

Tecumseh: A Bibliographical Essay

An Honors Thesis (ID 499)

By

Lori L. Smith

Thesis Director

Richard A. Agnew, History Dept.

Ball State University

Muncie, Indiana

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One of the most highly acclaimed and controversial figures in America's early history is the Shawnee chief, Tecumseh. There have been few Indians who have been praised as highly and viewed as favorably as Tecumseh. He was acclaimed for his intelligence, truth and humane actions at a time when Indians were viewed as superstitious savages. Tecumseh is controversial because many of the sources dealing with him contain conflicting accounts.

Some of these conflicting accounts are the result of the personal opinions of Tecumseh's biographers. These opinions often color their histories. The confusion has also been added to by the fact that the Battle of Tippecanoe became a source of political slogans and hoopla by some of the American participants. There have been no official portraits of the chief, only a rough sketching from memory, which has added to the mystery and speculation about the man. As a result, a legend soon developed around the chief, spawning a mass of poems, dramas and romances.

BIOGRAPHIES OF TECUMSEH

The best place to start researching Tecumseh is with several of the most often cited biographies. Glen Tucker's Tecumseh: Vision of Glory (Indianapolis: The Bobbs Merrill Company, 1956) is the most recent and also the most thorough. This is generally accepted as the best work on Tecumseh at the present time.

Tecumseh was published two years after Tucker completed an extensive study of the War of 1812. This earlier study

gave him a good background for a more in-depth look at Tecumseh. The book received mixed reviews but was generally acclaimed for Tucker's research and his demonstration of a good understanding of the historical method. The main criticisms came in the area of readability, which is subject to individual tastes. Some also say the work is over laudatory, but it is less so than some other biographies.

Every aspect of Tecumseh's life is covered, including Shawnee traditions and customs. Tucker covers the subject so thoroughly that the researcher will not find much more fresh material in some of the other works. Unlike some of the other biographers, Tucker deals with personal relationships and tries to find out what shaped Tecumseh's life. He attempts to get inside the chief and is the most successful at bringing him to life.

There are excellent notes on each chapter at the end of the book, not only listing sources, but presenting controversial views and justifying his position. The bibliography is excellent, containing a wide variety of original sources, journals and earlier biographies.

This is the most comprehensive work and is also the best starting point for those researching Tecumseh. Nearly everyone who came in contact with the Indian leader is mentioned in addition to the minor events and skirmishes he was involved in. These places and names can start the researcher in other directions in search of material.

Benjamin Drake's Life of Tecumseh (New York: Arno Press, 1969, 1841) is one of the earliest detailed works on Tecumseh.

For a considerable length of time it was considered the main work on the Shawnee. Many of the same anecdotes that Drake mentions can be found in later volumes.

The first one fourth of the book is dedicated to the history of the Shawnee. Drake includes brief biographies of earlier chiefs who may have had some influence on Tecumseh, such as Blue Jacket and Cornstalk. Also to the author's credit, Life of Tecumseh is not written in the anti-Indian tone sometimes found in earlier works. The Indians are discussed objectively and treated respectfully.

The biography is not footnoted but often refers to other works in sections of the text. There is a bibliography consisting of William Henry Harrison's papers and letters from people who knew Tecumseh personally. James Galloway's letters are the most notable of the latter sources. He was the father of Rebecca, the American settler who taught Tecumseh to read and introduced him to European history.

Tecumseh and the Shawnee Prophet by Edward Eggleston and Lillie Eggleston Seelye (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1878) is a later and similar work. This is an unusual volume, praising Tecumseh in the midst of references to savages and discussions of the merits of civilization over savagery. The chief is viewed as superior to the rest of his race. Eggleston writes that one might suppose that Tecumseh had white blood in him, as evidenced by his intelligence. The author does admit that evidence does not support this.

The book is fairly thorough in all areas, not only dealing with Tecumseh, but offering brief sketches of many of those

mentioned in other histories (Blue Jacket, Simon Kenton, Cornstalk, St. Clair, Harmar). Unlike some other texts, there is a follow up on the events following Tecumseh's death. Some of these events include the outcome of the war and Harrison's career.

Eggleston did not include footnotes, but there is an appendix which lists a wide variety of early works. Drake is foremost on the list. Some memoirs are also included, but there are not many official documents or primary sources.

On the other side of the coin, John Oskison's Tecumseh and his Times (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1938) attacks the American actions and behaviors and presents a sympathetic essay on Tecumseh.

Harrison is treated with sarcasm and presented as a symbol of white advancement. Oskison does analyze some of Harrison's speeches and finds inconsistencies. This seems to support some of the author's arguments.

The accounts of the major events seem reasonably accurate, although colored from Oskison's point of view. There is an interesting theory that a black deserter was purposely sent out by Harrison to encourage the Indians to attack at the Battle of Tippecanoe, but it is not supported by any of the works reviewed in this essay.

Unfortunately, the book is not well documented. There is no bibliography and even when quotations are used they are not noted. There is an occasional reference to a source written into the text.

Oskison writes that he is of Indian blood and dedicates the book to his Oklahoma Shawnee friends, which may have some

bearing on the attitude of the book. The last pages are dedicated to all the "dreamers of his (Tecumseh's) race who fought to realize their bright visions" (p. 233). The discussion leads to the hope among the Shawnee that Tecumseh will rise again and ties all this in with the American Church Religion.

Another book that is often cited is a volume in the Chronicles of Canada Series entitled Tecumseh: A Chronicle of the Last Great Leader of His People by Ethel T. Raymond (Toronto: Glasgow, Brock and Company, 1920). This short work is easy reading that verges on romanticism. Raymond does not seem as concerned with historical fact as she is with describing Indian customs, religious visions and experiences. This seems to be more of a literary work than a research effort. It consists of long descriptions of less important details while tending to skim over some major areas.

The major details that are dealt with maintain accuracy, but Raymond does not deal with any of the conflicting sources. Therefore, the book has a very simplistic view of Tecumseh. This is evidenced by the vivid account of his death, describing Richard Johnson's shooting of the chief and Tecumseh's body lying on the battlefield beneath the setting sun. A good ending for a romantic novel perhaps, but not for a historical piece, particularly when dealing with such a controversial subject.

There are no footnotes, but there is a brief bibliographical note at the end. This consists mainly of early works (Drake, Gurd, Eggleston) and also includes popular plays and dramas.

This book might be useful for an introduction to some aspects of Indian life, but it really cannot be recommended as a serious research source.

Norman S. Gurd's The Story of Tecumseh (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912) is of the same nature as the Raymond text and has unfortunately been listed in many bibliographies. Gurd uses historical facts loosely to form a novel-type history of Tecumseh. This is especially evident where he creates some fanciful tales of the Indian leader's youth, such as Tecumseh's friendship with the wampum keeper. There is no documentation for any of these literary wanderings and none of these stories are found in the sources examined in this essay. Gurd has written an overdramatic ending, similar to Raymond's, in which the hero is carried off the battleground.

A supplement does detail some of the different versions of Tecumseh's death, and an appendix to the illustrations is also included. A bibliography or any sort of documentation is conspicuously absent.

The most recent book dealing with Tecumseh is one that researchers will find most useful. This is Tecumseh: Fact and Fiction in Early Records, compiled by C.F. Klinck (Ottawa, Canada: The Tecumseh Press, 1978). This work is a collection of excerpts from a variety of sources, arranged in chronological order. Klinck touches on some of the early Indian leaders for a background, then deals with Tecumseh in terms of his early life, diplomacy, battles and the later legends that developed around him. The sources used range

from early biographies to primary sources, such as letters and public speeches.

Klinck has tried to present the material in a neutral way in spite of the bias contained in earlier works, as stated in his preface. He is successful in this and gives a good overview of Tecumseh and the differing opinions surrounding him. This is especially evident in the fourteen accounts given concerning Tecumseh's death.

This work is useful as a handbook to lead to other sources, and it contains sections from sources that are difficult to obtain, such as archival materials. Educators may find it helpful as a convenient summary of outside sources, and the editor has also included a large list of topics for research. This book also demonstrates the varying opinions among the sources on Tecumseh. The final section, while not dealing with historical fact, provides some insight into the legend surrounding the leader. It contains excerpts from poems, romances, and political melodramas and slogans written for ex-soldiers running for office. These all supply an interesting commentary on the social and political systems of the time.

There are also less lengthy histories of Tecumseh which provide a more general view of the Shawnee chief. There are two volumes in which Tecumseh is only one of many Indian biographies in the book. "Tecumseh, the Greatest Indian" from Alvin Josephy's The Patriot Chiefs (New York: Viking Press, 1961) is the best and most recent. Josephy is an editor of American Heritage and a noted Indian historian. He has been praised most highly for his honest and objective writing style.

Josephy's section on Tecumseh is basically a summary of earlier works, such as Drake, Tucker, Eggleston and Oskison. Tecumseh's history is a fairly thorough overview of his life even though it is only one of several biographies in the book. The prior history and policies concerning the Northwest are examined, and Tecumseh's early years are also discussed. All of these areas are presented in a manner that ties this in with who Tecumseh was and what shaped his life. Josephy stimulates some thought with his views on Indian nationalism and how it has been perceived throughout history. This is a favorable representation of the chief, as might be suggested by the title of the chapter.

The second book of this nature raises some interesting questions. This is Great Indian Chiefs by Albert Britt (Freeport N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1938, 1969). Because it does not go into any great depth it tends to be rather simplistic in some areas. Due to this, it is most useful as a general introduction and to acquaint the reader with Tecumseh.

Britt's work does contain several interesting anecdotes about Tecumseh, but there are no footnotes to the chapter, which makes the accuracy of the reports questionable. The list of sources contains many of the earlier biographies and there are few primary sources. This text seems basically oriented more toward popular reading.

Britt does attempt to look at what forces shaped Tecumseh's attitudes, and the author raises questions about the origin of the confederacy plan. Because the book is a collection of biographies, the ideas and plans of Tecumseh are tied in with

the Indian struggle throughout American history. This stimulates thought about the origin of Tecumseh's thinking.

Another general but good history of Tecumseh is an article by E.O. Randall entitled "Tecumseh; the Shawnee Chief" (Ohio Archeological and Historical Society Publications, vol. 16, 1906), which attempts to give a detailed picture of the leader and all those he came into contact with. Randall looks at some of the events that influenced Tecumseh, including the national policies that were changing the land during his childhood. He does not overlook others, such as St. Clair and the Treaty of Greenville. The accounts of these events are reasonably detailed. This article also sheds some new light on Tecumseh's feelings about his brother, the Prophet. A Mr. J.M. Rudell, the son of Tecumseh's adopted brother, is the source for this information.

This history is footnoted, and the sources come from previous manuscripts and biographies, most notably Benjamin Drake and several state/local histories.

A short pamphlet published in Chillicothe, Ohio by the Ross County Historical Society (1944) contains a very brief biography. Written by Lloyd Emerson Siberell, it is entitled "Tecumseh: his Career, the Man, his Chillicothe Portrait." This provides an "Ohio oriented" picture of Tecumseh and the preceding events. The highlight is a reprint of a letter written to Benjamin Drake describing a meeting between the chief and Ohio governor Edward Tiffin that took place thirty three years earlier.

The pamphlet contains an undocumented physical description

of Tecumseh and an account of the only known sketchings of the Indian leader. A history of the frequently reprinted Chillicothe portrait is also included.

C.B. Galbreath's "Tecumseh and his Descendants" (Ohio Archeological and Historical Society Publications, vol. 34, 1925) supplies information on Tecumseh's family in later years. The author traces the history of the descendants of the chief and lists the sources where the information can be found. Family portraits of several of Tecumseh's relatives are included. The article is tied together by a reprint of Tecumseh's history from the Handbook of American Indians.

#### TECUMSEH AND WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

More material, often with a different viewpoint, can be found in biographies of William Henry Harrison. William Henry Harrison by Dorothy Burne Goebel, Ph.D., (Indianapolis: Historical Bureau of the Indiana Library and Historical Department, 1926) is one of the best. The author is an instructor of history, and her book was highly praised when it was released for its "painstaking research" and readable qualities.

Her work provides some interesting insight into Tecumseh's opponent, although it does not go into detail specifically concerning Tecumseh and the Prophet. Theories are raised about the nature of Harrison's Indian policy, and in the early years he is shown to be closely tied to Jefferson's national policy.

Treatment of the brothers is fair, although the background information on the pair is kept to a bare minimum. There is

no in depth work done on the Indian wars except to examine Harrison's actions. The book really contains little fresh material on Tecumseh that cannot be found in briefer biographies, but it is well documented, and the notes and bibliography provide a range of primary sources.

Aside from being a good text on Harrison, this is a source best used to put the Northwest in perspective with the Indian and diplomatic policy at the national level.

Freeman Cleave's Old Tippecanoe (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939) is another excellent biography of Harrison from roughly the same period as Goebel's work. Cleaves spent several years researching this volume. The book was not as highly praised as Goebel's when it was released, but it was credited with being an excellent work by a neglected author.

The research is fairly thorough, and the book is well documented. The footnoting makes it easy to trace the source materials, which include a wide variety. Cleaves lists unpublished papers from private collections, journals, archive materials, and local sources such as newspapers and county histories.

There is not much hard material on Tecumseh and the Prophet, but the book provides detailed accounts of important events, such as the Treaty of Ft. Wayne and the Council of Vincennes. The best sections contain accounts of some of the conflicts, including the Battle of Tippecanoe. Cleaves consults newspapers of the time for a follow up on the reaction to the battle.

The book is fairly objective, and does not take the anti-Indian view of some of the others, yet the author does not heavily concentrate on praising Harrison's deeds. Reviewers have commented on the "spirit of confidence" instilled in the book by letting "Harrison as well as his enemies speak for themselves."

A book which is not quite of the same caliber as the above two is James A. Green's William Henry Harrison (Richmond, Va.: Garrett and Mossie Inc., 1841). Green was born in Ohio, and some of the reviewers of his text noted that his work seems to be intended to defend the first military hero from this area. Therefore, Harrison and the customs of the Americans in the Northwest are presented in the best possible way.

Green is overdramatic in many instances and tends to drift off on tangents. An example of this is when Green interrupts the history of Tippecanoe to relate a story of two men he met at the battlefield on a recent visit. The work is over praising and gives the impression of being oriented more toward popular reading.

The book does contain some excerpts from letters and journals of the period, but there is little new material that has not been covered in other volumes. The most useful section of Harrison is the extensive bibliography and the appendix. The appendix covers many sources on Tecumseh and Harrison and examines the background of each. Green also looks at the popular plays and novels, which provides some background on the development of the legend associated with Tecumseh.

The earliest work on Harrison, which is very frequently cited, is A Historical Narrative of the Civil and Military Services of Major General William Henry Harrison by Moses Dawson (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Advertiser, 1824). This book was written by the editor of the Cincinnati Advertiser and printed in the Advertiser office. A majority of the book consists of documents, and is a good source for treaties, letters from area tribes, speeches from Tecumseh and the Prophet, translations of council discussions and Harrison's letters, dispatches and public speeches. It is more objective towards the Indians, particularly the Prophet, than a few of the other sources of this period.

The book was written during Harrison's lifetime and as Dawson states in his introduction, he received many of the papers from Harrison himself. Later biographers claim some of the text was actually written by the General. Therefore, the documents included present Harrison in a favorable light, as evidenced by the letters included from citizens praising his public service. The accuracy of the speeches made by Harrison, the Prophet, and Tecumseh may be uncertain when it is not indicated if it was from a written source. Dawson's description of the Tippecanoe Battle is documented by letters from Harrison's men and associates attesting to the General's character and the truth of the history. It is important to keep in mind the statement Dawson makes before inserting the above documents in the text. He states he wants to justify his account when his "...motive has been to rescue the fame and character of a brave man, and a worthy patriot from that

unmerited obloquy attempted to be cast upon him by the worthless and the cowardly" (p. 219).

Logan Esarey has put Harrison's papers together in an easy to use volume. It is entitled The Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison (New York: Arno Press, 1975).

This text is the result of a six year search of libraries and private collections for Harrison's letters and military dispatches. British dispatches and Senate and House reports concerning the General are also included.

Esarey includes notes which are very helpful. These notes may contain a brief explanation of the document or provide background information on one of the people mentioned. The author also points out some errors in previous works and recommends other sources for further study. The source where each document may be found is also given.

#### TECUMSEH AND MILITARY HISTORY

The researcher will find that many sources on Tecumseh will deal with events leading up to Tippecanoe. "Harrison's Councils with Tecumseh" by Rose Schultheis (Indiana Magazine of History, 27, No. 1, 1931) is one such article. Schultheis relies heavily on quotes from Harrison to examine the problems with the Indians at this time, but does not go into any great depth on any of these. All the sources listed in the notes are from Harrison's correspondence.

Another article dealing with this same topic is from the same journal (Indiana Magazine of History), entitled "Tecumseh's Confederacy" by Elmore Barce (12, No. 2, 1916 and 13, No. 1, 1917).

This article is rather editorialized. Harrison is praised too highly and the Prophet is severely criticized, although Tecumseh is presented a little more fairly. The most useful points include an undocumented history of the Council of Vincennes and an overview of the Prophet's Town, including the methods of religious preparation. Sources in the footnotes vary from other biographies to primary sources. The Vincennes Western Sun newspaper is a frequently cited source.

Ray Allen Billington's textbook, Westward Expansion, (New York: Macmillon Co., 1967), gives a good summary of these events from a diplomatic view, although Tecumseh and Harrison make up a small part of this large volume. The Northwest problems are dealt with not only on a local level, but the national and international causes and implications are presented.

This text is most useful to provide a background on this area and present the diplomatic and military aspects of the Tecumseh/Harrison conflict. Harrison is not covered in a favorable way, but overall the work is fairly objective. A good bibliography is included and the sources for this chapter are earlier biographies of Harrison, such as Cleaves and Goebel.

Many works are available dealing with more specifically with the military aspects of Tecumseh's conflicts. "The Army in the Old Northwest" which is included in Francis Paul Prucha's The Sword of the Republic (London: Macmillon Co., 1969) is the best summary and military history of the Northwest. This is one of many books by Prucha, a professor of history at Marquette and Indian historian. The text was received

well when it was published, and it was most noted for the extensive research that went into it.

Tecumseh and his brother are dealt with briefly. The work is most notable for the good military background of the contributing factors, such as the defeat of Harmar and St. Clair. Footnotes are included.

There are two books dealing specifically with the Tippecanoe clash. The earliest is The Battle of Tippecanoe by Reed Beard (Lafayette: Tippecanoe Publishing Co., 1889). The history is a detailed examination of the battle, but it covers the prior events and follows up the post-battle events. There is a brief look at the Prophet's religion and Tecumseh's background, but the main thrust of the work is the march, battle and praise of Harrison.

The stage is set with speeches and letters from Tecumseh and Harrison. The actual account of the battle is a reprint of the General's dispatch of the event. Follow up chapters deal with resolutions from the House, treatment of the battlefield and the history of the career of Harrison. The chapter dealing with the isolated incidents of the battle, like the others, is not footnoted, so the source of the tales cannot be traced.

The book is dedicated to General Benjamin Harrison and was written during the first year of his presidency. This is the key to one of two problems with this work. Its main purpose is political rather than historical, and it is aimed at tying Benjamin Harrison with the "Hero of Tippecanoe." This is made clear in the last chapter which is a biography of

Benjamin Harrison. The other problem is that there are no notes or sources. It is difficult to trace the authenticity of the material, with the exception of the dispatches and House resolutions.

The prevailing views toward the Indians at this time are reflected in Reed's writing. The Indians are presented as being nothing more than savages, almost less than human. Due to this, the important point to be gained, as stated in a note to this edition, is "an unwritten commentary on our social history."

Captain Alfred Pirtle has written another history of the battle entitled Battle of Tippecanoe (Louisville Ky.: John P. Morgan and Co., 1900), which originally began as a presentation to the Filson Club. The two main drawbacks are that Pirtle does not list sources and the presentation is very editorialized. Based on the preface, it is assumed that most of the material came from newspapers and family histories.

There is a brief introduction which scans the events leading up to Tippecanoe, but the first section is mainly devoted to an examination of the battle preparations. The battle description focuses on names and incidents of the main officers and men. A short biography is given of each, but again, Pirtle does not list his sources for these histories.

The second section is the most accurate and useful. It is a collection of local newspaper clippings and letters which reflected public reaction to the battle and Harrison's conduct. The detailed listing of company rolls is contained in the last section.

Pirtle is cited as a source in several of the works on Tecumseh, although his book contains no accurate listing of his sources. It is best used for some battle accounts and for examining public and press reaction from this period.

References to Tecumseh are also found in histories dealing with the War of 1812. Marshall Smelser's "Tecumseh, Harrison and the War of 1812" (Indiana Magazine of History, 65, No. 1, 1969) is one such work. This is a reprint of an address delivered by Smelser, a professor of history at Notre Dame. He scans the history of Tecumseh and Harrison without going into excessive detail in any one area. This work contains a brief but fairly good survey of the Shawnee's actions in the war and also looks at British/Indian policies.

The different analogy that is taken when dealing with the causes of the Indian wars in the Northwest is a good aspect of this work. Smelser looks at the cultural problems among the Indians, British, and Americans and how the federal policies contributed. In fact, in none of the areas does the author oversimplify things, but all sides of the issue are covered objectively. A chart of the tribe locations is also included. One problem is that the bibliography is not contained in the article, but it is listed in Smelser's book, The Democratic Republic 1801-1815.

"William Henry Harrison in the War of 1812" by Beverly W. Bond Jr. (Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. 13, 1926) is a well documented article which can be used to lead the researcher to many primary sources in this area. This work deals almost entirely with Harrison's actions, but it

also discusses movements and strategies employed by Tecumseh and his ally, Henry A. Proctor. The history of the Battle of Thames is also good.

How much the British were involved in bringing the Indians to war is an often debated question in many texts dealing with Tecumseh and the Northwest. This topic is examined in some length by Reginald Horsman in his article entitled, "British Indian Policy in the Northwest" (Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 45, No. 1, 1958). This article provides some new light on one motivating force behind the Indians, although it does not directly concern Tecumseh. It is well documented and the notes include numerous primary sources.

#### TECUMSEH IN STATE AND LOCAL HISTORIES

A wealth of general information can be found in state and local histories, but the researcher must be cautious of the accuracy of some of these. Bert J. Griswold's Ft. Wayne, Gateway of the West (Indianapolis: Historical Bureau of the Indiana Library and Historical Department, 1927) is one of the most well documented of these histories. It focuses on events surrounding the Ft. Wayne area and sheds some new light on the background details. These details include the treaty actions and behavior of Little Turtle and other Indians after Tippecanoe. The footnotes include Logan Esarey's Letters and Messages.

The History of Ft. Wayne by Wallace A. Brice (Ft. Wayne: D.W. Jones and Son, 1868) is another reasonably well documented

book. This is useful for background information on the contributing factors to the sources of unrest in the Northwest, such as Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne. A good examination of immigration and land divisions provides some insight to the problems facing the Shawnee.

Ft. Wayne is generally a good handbook for summary of the settling of the Northwest. It provides information on which to base other biographies, although it may not add much to the specifics of Tecumseh's life.

John E. Gunckel's The Early History of the Maumee Valley (Toledo : Hadley Printing Co., 1902) is most useful for its history of River Raisin and Ft. Meigs in which Tecumseh is portrayed as stopping the massacre of prisoners. Gunckel writes from a rather fresh point of view. Neither Tecumseh nor Harrison is criticized, but it is the British who take the blame. This is one of many articles that theorizes the British encouraged the Indians and were responsible for many of the problems.

Sources are discussed in the preface and come primarily from letters, manuscripts and personal interviews. Photos of the forts as they were in 1902 are included.

Hiram W. Beckwith's History of Vigo and Parke Counties (Chicago: H.H. Mill and N. Iddings, 1880) does not go into detail past 1804, but it does provide a fairly detailed history of the Shawnee, including their origin and migrations. One source in this area is Governor Harrison who claims to have received part of this history at the Council of Vincennes. There is also a brief discussion of treaties and the Shawnee

removal from Indiana in later years. Sources include state papers and the 1824 work by Moses Dawson. There is no other way to trace source materials, aside from a few notes.

A discussion of the Harrison House is found in Historical Sketches of Old Vincennes by Hubbard Madison Smith (Indianapolis: William B. Burford Press, 1902). An undocumented account of the Vincennes Council, given in relation to this house, is also found here. Smith also includes a tale of an assassination attempt on some of Harrison's messengers by some women of the tribe. This is not mentioned in other works discussed in this essay.

The Centennial History and Handbook of Indiana (Indianapolis: Max R. Hyman, 1915) is a little better documented work by the founder of the Indiana Magazine of History, George S. Cottman. It is biased against the Indians, which might be expected from a handbook celebrating the state's centennial. A map of the battlefield and pictures of the scene as it stood in 1915 are included in the brief Tippecanoe history. A section on frontier defenses and blockhouses is a bit off the topic, but it provides a background understanding of the military life at this time.

Lucy Elliot Keeler's "The Sandusky River" (Ohio Archeological and Historical Society Publications, vol. 13, 1904) focuses on the history surrounding the Sandusky River. It provides a brief background of prior events, especially the Treaty of Greenville. The section dealing with the battles in the War of 1812 is of the most use.

The footnoted sources are from previous histories and

personal interviews. There is no great amount of new material on Tecumseh, but there is one section which relates a conversation overheard between Tecumseh and an Ottawa chief.

#### SHAWNEE HISTORY AND CULTURE

A good book for ethnological material on the Shawnee in general is Charles Christopher Trowbridge's Shawnee Traditions (Ed. Vernon Kinietz and Erminie W. Voegelin. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1939), written from the original handwritten manuscripts of Trowbridge's interviews with the Shawnee Prophet and Blackhoof. The material from the Prophet is dated "24 July 1824."

The introduction by Voegelin traces the background of the Prophet and attempts to put together conflicting reports and material from other sources to arrive at a possible solution. She also traces the life of the Prophet up to the present attitudes toward him.

The Prophet's account is the most extensive and begins with the legend of the creation of the red man and the white man. Other topics include marriage and death customs, medicine, religion and forms of entertainment, to name a few. The sections on war, peace, and relations with other tribes provide some insight, since the Prophet apparently relates incidents from the wars for the Northwest.

The Handbook of North American Indians (Ed. William Sturtevant. Vol. 15. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978) is the most recent source for information on the Shawnee culture. The chapter dealing with the Shawnee was

written by Charles Callender and he divides it into sections which provide information on a wide range of topics. Settlement patterns, life cycles, social and political organizations, warfare and religion are a few of the areas included which are of interest to the researcher studying Tecumseh.

Jerry's E. Clark's The Shawnee (Lexington Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1977) is another recent work on the Shawnee. The book is included in the Kentucky Bicentennial Bookshelf Series, and the research was funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Therefore it is oriented more toward the general public, but it is fairly well researched. There are no footnotes to the text, but Clark does include a good bibliographical essay. This work is brief and provides interesting and easy reading on the history and culture of the Shawnee.

Additional material on the Prophet can be found in J.P. MacLean's article entitled "Shaker Mission to the Shawnee" (Ohio Archeological and Historical Society Publications, vol. 11, 1902). This contains a narrative of a Shaker missionary whose name was not listed. A discussion between the missionaries and the Indians in which the Shawnee identify Tecumseh and the Prophet as their leaders is included. A summary of one of the Prophet's sermons in which he describes his reformation and the path in which the followers must take is of special interest. This is a good source for background on the Prophet's teachings.

#### PERSONAL ACCOUNTS OF TECUMSEH

There are also numerous personal accounts dealing with

Tecumseh. Two of these that are easily accessible are included in the December, 1906, issue of the Indiana Magazine of History. They are entitled "The Battle of Tippecanoe" and "John Tipton's Tippecanoe Journal." "Battle" is a reprint from the Lafayette Morning Journal of June 23, 1906. This is an account of the battle written by a Judge Isaac Naylor who took part. The document was discovered after his death. It is a brief article, and it focuses on incidents that took place after the battle dealing with treatment of Indian prisoners and wounded.

Excerpts from the journal of John Tipton are published as a companion piece. This contains brief day to day summaries of their movements.

Both articles are useful for a general impression of attitudes toward Tecumseh and the Indians, in addition to outlining life in Harrison's army.

"Shabonee's Account of Tippecanoe" by J. Wesley Whicker (Indiana Magazine of History, 17, No. 4, 1921) is recommended for a different point of view. The history comes from Shabonee or Shabonier, an Ottawa Indian. His name is briefly mentioned in various sources in addition to treaty agreements. This provides a few variations from other histories of the battle, but on the whole it follows the other versions fairly closely. His comment that Tippecanoe was the result of British backing is of particular interest. (Tucker maintains that the men in red coats who encouraged the Shawnee were French traders and therefore innocent). Shabonee also claims to be one of the spies who have been described in many accounts as being

seen on several occasions by Harrison and his troops on the march to Tippecanoe.

New material from this source is also that according to Shabonee, the Indians were just as surprised as the Americans by the sentinel's shot that started the battle. They were not prepared to fight.

The document is originally from an 1864 publication entitled Me-Won-I-Toc and the account was directed to the author, Solon Robinson.

"The Early Recollections of John P. Hedges" (Indiana Magazine of History, 8, No. 4, 1912) is another account. This short article, originally printed in the Ft. Wayne Sentinel about 1875, contains the reminiscences of Mr. John P. Hedges, secured in his eighty-fifth year. Mr. Hedges describes his travels to the forts in the area while working as a chief supply clerk. His claim to seeing Tecumseh's remains on the Thames battlefield with a mortal wound through the heart is the most notable aspect of this item.

#### CONCLUSION

There have been few Indian leaders in the history of the Northwest who have come as close to holding back the tide of white immigration as Tecumseh. His confederacy plan was sound, and it might have been successful if it had not been for the clash at Tippecanoe. Even so, Tecumseh was one of the earliest Indian leaders who thought in terms of Indian nationalism. Tecumseh and the struggle for the Northwest Territory is a good case study of the national policies

towards the Indians. This topic also provides a good pre-view of the struggles and policies that took place in later years in the western territories.

Researchers will find a vast amount of material on Tecumseh which may shed some light on the man who is often called the "Greatest Indian Leader." The researcher may also come to understand the development of Indian nationalism in the history of America.