been inglorious, nor useless, to their country. The victory which was sealed with their blood, will ensure the tranquility of our frontiers, and one of the finest tracts of land in the world, will be settled in peace, and give abundance and plenty to a smiling and happy population. Even in the event of a war with Great Britain I think that the Indians will *now* remain neutral. They have witnessed the inefficiency of British assistance — for that assistance has been afforded in as ample a manner as it could have been, if war had actually prevailed between us and that power. Within the last three months, the whole of the Indians on this frontier, have been completely armed and equipped out of the King's stores at Malden. Indeed they were much better armed than the greater part of my troops. Every Indian was provided with a gun, scalping knife tomahawk and war club, and most of them with a spear;

whilst the greater part of my riflemen had no other weapon than their rifle. The Indians had moreover an amply supply of the best British glazed powder; some of the guns had been sent to them so short a time before the action, that they were not divested of the list covering in which they are imported. All of the information which I have received since the action corroborates the opinion I had formed immediately after it *i. e.* that the combination under the Prophet, was much more extensive than I had believed and that many of those who were warmest in their professions of friendship to the United States, afforded him all the aid in their power. The Delaware chiefs were all sincere, so was the Turtle; a few of the Miamis and three or four Potawatamie chiefs. All the rest were either openly, or secretly engaged in his cause. The principle by which the Prophet professed to be governed, viz, that of putting a stop to the progress of our settlements, had gained him an astonishing popularity amongst the young men of every Tribe; and I have no doubt that hundreds of them were in the action that now pretend to have been at a considerable distance. However as peace is the object of the government, and as I believe it can now be presumed, I intend to dissemble my suspicions of those whose conduct was equivocal, and to admit the excuses of those even whom I know to have been active against us. The two Kickapoo chiefs inform me that the Prophet and his party had determined to attack me, even if I should have advanced no farther than Fort Harrison."

Being prominent in politics, Governor Harrison was thus made the subject of all sorts of attacks. The news of the campaign had hardly time to reach the readers of the papers of the day ere detraction and criticism began.

Reports of this condition of things reached the Governor at his post, calling from him a letter, which appeared toward the last days of December in the Frankfort Argus, Kentucky Gazette, and the Lexington Reporter.

Copy of a letter from Governor Harrison to Governor Scott, communicated for publication :

"VINCENNES, Dec 13th 1811.

"My dear Sir,

"I had the pleasure to receive your favour of the 27th ult by the mail of Wednesday last ; and I beg you to accept my sincere thanks for the friendly sentiments it contains.

"You wish me to give you some account of the late action, that you 'may be the better enabled to do me justice against the cavils of ignorance and presumtion.' I would do this with great pleasure, but the Legislature of the Territory being about to close it's session, and having an unusual pressure of business, I am unable to give you such an account as would be satisfactory. There is, however, the less need of this as my official account to the government will probably reach you nearly as soon as this letter. It appears to me from some of the hints contained in some of your news papers, that the charge of error in the planning or execution of the late expedition, has been more particularly aimed at the President than myself. I most sincerly thank these gentlemen for placing me in such good company ; and it is hardly necessary to inform you, that the charge against the administration is as unfounded in this instance as in all the others, which have flowed from the same source. The orders of the government with regard to the expedition, evince as much wisdom as humanity. It was determined to protect its citizens, but if possible, to spare the effusion of human blood — this last object was prevented ; but by

whom? Why, in a great measure by those very persons who are now complaining because a battle could not be won without loss. At least in this Territory, the clamor is confined to those who opposed the expedition to the utmost of their power, and by whose exertions in circulating every falsehood, that malice and villainy could invent: the militia were prevented from turning out; and instead of a force of from 12 to 1500 men which I expected to have had, I was obliged to march from Fort Harrison with less than 800: my personal enemies have united with the British agents in representing that the expedition was entirely useless, and the Prophet as one of the best and most pacific of mortals, a perfect Shaker in principle, who shuddered at the thought of shedding blood. Every one of his aggressions upon us was denied or palliated and excused with as much eagerness as is the conduct of Great Britain by this same description of people in the Atlantic States. A party sent by the Prophet fired upon and wounded one of our centinels, upon our own ground; the fact was at first boldly denied, 'the man was shot by one of your own people' and I believe it was even asserted that he shot himself. When the whole circumstance was brought to light, these indefatigable gentry, shifted their ground and asserted that 'the poor Indian fired in his own defence, and that he was merely gratifying an innocent curiosity in creeping to see what was going on in our camp, and that if he had not shot the sentry, the sentry would have shot him.'

"I regret exceedingly that the friends of Col. Daviess should think it was necessary to his fame to suppose a difference of opinion between him and myself, which never existed; that I had slighted advice from him which was never given, and that to give colour to this they had listened to stories with regard to the operations of the army that were absolutely without foundation.

If the utmost cordiality and friendship did not exist between the Colonel and myself from the time of his joining the army until his death, I have been very much deceived; if our military opinions were not almost always in unison, those which he expressed (and no man who knew him will accuse him of hypocrisy,) were not his own; the Colonel's messmates, Maj G. R. C. Floyd and Capt Piatt, are well acquainted with the entire confidence which subsisted between us; they are acquainted with circumstances which indisputably established the fact; and they and others know that I was the object of his eulogy, to an extent which it would be indelicate in me to repeat. Col. Daviess did indeed advise me as to measures the day before the action, in which he was joined by all the officers around me—whether the advice was good or bad is immaterial to the present discussion, *since it was followed to the extent that it was given.* It is not necessary to express my opinion of the Colonel's merits at this time, since it will be found in my official letter, and I have no doubt that it will be satisfactory to his friends.

"With regard to my own conduct, my dear Sir, it is not in my power to enter into a defence of it, unless I were to know in what particular it has been arraigned. However I may with safety rely for my defence upon the opinion of my army. Believing most sincerely that you do feel that 'lively interest in my fame and fortune' which you profess, I am sure you will peruse with interest the inclosed declaration, signed by all the field officers of the army, (one only who was absent,) and the Resolutions entered into by the militia of this country who served upon the expedition; the testimony of men who fought and suffered by my side, ought, I should suppose, to be conclusive.

"An idea seems to prevail in your state, that in the action of the 7th the whole army was completely surprised, and that

they were placed in a situation where bravery only decided the contest, and where there were no opportunity whatever for the exercise of military skill of any kind ; this was however, far from being the case. It is true that the two companies forming the left angle on the rear line, (Barton's and Geiger's) were attacked before they were formed, and that some of the men were killed in coming out of their tents ; but it is equally true that all the other companies were formed before they were fired on, and that even those two companies lost but very few men before they were able to resist. Notwithstanding the darkness, the order of battle, (such as had been previously prescribed) was taken by all the troops — the officers were active, the men cool and obedient, and perhaps, there never was an action where (for the number of men engaged) there were so many changes of position performed ; not in disorder and confusion, but with military propriety — the companies, both regulars and militia, were extended, or contracted, wheeled, marched, and made to file up by word of command. My orders (and they were not a few) were obeyed with promptitude and precision. And if I am not most grossly deceived, that mutual dependence which ought to exist between a commander and his arm was reciprocally felt.

"It has been said that the Indians should have been attacked upon our arrival before their town, on the evening of the 6th. There were two reasons which prevented this, first, that the directions which I received from the Government, made it necessary that I should endeavour, if possible, to accomplish the object of the expedition (the dispersion of the Prophet's force) without bloodshed, and, secondly, that the success of an attack by day upon the Town was very problematical.

"I certainly did not understand my instructions to mean that I should jeopardize the safety of the troops, by endeavoring to

bring about accommodation without fighting. But if I had commenced an attack upon them, after they had sent a chief to inform me that they were desirous of an accommodation, and that they had three days before sent a deputation to me for that purpose, who can doubt but that a much greater clamor would have been raised than exists at present; the cruelty of attacking those innocent people would have been pourtrayed in the strongest colours; the administration would have been represented as murderers, and myself as their wretched instrument. But the army were exposed to the 'nightly incursions' of the Indians: It has been well observed by a writer in The Argus, that if a 'nightly incursion' was really so much to be dreaded by the army, it had no business there. But the author of those objections perhaps will be still more surprised when he learns that a 'nightly incursion,' was precisely what I wished, because from such a one only could I hope for a close and decisive action. If they had attacked us by day they would certainly have done it upon ground favorable to their mode of fighting; they would have killed (as in General Wayne's action) a number of our men, and when pressed they would have escaped, with a loss comparatively trifling. In night attacks discipline always prevails over disorder, the party which is able to preserve its order longest, must succeed. I had with me 250 regulars that were highly disciplined, and my militia had been instructed to form in order of battle to receive the enemy in any direction, with facility and precision. But in the immediate neighborhood of the enemy, 'why were not the Troops made to continue under arms through the night?' I answer, that troops can only bear a certain portion of fatigue, and when in the presence of the enemy it is a matter of calculation with the commander, when they should be kept under arms and when permitted to rest. Upon this occasion,

I must acknowledge that my calculations were erroneous. In common with the whole army, I did believe that they would not attack us that night. If it was their intention to attack, why had they not done it upon our march, where situations favorable to them might easily have been found? Indeed within three miles of the town we passed over ground so broken and disadvantageous to us that I was obliged to change the position of the troops several times in the course of a mile. They had fortified their town with care and with astonishing labor for them, all indicating that they were meant to sustain the shock. It was the scene of those mysterious rites which were so much venerated, and the Prophet had taught his followers to believe that both his person and his town were equally inviolable to us. I expected that they would have met me the next day to hear my terms, but I did not believe however, that they would accede to them — and it was my determination to attack and burn the town the following night. It was necessary therefore that the troops should be refreshed as much as possible. But, although the men were not made to remain all night *under arms*, every other precaution was used as if attack was certain. In fact the troops were placed precisely in that situation that is called by military men 'lying upon their arms;' the regular troops lay in their tents with their accoutrements on, and their arms by their sides — the militia had no tents, they slept with their pouches on, and their arms under them to keep them dry. The order of encampment was the order of battle for a night attack, and as every man slept opposite to his post in the line, there was nothing for them to do but to rise and take their post a few steps in the rear of the fires, and the line was formed in an instant. So little time was required for this operation that if the guard on its left flank had done its duty as well as the rest

of the army, the troops on that flank would have been formed before the Indians came near them. It was customary every evening as soon as the army halted, to examine the ground of the encampment and surroundings, and afterwards to call together the field officers of the army, and give them their directions for the night. At these meetings (where every one was required freely to express their sentiments) every contingency that was likely to happen was discussed. The orders that were proper to be given to them, were then by the field officers repeated to the captains. Every one being by these means possessed of my intentions there was no room left for mistake or confusion. The orders given on the night of the 6th. *were solely directed to a night attack*, the officers were directed in case of such an attack, to parade their men in the order in which they were encamped, and that each corps should maintain itself upon it's own ground until other orders were given. With regulations such as these, and with such a state of discipline as we claim, you must allow, my dear Sir, that we had no reason to dread 'a night incursion,' more than an attack by day. Indeed it was preferable, because in no other could it have been so completely decisive. In the latter we might have lost as many men as we did loose, without having killed a third as many of the enemy.

"In my letter to the Secretary it is asserted that the Indians had penetrated to the centre of the encampment. I believe, however that not more than two Indians got within the lines — men were certainly killed near the center of the camp, but it must have been from balls fired from without.'

"From this letter and my official despatch to the Secretary of War, you will be enabled, my dear General, to form a correct opinion of the battle of Tippecanoe. When an action is over, and we have time to meditate upon the circumstances that attended it,

there is no great judgement necessary to discover some error in the conduct of it, some thing that was done, which might have been better done, or something that was omitted, which if done might have produced great advantage. I believe the greatest Generals have admitted that they could fight a second battle upon the same ground, much better than the first. If this is true with respect to them ought it not to be a motive to shield *me* from the severity of criticism with which some of my fellow citizens are desirous of scanning my conduct.

"A victory has been gained, and the army which gained it impute it in part at least to the measures of the commander,—but this is not sufficient—it should have been achieved without loss on our side. There is certainly no man more fully impressed with the exalted merits of those brave men who fell in the action, than I am—amongst them were many for whom I felt the warmest regard and friendship—but they were exposed to no dangers but what were common to the whole army, and if they were selected by divine providence, as the price of our important victory, there is nothing left us but to honor their memory, and bow submissively to a decree which we can not alter.

"It would however imbitter the remaining part of my life, if I could suppose that their fate was produced by any misconduct of mine. But upon this subject I have nothing to accuse myself. I am satisfied that all my weak powers were exerted to the utmost, for the safety and glory of my troops. Indeed no commander had ever greater reason to do so, for none ever received greater confidence and attachment from any army, than I—many of the corps forgetful of their own danger, seemed only anxious for me—and a sentiment springing from personal attachment alone was imputed by them to a belief that their fate was intimately connected with mine. For such troops it was impossible that I should not be willing to shed the last drop of my blood.

"Your friendship, my dear General, will pardon the egotism contained in this letter — perhaps I ought to disregard the idle tales that have been circulated to my prejudice; knowing as I do that there are not ten persons who served under me upon the late expedition that will not be ready to contradict them; I have sufficient stoicism, however, to rest easy under unmeritted reproach, and with the consciousness of having rendered some service to my country, I can not *bare* to be deprived of the good opinion of my fellow-citizens.

"With great regard, I am, my dear Sir, your friend and humble servant

(Signed) WILL'M HENRY HARRISON.

"P. S. I should have covered my troops every night with a breast work of trees, but axes were so scarce (after having procured every one that the Territory afforded) that it was with difficulty that a sufficiency of wood could be procured to make the men comfortable; and the militia were without tents, and many of them without blankets. The story which has been circulated in some of the papers, of officers fighting without any clothes but their shirts, is absolutely false. W. H. H."

Part Third.

ROLL OF THE ARMY COMMANDED BY GENERAL HARRISON.

THE following roster is taken from "The Battle of Tippecanoe," by Reed Beard, published in 1889, pages 102 *et seq.* The names are said to have been taken from the official rolls at Washington.

There were necessarily many absent on duty elsewhere, sick, or (as mentioned) deserters, so that the effective force was probably about nine hundred men.

Roll of the general staff of the army commanded by General (Governor) Harrison from September 6 to November 24, 1811 :

William McFarland, Lieutenant Colonel and Adjutant ; Henry Hurst, Major and Aid-de-Camp ; Waller Taylor, Major and Aid-de-Camp ; Marston G. Clark, Brigade Inspector, promoted to the same September 20th ; Robert Buntin, junior, Second Lieutenant and Forage Master ; Robert Buntin, senior, Captain and Quartermaster ; Nathaniel F. Adams, Lieutenant and Adjutant, belonged to the United States regular army.

Roll of Captain Dubois' company of spies and guides of the Indiana Militia from September 18 to November 12, 1811:

Toussaint Dubois, Captain. Privates: Silas McCulloch, G. R. C. Sullivan, William Bruce, William Polk, Pierre Andre, Ephraim Jordan, William Shaw, William Hogue (discharged October 4th), David Wilkins, John Hollingsworth, Thomas Learneus, Joseph Arpin, Abraham Decker, Samuel James, David Miles, Stewart Cunningham, Bocker Childers, Thomas Jordan.

Roll of a detachment from the field and staff of Indiana Militia from September 11 to November 24, 1811, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Bartholomew:

Joseph Bartholomew, Lieutenant Colonel, wounded in action November 7th; Regin Redman, Major; Andrew P. Hay, Surgeon's Mate; Joseph Brown, Adjutant; Joseph Clark, Quartermaster, appointed Surgeon's Mate October 29th; Chapman Dunslow, Sergeant Major; James Curry, Quartermaster 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 November 19, 1811:

Luke Decker, Lieutenant Colonel; Noah Purcell, Major; Daniel Sullivan, Lieutenant Adjutant; William Ready, Sergeant Major; Benjamin V. Becker, Quartermaster; William Gamble, Quartermaster Sergeant, appointed Quartermaster Sergeant September 25th, and made up for pay as private on rolls of Captain

Wilson's company of infantry to September 21st; Edward Scull, Assistant Surgeon; James Smith, Quartermaster, promoted to Captain on November 9th, and paid as such on the rolls of Captain Warrick's company.

Roll of the field and staff of Major Parke's Dragoons of Indiana Militia from September 21 to November 19, 1811:

Joseph H. Daviess, Major, killed in action November 7th; Benjamin Parke, Major, promoted from the time; Davis Floyd, Adjutant; Charles Smith, Quartermaster; General W. Johnston, Quartermaster, promoted from the ranks October 30, 1811; William Prince, Sergeant Major.

Roll of Captain Spier Spencer's company of mounted riflemen of the Indiana Militia from September 12 to November 23, 1811:

Spier Spencer, Captain, killed in action November 7th; Richard McMahan, First Lieutenant, killed in action November 7th; George F. Pope, Second Lieutenant, resigned October 21st; Samuel Flanagan, Second Lieutenant, promoted from Ensign to Second Lieutenant; John Tipton, Captain, promoted from private to Ensign; Jacob Zenoe, Second Lieutenant, promoted from private November 7th; Phillip Bell, Ensign, promoted from private to Ensign November 7th; 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, Gadow Branham, Daniel Bell, James Brown, Jesse Butler, Mason Carter, John Cline, Marshall Dunken (killed in action November 7th), William Davis (killed in action November 7th), Thomas Davidson, James Dyce, Henry Enlow, William Hurst, William Hurst, junior, Beverley Hurst, James Harberson, James Heubbound, Robert Jones, James Kelley, Thomas McColley, Noah Mathena, William Nance, Thomas Owens, Samuel Pfriner, Edward Ransdell, Sandford Ransdell, James Spencer, Christover Shucks, Joshua Shields (badly wounded), Samuel Sand (killed in action November 7th), George Spencer, Jacob Snider, Jon'n Wright, James Wilson, John Wheeler, James Watts, Isham Vest, George Zenoe, P. McMickle, Levi Dunn (deserted), William Fowler (not duly mustered).

Roll of Captain Jacob Warrick's company of infantry of the Indiana Militia from September 16 to November 19, 1811:

Jacob Warrick, Captain, mortally wounded in action; James Smith, Captain; William Calton, Lieutenant, discharged September 27th; James Duckworth, Ensign; Robert Montgomery, Sergeant; Robert McGary, Sergeant; Jeremiah Piercall, Sergeant; Isaac Woods, Sergeant; Benjamin Venables, Corporal; Thomas Black, Corporal; Robert Denney, Corporal; Thomas Montgomery, junior, Corporal, promoted to Lieutenant September 30th in place of William Calton.

Privates: James Alsop, James Stewart, Jesse Key, Bennet Key, Jesse Brewer, Richard Davis, Asa Musick, Smith Mounce (deserted October 15th from garrison), James Stapleton, Fielding Lucas, John McGary, Thomas Montgomery (discharged from gar-

rison October 15th), John Montgomery, James Weathers, Ephraim Murphy, Langston Drew, William Gwins, William Black, Joshua Capps, Andrew McFaddin, Lewis Sealy, James Bohannon (deserted from burrow September 27th), 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 October 15th), William Stevens, Timothy Downer, John Coyler, Benjamin Stoker (promoted to Corporal September 30th), Thomas Aldmond, Miles Armstrong, William Aldmond, William Young, Thomas Duckworth, Maxwell Jolly, John Robb, John Neel, Randolph Clark, William Black.

Roll of Captain David Robb's company of mounted riflemen of the Indiana Militia from October 25 to November 19, 1811:

David Robb, Captain; Joseph Montgomery, Lieutenant; John Waller, Ensign; Elsberry Armstrong, Sergeant; William Maxidon, Sergeant; Ezekiel Kite, Corporal; George Anthees, Corporal; Bryant Harper, Trumpeter.

Privates: Abm. Decker, James Tweedle, John Za. Orton, Amstead Bennett, William Peters, Stewart Cunningham, Francis Hall, Booker Shields, William Tweedle, John Slaven, John Suverns, James Langsdown, Thomas Sullivan, Jesse Music, Daniel Fisher (mortally wounded on November 7th, and died November 12th), William Allsop, Joseph Garress, Thomas C. Vines, Edward Butner (mortally wounded November 7th, and died next day), Samuel James, Thomas Shouse, Frederick Reel, William Selvey, James Bass, George Leech, junior, David Mills, Thomas Givens, John Black, Jonah Robinson, Isaac Rogers, John Rogers, William Carson, George Litton, David Knight, William Downing, Thomas

Jordan (transferred to Captain Dubois' company November 20th), James Blanks, William Bass, James Minor, Hugh Shaw, Peter Cartwright, David Lilley, Thomas Garress, James Asberry (killed in action November 7th), Joseph Tobin, Robert Wilson, John Riggs, John Christ, Theodorus Davis, Thomas Parker Vampett, John Crawford, Kader Powell (killed in action November 7th), Thomas Dunn, Jacob Korter, William Askin, Jonathan Humphreys, Alex. Mahen (badly wounded November 7th), William Witherholt, Moses Sandridge, David Edwards, John Dragoo, Samuel Hamilton, Robert Tennesson, Richard Potts, Joseph Wright, George Robinson (badly wounded November 7th), Thomas West.

Roll of Captain Norris' company of infantry of the Indiana Militia from September 11 to November 24, 1811:

John Norris, Captain, wounded in action November 7th; John Harrod, Lieutenant; Joseph Carr, Ensign; George Drummond, Sergeant; William Coombs, Sergeant; Brazil Prather, Sergeant; David Smith, Sergeant; Henry Ward, Corporal; John Harman, Corporal; Joel Combs, Corporal; Robert Combs, Corporal; David Kelly, Corporal, appointed Corporal September 30th; 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 November 7th), Robert Cunningham, Abraham Kelley (substituted in place of Samuel Walker, and killed November 7th), Henry Jones (killed in action November 7th), James Curry, Samuel McClung (Quartermaster Sergeant September 27th), James Smith, John

Perry, Jevis Fordyce, Benoni Wood, James Kelley, Cornelius Kelly, Amos Goodwin, E. Wayman, William Harman, John Newland, John Tilferro, Micajah Peyton, Loyd Prather, Adam Peck, Samuel McClintick, Benjamin Thompson, John Weathers, William Eakin, Evan Arnold, John D. Jacob, Hugh Espy, Robert Tippin, Townly Ruby, John McClintick, William Rayson, William Aston, Reuben Slead, Josiah Taylor, George Hooke, Daniel McCoy, Jacob Pearsall, Henry Hooke, Samuel Neal, Thomas Highfill, Robert McClellan, James Taylor.

Roll of Captain William Hargrove's company of infantry of the Indiana Militia from September 18 to November 19, 1811 :

William Hargrove, Captain ; Isaac Montgomery, Lieutenant ; Cary Ashley, Ensign, resigned in October, 1811 ; Henry Hopkins, Ensign, promoted to Sergeant October 27, 1811 ; Bolden Conner, Sergeant ; James Evans, Sergeant ; Daniel Millar, Sergeant, promoted from Corporal October 27, 1811 ; William Scales, Sergeant, promoted from private October 27, 1811; David Johnson, Corporal ; David Brumfield, Corporal, promoted in October, 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 October 2, 1811), Charles Penelton (deserted October 16, 1811), William Person, John Mills, Robert Milborn, Jon'n Cochran, John Lout, Nathan Woodrough, James Young, John Tucker, Arthur Meeks (deserted October 12, 1811), John Conner, Reuben Fitzgerald (wounded slightly November 7th), Zachary Skelton, Jacob Skelton, Benjamin Scales, William Gordon, Laben Putman, Reding Putman, John Many, Johnson Fitzgerald, Thomas Arnett,

James Skelton, Elias Barker, Samuel Whealor, Robert Whealor, William Mangorn, Coonrod Lancaster (deserted October 2d), James McClure, Haz. Putman, Benjamin Cannon, Joshua Stapleton, William Skelton, William Harrington, Randolph Owens, Isaac Twedle, James Crow, Richard M. Kirk, George Coningham, James Skidmore, Joseph Mixon, Samuel Gaston, Edward Whitacor, Charles Meeks (reduced from Corporal October 26th), Robert Skelton (badly wounded November 7th), David Lawrence (discharged September 19th), Joseph Inglish (discharged September 19th), Robert Montgomery (discharged September 19th), Cabreen Merry (discharged September 19th).

Roll of Captain Thomas Scott's company of infantry of the Indiana Militia from September 18 to November 19, 1811:

Thomas Scott, Captain; Jon'n Purcell, Lieutenant; John Scott, Ensign; John Welton, Ensign; Francis Mallet, Ensign; Lanty Johnston, Ensign; Samuel Roquest, Ensign; John Moore, Corporal; Abr'm Westfall, Corporal; Elick C. Dushane, Corporal; Charles Bono, Corporal.

Privates: Jesse Willas, James McDonald, Jon'n Hornback, Alpheus Pickard, John McCoy, Zebulon Hogue, Andrew Westfall, William Watson, Walter Wiel, William A. Clark, William Welton, Henry Lain, Abraham Wood (killed November 7th), John Collins, William Williams, Sam'l Risley, William Collins, Charles Fisher, Robert Johnston, Absolom Thorn, William Penny, William Young, William Jones, John Collins, junior, William Bailey, Charles Mail, Richard Westrope, Thomas McClain, Joseph Ridley, Henry O'Niel, Joseph Alton, Baptist Topale, 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 November 7th), Senro Bolonga (died November 18th), Louis Lovelett, Francis Boryean, John Momiiny (discharged October 8th), Pierre Delurya, senior, Pierre Delurya, junior, Joseph Besam, Louis Boyeam, Dominic Pashy, Antoine Cornia, Antoine Ravellett, John Baptist Cardinal, Jack Obah (killed November 7th), Toussaint Deno, Joseph Reno, Eustace Seranne, Nicholas Valmare, Joseph Sansusee, Francis Arpah, Antoine Shennett, Madan Cardinal, Louis Lowya.

Roll of Captain Walter Wilson's company of infantry of Indiana Militia from September 18 to November 18, 1811 :

Walter Wilson, Captain; Benjamin Beckes, Lieutenant, appointed Quartermaster November 18th ; Joseph Macomb, Ensign; Thomas I. Withers, Sergeant ; John Decker, Sergeant ; Thomas White, Sergeant ; Isaac Minor, Sergeant ; Daniel Risley, Corporal ; William Shuck, Corporal ; John Grey, Corporal ; Peter Brinton, Corporal.

Privates : William Gamble, William Brinton, Batost Chavalar, Asa Thorn, Thomas Chambers, Joseph Harbour, Adam Harness, James Jordan, John Chambers, John Anthis, Lewis Frederick, Lewis Reel (died October 13th), Richard Greentree, Samuel Clutter, Jacob Anthis, James Walker, Nathan Baker, John Barjor, Sinelky Almy, Peter Bargor, Moses Decker, Joseph Voodry, Woolsey Pride, Robert Brinton (deserted October 24th), Abraham Pea, Thomas Milbourne (deserted October 24th), William Pride, Benjamin Walker, Jacob Harbonson (deserted October 24th), Sutton Coleman (deserted October 24th), Joab Chappel, Robert McClure, John Risley (deserted October 24th), Jon'n Walker (deserted October 24th), Isaac Walker, David Knight, James Purcell.

Roll of Captain Andrew Wilkins' company of infantry of the Indiana Militia from September 18 to November 18, 1811 :

Andrew Wilkins, Captain ; Adam Lisman, Lieutenant ; 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, Louderick Earnest, Edward Wilks, Rubin Moore, Thomas Anderson, Samuel Middleton, James Calleway, James Tims, Isaac Luzader, Samuel Carruthers, Asa McChord, Nathaniel Adams, Robert Lilley, John Elliot, William Hollingsworth, William Francis, Obediah F. Patrick, Aron Quick, John Murphy, Ebenezer Blackston, James Harrel, Samuel Culbertson, John Davis, Christopher Coleman, Robert Elsey, Henry Matny, Robert Britton, William Flint, John Rodarmel, John Culbertson, Joseph Hobbs, Albert Davis, Thomas Harrel (discharged September 26th), Joseph Edwards, William Hill (appointed Corporal October 18th), 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 Arnett, Samuel Ledgerwood, Martin Palmore.

Roll of a company of riflemen of the Indiana Militia commanded by Captain James Bigger from September 11 to November 24, 1811 :

James Bigger, Captain; John T. Chunn, Lieutenant; Joseph Stillwell, Ensign; John Drummons, Sergeant, wounded on November 10th; Isaac Nailor, Sergeant; Rice G. McCoy, Sergeant; Thomas Nicholas, discharged October 16th; Josiah Thomas, promoted Sergeant October 6th; James B. McCullough, Corporal; Jonathan Heartley, Corporal; Thomas Chapple, Corporal; David Bigger, Corporal; John Owens, Drummer; Jacob L. Stillwell, Fifer.

Privates: James Robertson, Joseph Warnick (killed in action November 7th), John Hutcherson, Daniel Peyton, Daniel Williams, James Garner, Amos Little, Hezekiah Robertson, Joseph Daniel, John Denney, James King, John Gibson, junior, John Walker, Daniel Pettitt, John Carr, William Nailor, Vinyard Pound, Andrew Holland, John Heartley, Daniel Kimberlain, Samuel Stockwell, David Owens, junior, Robert Robertson, junior (deserted September 25th), Absalom Carr, Thomas Gibson (wounded November 7th), James Robertson, junior, James Anderson, William Tissler (killed in action November 7th), William Hutto, Thomas Burnett, Charles Mathews, John Covert, William Wright, John Finley, John Martin, Isaac Stark, John Kelley, Wilson Sergeant, David Copple, William G. Gubrick, James Elliot, John Agins, Moses Stark, John Reed, George Reed, Benjamin Pool, James McDonald, Isaac D. Huffman, Alexander Montgomery, William Hooker (deserted October 14th), Leonard Houston (wounded November 7th), James Mooney, Tobias Miller, Lucius Kibby, John Gibson, senior.

Roll of Lieutenant Berry's detachment of mounted riflemen of the Indiana Militia from September 12 to November 23, 1811:

Thomas Berry, killed in action November 7th; 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 November 7th), David Hederick, Henry Hickey (killed November 7th), Caleb Harrison, Anthony Taylor, William Lee, Jacob Lutes, Daniel McMickle (killed November 7th), Henry Moore, Peter McMickle (badly wounded), George Mahon, Frederick Wyman, Samuel Lockhart.

Roll of Captain Benjamin Parke's troop Light Dragoons of the Indiana Militia from September 18 to November 19, 1811:

Benjamin Parke, Captain, promoted to the rank of Major; Thomas Emerson, Lieutenant; George Wallace, junior, Lieutenant; John Bathis, Cornet; Christian Grater, Sergeant; William Harper, Sergeant; Henry Rubbe, Sergeant; John McClure, Sergeant; William H. Dunnica, Corporal; Charles Allen, Corporal; Reuben Sallinger, Corporal; Levi Elliot, Corporal; John Braden, Saddler.

Privates: Charles Smith, Peter Jones, Joshua Bond, Permena Becks, William Prince, Jesse Slawson, Touissant Dubois, junior, Thomas Randolph, John McDonald, Miles Dolahan, John Elliot, Mathias Rose, junior, Henry Dubois, Jesse Lucas, William Berry, William Purcell, John Crosby, Leonard Crosby, William Mehan (killed in action November 7th), Samuel Drake, Samuel Emerson, Samuel Alton (never joined), Nathan Harness, Daniel Decker, John Seaton (never joined), Howson Seaton, John Flint (never joined), John D. Hay, Heram Decker, Ebenezer Hilton, John I. Neely, John McBain (appointed Trumpeter September 29th), 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 7th), John McClure, Henry I. Mills, Robert M. Evans (never joined), James Mud, George Croghlin, Abner Hynes, Benjamin Sanders, James Nabb, John O'Fallon, William Luckett, Landon Carter, Robert Buntin, junior, John I. Smith, Robert Sturgen, James Harper.

Roll of a company of Light Dragoons of the Indiana Militia commanded by Captain Charles Beggs from September 11 to November 23, 1811 :

Charles Beggs Captain ; John Thompson, Lieutenant, promoted Lieutenant September 18th ; Henry Bottorf, Lieutenant, promoted Lieutenant September 18th ; Mordecai Sweeney, Cornet, promoted Lieutenant September 18th ; Davis Floyd, promoted Adjutant September 20th ; John Carr, Sergeant, promoted Sergeant October 24th ; James Sage, Sergeant ; James Fisler, Sergeant ; Abraham Miller, Sergeant ; George Rider, Corporal ; Sion Prather, Corporal ; Hugh Ross, Corporal ; Samuel Bottorf, Corporal ; John Deats, Trumpeter.

Privates : Jacob Cressmore, William Kelley (killed in action November 7th), 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 September 20th), Samuel Carr, Joseph McCormack, Richard Ward, John Farris, Charles F. Ross, John Thompson (promoted Lieutenant September 18th).

Roll of Captain Peter Funk's company of Kentucky Mounted Militia is given elsewhere in this history.

Roll of Captain Frederick Geiger's company of Kentucky Mounted Riflemen is given elsewhere in this history.

Roll of the field and staff of the Fourth Regiment of United States Infantry for November and December, 1811 :

John P. Boyd, Colonel ; Zebulon M. Pike,* Lieutenant Colonel ; James Miller, Lieutenant Colonel ; G. R. C. Floyd, Major ; Josiah D. Foster, Surgeon ; Hosea Blood, Surgeon's Mate ; John L. Eastman, Assistant Adjutant ; Josiah Bacon, Quartermaster ; Nathaniel F. Adams, Paymaster ; Winthrop Ayer, Sergeant Major ; William Kelly, Quartermaster Sergeant.

Roll of a company of infantry under the command of Captain Josiah Snelling, of the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Colonel John P. Boyd, from August 31 to October 31, 1811 :

Josiah Snelling, Captain ; Charles Fuller, First Lieutenant ; John Smith, Second Lieutenant ; Richard Fillebrown, Sergeant ;

*The fact that the name of Lieutenant Colonel Zebulon M. Pike appeared on the rolls of this regiment attracted my attention, and on making inquiry at the Adjutant General's office the following reply explains the situation :

"Adjutant General's Office,
"Returns Division, Oct. 22, 1898.

"Z. M. Pike was Lieut. Col. 4th U. S. Infy. from Dec. 11, 1809, to July 6, 1812. James Miller was Major of same regiment July 8, 1808, to November 30, 1810, when promoted to Lieut. Col. 5th U. S. Infy. but remained with 4th Infy. for some time after, Lt. Col. Pike being on detached service."

A. P.

Jacob D. Rand, Sergeant; Daniel Baldwin, Sergeant; Ephraim Churchill, Sergeant; John Shays, Corporal; Timothy Hartt, Corporal; Samuel Horden, Corporal; Benjamin Moores, Corporal; Amos G. Corey, Musician.

Privates: John Austin, Cyrus J. Brown, James Brice, Michael Burns, John Brewer, George Blandin, Cephas Chase, Jacob Collins, William Clough, Thomas Day, William Doles, John Davis, Abraham Dutcher, Philip Eastman, Samuel French, Rufus Goodenough, Alanson Hathaway, William Healey, William Jackman, Henry Judewine, Abraham Larrabee, Asa Larrabee, Gideon Lincoln, Edward Magary, Serafino Massi, Lugi Massi, Vincent Massi, James McDonald, Samuel Pritchett, James Sheldon, Samuel Porter, James Palmer, Joseph Pettingall, William B. Perkins, Samuel Pixley, Jonathan Robinson (died October 6th), Greenlief Sewey, Elias Soper, Westley Stone, Seth Sargeant, John Trasher, Phillip Thrasher, Joseph Tibbetts (killed in action November 7th), David Wyer, Mark Whalin, John Whitely, John P. Webb, Giles Wilcox, Thomas Blake (died October 11th), Daniel Haskell (deserted September 25th).

Roll of a company of infantry under command of Captain George W. Prescott, of the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Colonel John P. Boyd, from October 31 to December 31, 1811:

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

Privates: John Ashton, Ira Bailey, George Bailey, Abel Brown, Benjamin Burnham, Enoch Carter, Almerin 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 Ingulls, David Ingulls, 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 November 7th, and died November 10th), Barnard Shields, Nathaniel Simpson, Luther Stephenson, William Sharpless, Israel Tilton, John Virgin, Oliver Wakefield, Silas Wells, Isaac Wescott, Jonathan Willey, James Williams.

Roll of Captain Baen's company of infantry under command of Lieutenant Charles Larrabee, in the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Colonel John P. Boyd, from October 31 to December 31, 1811:

William C. Baen, Captain, mortally wounded in action November 7th, and died November 9th; Charles Larrabee, First Lieutenant; Lewis Beckham, Second Lieutenant; James Tracy, First Sergeant; Bernard A. T. Cormons, Second Sergeant; William Stoney, Third Sergeant; Simeon Crume, First Corporal; Edward Allen, Second Corporal; Amos G. Carey, Musician; Zebolon Sanders, Musician.

Privates: George Bentely (died December 16th at Fort Knox), Darius Ballow, Augustus Ballow, William Button, Jeremiah Boner, Ebenezer Collins, John Donihue, Sylvester Dean, Daniel Delong, Daniel Doyers, John Davis, Dexter Earll (mortally wounded in

action November 7th), 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. Mohonnah, John Miller, Nathan Mitchell, Francis Nelson, Smith Nanthrup, Benjamin S. Peck, James Pinel, Isaac Rathbone, Daniel Rodman, Benjamin Vandeford, Nathaniel Wetherall, James Whipple, William Williams, Job Winslow.

Roll of a company of infantry under command of Captain Joel Cook, in the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Colonel John P. Boyd, from October 31 to December 31, 1811:

Joel Cook, Captain; Josiah Bacon, Second Lieutenant; James A. Bennett, Sergeant; Daniel Shelton, Sergeant; Caleb Betts, Sergeant; Harvey Munn, Sergeant; Nathaniel Heaton, Corporal; John Anthony, Corporal; David B. Kipley, Corporal; 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 December 28th), Eliakins Culver, Robert Coles, Charles Coger (died of his wounds December 3d), William Foreman, Joseph Francis, Ezra Fox, Levi Gleason, Benjamin Holland, Roswell Heminway, John Hutchinson, Michael Houck, Abraham Johnson, David Knickerbocker, George Kilbourn, Daniel Lee (died of his wounds on the battlefield November 8th), William Moore, William Neville, James Penkitt, Michael Pendegrass, Elisha Persons, James Parker, John Pinkley, Amos Royce (died of his wounds on the battle-ground November 8th), Robert Riley, Nathan Snow (died of his wounds November 14th),

Daniel Spencer, Everett Shelton, William M. Sanderson, Samuel Smith, John St. Clair, Robert Thompson, Anson Twitchell, John Williams, Jonathan Wallingford, Jesse Elam.

Roll of a company of infantry under command of Captain Return B. Brown, of the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Colonel John P. Boyd, from October 31 to December 31, 1811 :

Return B. Brown, Captain ; Oliver G. Burton, First Lieutenant ; John Smith, Second Lieutenant ; Ebenezer Moweer, Sergeant ; David Robinson, Sergeant ; Levi Jenison, Sergeant ; Daniel Reed, Sergeant ; Ephraim Sillaway, Corporal ; Joel Kimball, Corporal ; William D. Ausment, Corporal ; Samuel S. Bingham, Drummer ; Henry Hayden, Fifer.

Privates : Lewis Bemis, Bazalul Bradford, Elias Barrett, Augustus Bradford, Benjamin Bartlett, Eli Boyd, Henry Breck, Zalmon Blood, Caleb Cotton, William 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, William Murgetteroyd, David H. Miller, Obediah Morton, Moses Pierce, Jacob Prouty, James Roberts, Mayhew Rollings, Jared Smith, Peter R. Stites, David Tuthill, David Wells, Josiah Willard, John Yeomans (killed in battle).

Roll of Captain 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, Second Lieutenant ; Orange Pooler, Sergeant ; Marshall S. Durkee, Sergeant ;

Horace Humphrey, Corporal; William Turner, Corporal, promoted to Corporal November 1st, and wounded in action; Daniel Kellogg, Drummer.

Privates: John Andrickson, Jesse S. Clark, Philip Coats, Robert Douglass (wounded in action November 7th), William Foster (wounded in action November 7th), Ichabod Farrar, John D. Jones, David Kerns (mortally wounded in action November 7th, died November 8th), 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 November 7th, died November 8th), Leman E. Welch (mortally wounded in action November 7th, and died November 8th), George Wilson, Henry Bates, Thomas Clark.

Roll of a company of infantry (the late Captain Wentworth's) under command of Lieutenant Charles Fuller, of the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Colonel John P. Boyd, from October 31 to December 31, 1811:

Paul Wentworth, Captain, resigned October 29th; Nathaniel F. Adams, First Lieutenant and Paymaster; Charles Fuller, First Lieutenant; John L. Eastman, First Lieutenant; George P. Peters, Second Lieutenant; Isaac Ricker, Sergeant; David H. Lewis, Sergeant; James Pike, Sergeant; 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 November 7th), Samuel Cook, Caleb Critchet, 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, Nathaniel Harris, Joseph Hunt, James Heath, David Heath, Amos Jones, Samuel King, William King (killed in action November 7th), Jacob Keyser, Asa Knight, Joseph Layman, William Layman, Joseph Mears, James McDuffie, Robert McIntosh (confined at Fort Knox under sentence of general court-martial), Jerry Maulthrop, Isaac M. Nute (wounded November 7th and died next day), Jacob Nute, Jonathan Nute, Henry Nutter, Richard Perry, William Perkins, Jacob Pearcy, Curtis Pipps, 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 Whood, Charles Wait, Timothy Waldron, Zadoc Williams, Philip Allen.

Roll of a company of infantry (the late Captain Welche's) under command of Lieutenant O. G. Burton, of the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Colonel John P. Boyd, from October 31 to December 31, 1811 :

O. G. Burton, First Lieutenant; George Gooding, Second Lieutenant; Montgomery Orr, Sergeant; Knewland Carrier, Sergeant; Major Mantor, Sergeant, promoted to the rank of Sergeant November 1st; James Mitchell, Corporal, killed in battle November 7th; Daniel L. Thomson, Corporal; John Rice, Corporal; Lucius Sallis, Corporal; William Dernon, Corporal; Ellas Prentice, Musician.

Privates: Leonard Arp, Noyes Billings, Amos Blanchard, Calib Barton, Levi Cary (killed in battle November 7th), Jonathan

Crewell (died November 8th), Zenos Clark, Daniel Gilman (died November 17th), Issachar Green, Thomas Harvey, William King, Samuel Pettis, William Pomaroy, Joseph Russel, James Stephenson (died of wounds December 6th), John Spragen, William Sargeants, Samuel B. Spalding, Morten Thayer, Samuel Tibbets, John Vickery, Alexander Bowen.

Roll of the late Captain Whitney's company of riflemen under command of Lieutenant A. Hawkins, of the Rifle Regiment commanded by Colonel Alexander Smythe, from October 31 to December 31, 1811 :

Pretemon Wright, Sergeant ; Reuben Newton, Sergeant ; Aaron W. Forbush, Sergeant ; James Phillips, Sergeant ; Henry Barker, Corporal ; Aaron Mellen, Corporal ; William Hunter, Corporal ; Henry Nurchsted, Ensign ; Adam Walker, Musician.

Privates : Ebenezer T. Andrews, Otis Andrews, John Averin, William Brigham (died in hospital December 4th), Stephen Brown, William Brown, Samuel Briggs, Robert Cutter, Jonas Dalton, Reuben Durant, Francis Ellis, Thomas Hair, James Haskell (died at Fort Knox, December 2d), Ephraim Hall, Samuel Johnson, Silas Kendall, Patrick Norton, Israel Newhall, Frederick Roods, Marcus D. Ransdill, Thaddeus B. Russell, William Reed, Francis Reittre, Edward R. Suck, Samuel Hing, Ira T. Trowbridge (killed in action November 7th), Neh'm. Wetherill, Ezra Wheelock.

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THE
FILSON CLUB PUBLICATIONS.

The Filson Club is an historical, biographical, and literary association located in Louisville, Kentucky. It was named after John Filson, the first historian of Kentucky, whose quaint little octavo of one hundred and eighteen pages was published at Wilmington, Delaware, in 1784. It was organized May 15, 1884, and incorporated October 5, 1891, for the purpose, as expressed in its charter, of collecting, preserving, and publishing the history of Kentucky and adjacent States, and cultivating a taste for historic inquiry and study among its members. While its especial field of operations was thus theoretically limited, its practical workings were confined to no locality. Each member is at liberty to choose a subject and prepare a paper and read it to the Club, among whose archives it is to be filed. From the papers thus accumulated selections are made for publication, and there have now been issued fifteen volumes or numbers of these publications. They are all paper bound quartos, printed with pica old-style type, on pure white antique paper, with broad margins and halftone illustrations. They have been admired both at home and abroad, not only for their original and valuable matter, but also for their tasteful and comely appearance.

The Filson Club Publications.

They are not printed for sale in the commercial sense of the term, but for free distribution among the members of the Club. There are always, however, some numbers left over after the members are supplied, which are either exchanged with other societies or sold. The following is a brief descriptive list of all the Club publications to date:

1. JOHN FILSON, the first historian of Kentucky: An account of his life and writings, principally from original sources. Prepared for The Filson Club and read at its second meeting in Louisville, Kentucky, June 26, 1884, by Reuben T. Durrett, A. M., LL.D., President of the Club. Illustrated with a likeness of Filson, a *fac-simile* of one of his letters, and a photo-lithographic reproduction of his map of Kentucky printed at Philadelphia in 1784. 4to, 132 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1884. *Out of print.*

2. THE WILDERNESS ROAD: A description of the routes of travel by which the pioneers and early settlers first came to Kentucky. Prepared for The Filson Club by Captain Thomas Speed, Secretary of the Club. Illustrated with a map showing the roads of travel. 4to, 75 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1886. *Out of print.*

3. THE PIONEER PRESS OF KENTUCKY, from the printing of the first paper west of the Alleghanies, August 11, 1787, to the establishment of the Daily Press, 1830. Prepared for The Filson Club by William Henry Perrin, member of the Club. Illustrated with *fac-similes* of the Kentucky Gazette and the Farmer's Library, a view of the first printing-house in Kentucky, and likenesses of John Bradford, Shadrack Penn, and George D. Prentice. 4to, 93 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1888. *Out of print.*

4. LIFE AND TIMES OF JUDGE CALEB WALLACE, some time a Justice of the Court of Appeals of the State of Kentucky. By Reverend William H. Whitsitt, D. D., member of The Filson Club. 4to, 151 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1888. *Out of print.*

5. AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, Louisville, Kentucky, prepared for the Semi-Centennial Celebration, October 6, 1889. By Reuben T. Durrett, A. M., LL.D., President of The Filson Club. Illustrated with likenesses of Reverend William Jackson and Reverend Edmund T. Perkins, D. D., and views of the church as first built in 1839 and as it appeared in 1889. 4to, 90 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1889. *Out of print.*

6. THE POLITICAL BEGINNINGS OF KENTUCKY: A narrative of public events bearing on the history of the State up to the time of its admission into the American Union. By Colonel John Mason Brown, member of The Filson Club. Illustrated with a likeness of the author. 4to, 263 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1889. *Out of Print.*

7. THE CENTENARY OF KENTUCKY. Proceedings at the celebration by The Filson Club, Wednesday, June 1, 1892, of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Kentucky as an independent State into the Federal Union. Prepared for publication by Reuben T. Durrett, A. M., LL.D., President of the Club. Illustrated with likenesses of President Durrett, Major Stanton, Sieur LaSalle, and General Clark, and *fac-similes* of the music and songs at the centennial banquet. 4to, 200 pages. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, Ohio, and John P. Morton & Co., Louisville, Kentucky, Printers. 1892. $3.00.

8. The Centenary of Louisville. A paper read before the Southern Historical Association, Saturday, May 1, 1880, in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the City of Louisville as an incorporated town under an act of the Virginia Legislature. By Reuben T. Durrett, A.M., LL.D., President of The Filson Club. Illustrated with likenesses of Colonel Durrett, Sieur LaSalle, and General Clark. 4to, 200 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1893. $3.00.

9. The Political Club, Danville, Kentucky, 1786–1790: Being an account of an early Kentucky debating society from the original papers recently found. By Captain Thomas Speed, Secretary of The Filson Club. 4to, xii–167 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1894. $3.00.

10. The Life and Writings of Rafinesque. Prepared for The Filson Club and read at its meeting, Monday, April 2, 1894. By Richard Ellsworth Call, M. A., M. Sc., M. D., member of The Filson Club. Illustrated with likenesses of Rafinesque and *facsimiles* of pages of his Fishes of the Ohio and Botany of Louisville. 4to, xii–227 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1895. *Out of print.*

11. Transylvania University: Its origin, rise, decline, and fall. Prepared for The Filson Club by Robert Peter, M. D., and his daughter, Miss Johanna Peter, members of The Filson Club. Illustrated with a likeness of Doctor Peter. 4to, 202 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1896. $3.00.

12. Bryant's Station and the memorial proceedings held on its site under the auspices of the Lexington Chapter, D. A. R., August 18, 1896, in honor of its heroic mothers and daughters. Prepared for publication by Reuben T. Durrett, A. M., LL. D., President of The Filson Club. Illustrated with likenesses of the

officers of the Lexington Chapter, D. A. R., President Durrett, Major Stanton, Professor Rancke, Colonel Young, and Doctor Todd, and full-page views of Bryant's Station and its spring, and of the battlefield of the Blue Licks. 4to, xiii–277 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1897. $3.00.

13. THE FIRST EXPLORATIONS OF KENTUCKY: The journals of Doctor Thomas Walker, 1750, and of Colonel Christopher Gist, 1751. Edited by Colonel J. Stoddard Johnston, Vice-President of The Filson Club. Illustrated with a map of Kentucky showing the routes of Walker and Gist through the State, with a view of Castle Hill, the residence of Doctor Walker, and a likeness of Colonel Johnston. 4to, 256 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1898. $3.00.

14. THE CLAY FAMILY. Part First—The Mother of Henry Clay, by Honorable Zachary F. Smith, member of The Filson Club; Part Second—The Genealogy of the Clays, by Mrs. Mary Rogers Clay, member of The Filson Club. Illustrated with a full-page halftone likeness of Henry Clay, of each of the authors, and a full-page picture of the Clay coat-of-arms; also four full-page grouped illustrations, each containing four likenesses of members of the Clay family. 4to, vi–276 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1899. $4.00.

15. THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE. Part First—The Battle and the Battle-ground; Part Second—Comment of the Press; Part Third—Roll of the Army commanded by General Harrison. By Captain Alfred Pirtle, member of The Filson Club. Illustrated with a likeness of the author and likenesses of General William Henry Harrison, Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daviess, and Elkswatawa, "The Prophet," together with three full-page views and a plot of the battle-ground. 4to, xix–158 pages. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1900. $3.00.