

Native Americans And Early Settlers
The Meeting Of Cultures
1780's — 1980's

PASSPORT TO HISTORY Series, BOOK I



Mercer County Historical Society, Inc., Celina, Ohio
1989

Native Americans And Early Settlers
The Meeting Of Cultures
1780's — 1980's

by Dr. Phillip R. Shriver, Chief Floyd Leonard,
Dr. Joseph Leonard, Dr. Dwight Smith,
Professor Randall Buchman, Dr. George Knepper

Project Director Joyce L. Alig

PASSPORT TO HISTORY Series, BOOK I

Mercer County Historical Society, Inc., Celina, Ohio
1989

Native Americans And Early Settlers
The Meeting Of Cultures
1780's — 1980's

by Dr. Phillip R. Shriver, Chief Floyd Leonard,
Dr. Joseph Leonard, Dr. Dwight Smith,
Professor Randall Buchman, Dr. George Knepper

Project Director Joyce L. Alig

PASSPORT TO HISTORY Series, BOOK I

Printed by Messenger Press
Carthagenia, Ohio 45822

This project was made possible by private donations, Mercer County Historical Society, Inc., Ohio Humanities Council, and Ohio Northwest Ordinance and United States Constitution Bicentennial Commission.

Copyright © 1989 by Joyce L. Alig, Mercer County Historical Society, 130 East Market, Celina, Ohio 45822.

All rights reserved. Printed in Ohio. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage/retrieval system, without written permission of the copyright owner. For information, write Joyce L. Alig, Mercer County Historical Society, 130 East Market, Celina, Ohio 45822.

PASSPORT TO HISTORY



Preface

Project Director Joyce L. Alig

The Mercer County Historical Society, Inc. is proud to announce its newest book, "Native Americans and Early Settlers, The Meeting of Cultures, 1780's - 1980's," which is Book I of the PASSPORT TO HISTORY Series.

The PASSPORT TO HISTORY Series is a passport to Mercer County's past, with the reader as the guest traveler of the Mercer County Historical Society, Inc. PASSPORT TO HISTORY, BOOK I, features the 1989 Conference, "Native Americans and Early Settlers, The Meeting of Cultures, 1780's - 1980's," and the papers of four of Ohio's outstanding scholars, and the Chief of the Miami Nation of Indians. These programs were hosted by the Mercer County Historical Society, Inc., the Fort Recovery Historical Society, and the Ohio Humanities Council.

This book had its beginning in an October 15, 1984 Seminar, "Indians of Northwest Ohio, A Study in Archaeology and History," also hosted by the Mercer County Historical Society and Ohio Humanities Council. The audience members from Western Ohio encouraged the Mercer County Historical Society to continue hosting quality programs and to continue in the quest for an accurate presentation of the facts of historic events with the historic Indians and the meeting of cultures.

Endeavoring to present these programs, the Mercer County Historical Society approached the most knowledgeable scholars, the university professors who have devoted their lives to historic research and to teaching students of history. The scholars responded with two hundred year old government documents, military correspondence, and diaries containing eye witness accounts of events. For information about the Miami Nation, the Historical Society approached the Chief of the Miami Nation, and descendant of Chief Little Turtle's sister Tacumwah. Chief Floyd Leonard, his son Dr. Joseph Leonard, and his son Wesley, responded with the status of the Miami Nation today.

PASSPORT TO HISTORY Series, BOOK I, "Native Americans and Early Settlers, The Meeting of Cultures, 1780's - 1980's" takes the reader on a two hundred year old journey through the wilderness and the river valleys of the Old Northwest Territory. The reader reads the letters and diaries written in the 1790's, and senses the events in that time frame. The reader meets the first settlers and those arriving on the Miami and Erie Canal. The reader listens to the Miami Nation of Indians today. The reader takes the journey into Mercer County's Past, and comes home to the Mercer County Historical Museum.



Mercer County Historical Museum

A cultural resource in Mercer County's rich heritage, the Mercer County Historical Museum is located at 130 East Market, Celina, in the Riley Home, which is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. This successful museum is recognized in Mercer County and the State of Ohio. This museum building is owned by Mercer County, and is administered by the Mercer County Historical Society, Inc.

The building is a historical site, being the home built by the grandson of Captain James Riley who first surveyed northwest Ohio and Fort Wayne, Indiana. James Riley's son James Watson Riley was one of four, who platted Celina, the county seat, in 1834. Calvin Riley, grandson of Captain James Riley, built this home in 1896. Calvin's son Zura and his family lived in this home next. Zura was associated with the Griffith-Riley Hardware in Celina; Zura also participated in the gold rush in Alaska at the turn of the century. Zura's daughter Lena Riley lived here until her death in 1974. Lena requested that this home not be dismantled to become a parking lot; her cousin David Riley made it possible for this home to become the home of the Mercer County Historical Museum. Captain Riley's Brig log and his correspondence are displayed.

Museum exhibits educate the public about Mercer County's unique heritage. Prehistoric times are evident with exhibits of Native American artifacts of stone, flint, and slate. Prehistoric times are also reflected in the Elk bones and antlers, carbon 14 dated at more than 9,000 years old from Cranberry Prairie; mastodon molars of that age are also on display. Colonial times are clarified with early agricultural implements as well as the carpenter's full toolbox. The early kitchen cooking utensils as well as cleaning aids, e.g. Bany Washing Machine and sad irons, are there. The Victorian parlor is graced with graphophones, a parlor organ, and the stereoscope, which hint at long-forgotten Sunday afternoons. The dining room welcomes the guest, with glassware in china cabinets waiting for Sunday dinner. Individual collections include Paul Hoyng's copper engravings from the Coldwater

Chronicle. The second floor pictures a parade of the past with an old schoolroom, Fortman's General Store, exquisite quilts and coverlets, old medical instruments, and arms and accoutrements.

Archives of the Mercer County Historical Museum contain the largest collection of Mercer County history in the State of Ohio. University Professors, archaeologists, historians, preservationists, authors, college and high school and elementary school students, genealogists, Scouts and 4-H Members, business owners, and members of other historical societies seek research in the Mercer County Historical Museum Archives.

The Mercer County Historical Society, Inc. not only administers the Mercer County Historical Museum, but also provides leadership in local history programs. Schools of the county request guided tours as well as lectures on local history from the Director. Civic organizations also request slide programs on local history. The Society provides public lecture series by university history professors under programs with the Ohio Humanities Council, the Joint Program of the Arts and Humanities, and the Ohio Northwest Ordinance and United States Constitution Bicentennial Commission. In the interest of preserving local history, the Mercer County Historical Museum Director Joyce L. Alig edited the *1978 Mercer County History*, *1984 Celina Sesquicentennial*, *1987 Saint Henry Sesquicentennial*, and, with Eugene Weber, *Coldwater at 150*.

The Executive Board of Directors of the Mercer County Historical Society, Inc. includes Ralph Schindler, David Riley, Donald Muhlenkamp, Frank Snyder, Ray Feltz, President Joyce L. Alig, Vice President Philip Naumann, Secretary Marjorie Pierstorff, and Treasurer Vera Speicher.

Funding for the Mercer County Historical Museum is via county funds, Combined Services Appeal and Combined Charities Drives, corporate donations, estates, Mercer County Historical Museum Fund via the Mercer County Civic Foundation, and private donations, from the public.

Contents

Preface	iii
Mercer County Historical Museum	iv
The Ohio Northwest Ordinance and United States Constitution Bicentennial Commission	vi
“Little Turtle and the Miami Nation” <i>Dr. Phillip R. Shriver</i>	1
“The Miami Nation: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries” <i>Chief Floyd Leonard, Dr. Joseph Leonard, Miami Nation</i>	6
“Fort Recovery’s Pivotal Role in the Indian Wars” <i>Dr. Dwight Smith</i>	12
Original Reports of 1791 and 1794	18
“Little Turtle’s Allies: Their Historic Perspective in Ohio” <i>Professor Randall L. Buchman</i>	32
“Early Settlement of Western Ohio under Federal Land Policies” <i>Dr. George Knepper</i>	37
“Correspondence from Fort Recovery and Fort Wayne” <i>Captain James Riley, Deputy Surveyor</i>	41

CERTIFICATE OF RECOGNITION

The Ohio Northwest Ordinance and United States Constitution
Bicentennial Commission hereby awards this Certificate of
Recognition to



in appreciation for distinguished service in the interest of
commemorating the 200th anniversary of the Northwest Ordinance
and the United States Constitution.

The most lasting legacies of these fundamental documents are the
fruits of a free people living in a free land. The exemplary
commitment of Ohio citizens to their state and their country lends
substance to the promise of freedom and liberty embodied in
those documents.

Phillip R. Shriver
Chairman

James C. Miller
Executive Director



Dr. Charles Cole, Jr., Member of the Ohio Northwest Ordinance and United States Constitution Bicentennial Commission, and Executive Director of the Ohio Humanities Council, presents Joyce L. Alig, Chairperson of the Mercer County Bicentennial Commission, and Director of The Mercer County Historical Museum, with the Certificate of Recognition, in appreciation for the local society's "distinguished service in the interest of commemorating the 200th anniversary of the Northwest Ordinance and United States Constitution."
October 16, 1989.

Commission on the Bicentennial of The United States Constitution

734 Jackson Place, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20503
202/USA-1787

February 17, 1987

Warren E. Burger
Chairman

Frederick K. Beibel
Lindy Boggs
Herbert Brownell
Lyone Y. Cheney
Philip M. Crane
Dennis DeConcini

William J. Green
Edward Victor Hill
Cornelia G. Kennedy
Edward M. Kennedy

Harry McKinley Lightsey, Jr.

William Lucas
Betty Southard Murphy
Thomas H. O'Connor
Phyllis Schlafly

Bernard H. Steyn
Ted Stevens

Oliver C. Tunner
Strom Thurmond

Ronald H. Walker
Charles E. Wiggins
Charles Alan Wright

Mark W. Cannon
Staff Director

Ronald M. Mann
Deputy Staff Director

Ms. Joyce L. Alig
Mercer County Bicentennial Commission
130 East Market
Celina, Ohio 45822

Dear Ms. Alig:

By authority of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, I wish to inform you that Mercer County, Ohio has been approved and is hereby recognized as a Designated Bicentennial Community.

It gives me great pleasure to report to you on this action, and to extend to you our congratulations. By virtue of this recognition, your commission now may use the official logo and may approve use of the logo to non-profit sponsors and groups in your community.

We are committed to making the Bicentennial a meaningful and rewarding learning experience for all Americans. To this end, we look forward to cooperating closely with your commission in every possible way.

We wish you success in applying the necessary determination, creativity and resourcefulness to achieve a highly effective commemoration in Mercer County.

Cordially,

MARK W. CANNON

MWC:PC:ram
Enclosures



Phillip R. Shriver

Phillip R. Shriver is a graduate of the Cleveland public schools, with earned degrees from Yale, Harvard, and Columbia universities and honorary degrees from ten other colleges and universities. A veteran of World War II, he saw combat service aboard the U.S.S. Murray, a Pacific Fleet Destroyer. After the war he returned to his native Ohio to teach American and Ohio History at Kent State University from 1947-1965, during which time he rose through the ranks to become Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences in 1963. In 1965 he was named the seventeenth president of Miami University, a position he held until retirement in 1981. During 1983-1984, he served as President of the Ohio Academy of History. From 1984 until 1986 he served as President of the Ohio Historical Society and continues to serve as a member of the Society's Board of Trustees. From 1986 until 1989 he served as Chairman of Ohio's Bicentennial Commission for the Northwest Ordinance and the United States Constitution. He has also served as a member of the Federal Reserve Board of the Cincinnati Bank of the Federal Reserve System from 1968 through 1975, holding the office of Chairman of the Board before leaving that service. And, he has served as President of the Ohio College Association and Chairman of the Council of Presidents of the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges. Additionally, he has found time to write four books and more than two hundred articles in the areas of his special interests, history and archaeology. Married to the former Martha Nye of Bellevue, Ohio, he and Mrs. Shriver are the parents of five children and the grandparents of seven.

Little Turtle and the Miami Nation by Phillip R. Shriver

Twice in the course of the eighteenth century the Miami Indian Nation found itself on the center stage of world history. The first time came on June 21, 1752, when the largest of all Miami towns of that day, Pickawillany, in the valley of the Great Miami River in western Ohio, was destroyed by an army under the command of a French-Canadian by the name of Charles de Langlade. The event has often been called the first battle of the French and Indian War, a war that eventually would be fought on scores of battlefields reaching around the globe. The second came in the early 1790's when a loose alliance of tribes, referred to as the "Miami Confederacy," pre-

sented the first serious challenge to a new nation and a new government under its first president, George Washington, by striving to prevent organized settlement north and west of the river Ohio that the area might remain forever Indian.

Significantly, on hand on both occasions was the one called Mishikinakwa, the Little Turtle of the Miamis, who was a boy of only five years when Pickawillany was destroyed. But as war chief of the Miami Nation after the American Revolution, he it was who would lead the effort to halt the line of white advance in the Northwest Territory. Twice he would direct Indian forces in victories over armies of the United States. The first came in October 1790 when a force of 1,400 men under the command of General Josiah Harmar was repulsed near the Miami villages of Kekionga at the headwaters of the Miami River of the Lake, now called the Maumee. The second came in November 1791 at the headwaters of the Wabash when an even larger army under the command of General Arthur St. Clair, the governor of the Northwest Territory, was all but annihilated in the worst defeat inflicted on an American army by Indian forces in all history. Ironically, historians have preferred to call those battles Harmar's Defeat and St. Clair's Defeat rather than Little Turtle's Victories!

Who were these Miami Indians of whom Little Turtle was such an integral part? Archaeologists tell us that in late prehistory, the so-called Mississippian Era, the progenitors of the Miami Nation were probably the people of the Fisher Culture of northern Illinois near the shores of Lake Michigan.¹ Though they obtained their food primarily by farming, they also hunted the buffalo which grazed on the great prairies of the Illinois country as well as the deer, elk, and bear more frequently found in the nearby forests.

Culturally, the Fisher people were most closely related to the Middle Mississippian Indians living in the valley of the Illinois River to the south, from whence came the historic tribes known as the Illinois. More distant ties, apparently established through trading, also linked them with the Fort Ancient Culture of southern Ohio, out of which came the historic tribe known as the Shawnee.²

Prehistory came to an end and history began for the Miami in 1658 when the French missionary Father Gabriel Dreuillettes learned from the Chippewas of Wisconsin of a people then living out on the Door Peninsula between Green Bay and Lake Michigan whom the Chippewas called the "Oumamik," meaning "the people of the peninsula," but who called themselves "Twaatwaa" or "Ta-way" in imitation of the alarm cry of the sandhill crane. It was reported that they were a numerous people at that time, with a total population of 24,000, including 8,000 warriors, figures probably exaggerated.³

When in 1669 the French Jesuit missionary, Father Claude Allouez, founded the Mission of Saint Francis Xavier at La Baye, or Green Bay, direct French contact with the people Allouez call "Oumami" was established.⁴ Four years later, when Father Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet visited La Baye, Marquette recorded the name of the people living out on the peninsula as the "Miami," and Miami they have been called ever since.⁵

Marquette was impressed with the Miami. He called them "the most civil, the most liberal, and the most shapely" of all the Algonquin tribes he had met. "They wear two long locks over their ears," he reported, "which give them a pleasing appearance. They are regarded as warriors," he wrote, "and rarely undertake expeditions without being successful."⁶

One of these expeditions would take the Miami warriors as far east as New York, where they raided Iroquois (primarily

Seneca) villages in retaliation for Iroquois attacks against the Miami in the course of the so-called Beaver Wars.⁷

Marquette also commented in his journal about the circular lodges he observed in Miami villages: "As bark for making cabins is scarce in this country, they use rushes; these serve them for making walls and roofs, but do not afford them much protection against the winds, and still less against the rains when they fall abundantly. The advantage of cabins of this kind is, that they make packages of them, and easily transport them wherever they wish."⁸

Easy transport was important to the Miami, many of whom traveled each year between summer and winter hunting grounds. And it became particularly important as the Miami, in the wake of the Beaver Wars, began a slow but steady migration south and eastward away from Green Bay and around the southernmost curvature of Lake Michigan, where by 1694 they had established the village they called "Chikagoua," meaning in the Miami tongue, "Skunk Town."⁹

In the early eighteenth century their migration brought them into the area of present-day Indiana. Soon their presence would be felt in the valleys of the Wabash, the Tippecanoe, the Eel River, the Mississinewa, and the Miami River of the Lake, or Maumee.

When the Miami had been located in Wisconsin, Father Allouez and others had reported the presence among them of six distinct septs or bands, each with its own chief. Of these, the chief of the most populous of the septs, the Atchatchakougouen Miami (The Crane or Waterbird People), was generally acknowledged to be "first among equals." By the time of their migration into Indiana, however, some of the tribal distinctions and traditions were beginning to blur. Occasionally challenging or questioning the tribal leadership role of the Atchatchakougouen Miami were the Ouiatenon Miami (also called the Ouisa or Weas), the second-most populous sept who clustered in the Middle Wabash Valley in and around the town they called "Ouiatenon" (near present-day Lafayette). Challenges and hints of separatism also came from the third largest sept, the Piankashaw Miami, who concentrated in the Lower Wabash Valley in and around the trading post called St. Vincents, or Vincennes, some sixty miles below Ouiatenon. With the passage of the years, both the Weas and the Piankashaws began to assume tribal identities of their own.¹⁰

A fourth sept, the Pepikokia Miami, gathered along the Tippecanoe not far from its junction with the Wabash, where they established their principal village, called by them Kithtippecanuck. Soon they were being referred to as the Tepicon Miami, a name derived from Tippecanoe.¹¹

The fifth sept, the Kilatika Miami, established their villages in the valley of the Eel River. The largest of these was Kenapakomoko, or Snake-fish Town, located about six miles above the site of present-day Logansport. By the end of the eighteenth century, at the time of the Treaty of Greene Ville, they were called simply the Eel River Miami. At the treaty deliberations they were accorded separate tribal status though still acknowledged to be Miami.¹²

The sixth sept, the Mengakonkia Miami, settled in the valley of the Mississinewa River, occupying many small villages none of which was the size or importance of a Ouiatenon, Vincennes, or Kenapakomoko. It was said of the Mengakonkia that they were "the most traditional and the least subject to white influence" as well as the least numerous of the Miami.¹³

Of all the Miami towns, the largest, the most important, the most strategically located, for many years, was the one

called Kekionga, actually a cluster of villages at the headwaters of the Maumee, the "glorious gate" astride the Maumee-Wabash portage connecting the waters of the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River and ultimately the North Atlantic with the waters of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and ultimately the Gulf of Mexico. This was the headquarters of the Atchatchakougouen Miami. It was the gathering place, the "council house," of all the septs, particularly in time of trouble. And it was the place where the French built the key outpost and trading center they called Fort Miami.¹⁴ The trail between Fort Detroit and Fort Miami seemed destined to become and remain the axis of French imperialism in mid-eighteenth century America. However, a new challenge was soon to appear.

Troubled by French monopoly of Miami trade, dissatisfied with low prices for Miami furs and high prices for shoddy French merchandise, it was the Piankashaw Chief Memeskia (The Dragonfly), also called La Demoiselle (The Young Lady) by the French and later Old Britain by the English, who determined to break the French monopoly by establishing in the late summer of 1747 a new town near the confluence of Loramie's Creek with the Great Miami River which he would call Pickawillany, not far from present Piqua in Miami County, Ohio. Some ninety miles southeast of Kekionga, Pickawillany was purposely accessible to English traders from Pennsylvania and Virginia, with their better prices and more attractive and higher quality trade goods. Soon the pack trains of more than fifty English traders were making their way to the new Miami town. And soon a migration of Miami warriors and their families from many of the Miami towns in Indiana was underway, all bound for Pickawillany and the prosperity which seemed possible there through the newly opened trade with the English. By 1751 it was reported that as many as 400 Miami families had moved to Pickawillany, bringing its population to an estimated 2,000, making it by far the largest of all the Miami towns, even larger than Kekionga.¹⁵

Among those moving to Pickawillany from a little village at the west end of Blue Lake, some eighteen miles from Kekionga, was the Atchatchakougouen Miami war chief Mishikinakwa (The Turtle) together with his wife, a Mohican woman, and their small son, also named Mishikinakwa. The son, while growing up, would come to be called the Little Turtle, to distinguish him from his father.¹⁶ It was the father who would help the English traders build a fort at Pickawillany, a place which the English preferred to call Twightwee Town after the name "Ta-way" by which the Miami referred to themselves.¹⁷ (Indeed, the English refused to use the French word "Miami" in reference to the Miami, calling them instead "Twightwee.")¹⁸

Aware of the English threat to their trading monopoly, the French dispatched a small army under one Celoron de Bienville in 1749 to post "keep out" signs of lead along the Ohio Valley and to warn La Demoiselle of the dangers of his pro-English stance.¹⁹ When the Piankashaw chief continued to trade with the English, the French response was the destruction of Pickawillany by another French army under Charles de Langlade in June 1752, followed by the killing and eating of the aged chief.²⁰

The strategy of the French had been to make an object lesson of La Demoiselle, whom they had called The Young Lady because they had seen his willingness to deal with the English as well as the French as an evidence of fickleness. Their strategy succeeded. In the ensuing French and Indian War, most of the tribes of the Ohio country, including the Miami, fought on the side of the French against the English.

Then, in the Pontiac Rebellion following the French and Indian War, most of the tribes, including the Miami, continued the fight against the English and their colonists.

By the time of the American Revolution, most Indians realized that the greatest threat to their continued occupation of the Ohio country lay not with the English but with the colonists. Before the Revolution was over, the tribes, including the Miami, had joined the English in common cause.

After the Revolution, with the winning of independence by the now thirteen United States, the new nation found itself with a colonial empire of its own, extending westward all the way to the Mississippi. With the passage of the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the new nation established a plan by which it could grow through the addition of new states carved from the territories of the west, beginning with the vast territory north and west of the river Ohio. It was with the beginning of organized settlement in 1788 and 1789, at places called Marietta and Cincinnati, North Bend and Big Bottom, that the Indians, who had not been represented at the Treaty of Paris at which the United States had been given control over the western lands to the Mississippi and who had refused to accept arguments that they were vanquished allies of the defeated British, determined to take a stand, to keep the Ohio country forever Indian.

And it was the younger Mishikinakwa, the Little Turtle, who having distinguished himself in battle during the American Revolution, now found himself the war chief of the Miamis and leader of the so-called "Miami Confederacy," ultimately embracing not only the Weas, the Piankashaws, the Eel Rivers, and the other septs still collectively called the Miamis, but also including Shawnees, Delawares, Potawatomis, Ottawas, Wyandots, Kickapoos, Kaskaskias, and Chippewas.

What followed has been called by one recent historian "President Washington's Indian War."²¹ It is not my intent to detail the principal battles of that war but only to say that Little Turtle's greatest fame would come with his victories over Harmar at Kekionga in October 1790 and over St. Clair at what is now Fort Recovery in November 1791. To his credit, when it later became evident to Little Turtle that a third adversary, Anthony Wayne, and a new, well-disciplined United States Legion of the West, were unbeatable, he counselled peace among his fellow Indians, only to find his leadership repudiated and his place at the head of the confederated tribes taken over by the white Shawnee, Blue Jacket, who in turn led the Indians to humiliating defeat in the Battle of Fallen Timbers near present-day Maumee on August 20, 1794.

So it was that in the summer of 1795 Little Turtle found himself at a place called Fort Greene Ville, in western Ohio, summoned by General Anthony Wayne to make peace with the United States. Gathered with him were many of the greatest chiefs of that time: Tarhe (called The Crane) and Teyyaghtaw, both of the Wyandots; Mashipinashiwish (or Bad Bird) and Masass, of the Chippewas; Tetabokshke (known as the "King of the Delawares"), Buckongahelas, Peketelemund, and Weelebawkeelund, all Delawares; LeGris, a Tepicon or Pepikokia Miami, and The Soldier, an Eel River or Kilatika Miami; Egushawa of the Ottawas; Blue Jacket and Red Pole of the Shawnees; Asimethe, Michimang, the New Corn, the Sun, and Okia, all Potawatomis; Keeahah of the Kickapoos and Kaskaskias; and Little Beaver, representing the Weas and Piankashaws.²²

Clearly, the principal among them was Little Turtle. Again and again, in the deliberations which followed, he was the one

who most forcefully and most eloquently dared to differ with Anthony Wayne. It is no accident that in Howard Chandler Christy's famous mural, displayed today in the great rotunda of the Ohio state house in Columbus, the one entitled "Signing the Treaty of Greene Ville," the two central figures, standing out from all the rest, are those of Anthony Wayne and Little Turtle.²³

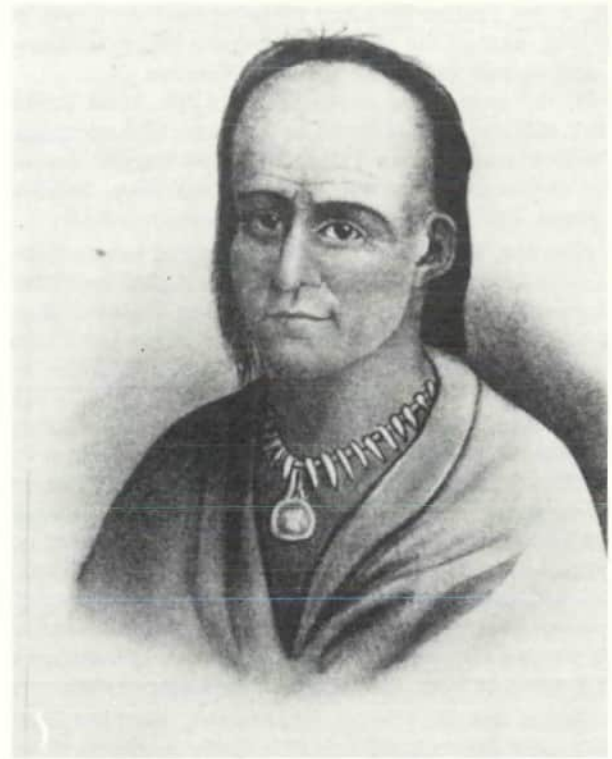
In my reading of the records of the discussions at Greene Ville, the high point came on July 22, 1795, when Little Turtle, the only chief present who was capable of debating Wayne on equal terms, made his most impassioned address. In response to Wayne's assertion that the lands of the Ohio country belonged to the United States by right of conquest from the English, who in turn had won them through conquest from the French, Little Turtle had this to say: "You have pointed out to us the [proposed new] boundary line between the Indians and the United States, but I now take the liberty to inform you that that line cuts off from the Indians a large portion of country, which has been enjoyed by my forefathers [from] time immemorial, without molestation or dispute. The print of my ancestors' houses are every where to be seen in this portion . . . my forefathers kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence, he extended his lines to the head waters of Scioto; from thence, to its mouth; from thence, down the Ohio, to the mouth of the Wabash; from thence to Chicago, on Lake Michigan; . . ."²⁴

Paradoxically, though Howard Chandler Christy has depicted Little Turtle as the central Indian figure at the signing of the Treaty of Greene Ville, in truth the only war chief who refused to sign the treaty at the close of the deliberations on August 3, 1795, was Little Turtle. Overwhelmed with anguish, rebuked by his peers who were willing to sign away two-thirds of what we now call Ohio, he stood apart from the rest in his isolation.

No, history has recorded that it was on August 12th, after the other chiefs had left Greene Ville to return to their several villages, that Little Turtle made his own separate peace with Anthony Wayne and the United States. At a private conference, notes of which were kept by Wayne's secretary, Henry De Butts,²⁵ "Little Turtle reached a practical accommodation with Wayne . . . [He] promised to give his allegiance to the United States and to observe the terms of the treaty, citing his plans to live in the vicinity of [the new] Fort Wayne [near what had once been the Miami's 'glorious gate,' Kekionga] as a mark of this sincerity. Wayne had prevailed upon the Miami chief only by saying that he alone had not entered into the accord, and that thus Little Turtle stood in opposition to the will of the majority. Little Turtle's name was then entered upon the Treaty of Greene Ville. Being the last to sign, he said that he would be the last to break it, although in his heart he did not approve of the treaty terms. Furthermore, it was his duty, recorded the proud Miami chieftain, to speak with candor and dignity, and he hoped the United States would not therefore treat him disdainfully."²⁶

The sorrow of Little Turtle would remain as a shadow at Greene Ville long after the great chief had departed. "On the day following the signing of the general treaty, the wife of Little Turtle had died in camp at Greene Ville. The bitter irony of American soldiers carrying the corpse to the grave, where it was buried to the accompaniment of 'military music' and a three-gun salute, perhaps augured the fate of the Indian peoples . . . [a] young American officer observed that Little Turtle was deeply affected. This land had once been his . . . , he uttered softly, and his gaze wandered off to the distant forest that was wilderness no more."²⁷

Harvey Lewis Carter, a recent biographer of Little Turtle, has written that he "was not only an able leader in war and a capable diplomat but his thinking was statesmanlike. Yet among Indian leaders he has been overshadowed by men of less ability who were noted for spectacular failures in enterprises that were doomed from the outset. The name of his tribe [Miami] is one of the most familiar in our geographic nomenclature, yet his own name is less familiar in history than those of Pontiac, Tecumseh, Black Hawk, Sitting Bull, Chief Joseph, or Geronimo, and it has not been memorialized by the white men in the place-names of [countless] counties, towns, or streets."²⁸ Yet possibly, just possibly, as statesman, war chief, and leader, Little Turtle may well have been the greatest Indian of them all.



The Miami chief, Little Turtle.



Signing the Treaty of Greene Ville

NOTES

1. For a brief account of the Fisher Culture, see Paul S. Martin, George I. Quimby, and Donald Collier, Indians Before Columbus (Chicago, 1947), p. 295. See also Harvey Lewis Carter, The Life and Times of Little Turtle (Urbana, 1987), pp. 20-21.
2. Martin, Quimby, and Collier, Indians Before Columbus, p. 295.
3. Phillip R. Shriver, "Cry of the Crane," Timeline, 6 (1989), p. 48. See also Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 44 (1899), p. 247.
4. Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, 54 (1899), p. 231.
5. Shriver, "The Miami and the Illinois (Peoria) at the Time of Historic Contact: The Journal of Father Marquette," Ohio Archaeologist, 37 (1987), pp. 11-12. See also Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, 59 (1900), pp. 101-103.
6. Ibid.
7. Shriver, "The Beaver Wars and the Destruction of the Erie Nation," Timeline, 1 (1984), pp. 29-41. See also Alfred T. Goodman, ed., The Journal of Captain William Trent from Logstown to Pickawillany, 1752 (New York, 1971), pp. 8-12; Carter, Little Turtle, p. 22; George E. Hyde, Indians of the Woodlands, From Prehistoric Times to 1725, (Norman, 1962), p. 185. Describes a Miami raid on an Iroquois war party in Wisconsin.
8. Shriver, "Cry of the Crane," p. 48.
9. Bert Anson, The Miami Indians (Norman, 1970), pp. 9, 30. Anson describes the village at Chicago as a Wea settlement. See also Helen Hornbeck Tanner, Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History (Norman, 1987), Map 6, pp. 31-32; Milo M. Quaife, Chicago and the Old Northwest, 1676-1835 (Chicago, 1913), pp. 40-42; Louise Phelps Kellogg, Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699 (New York, 1917), pp. 346-347; Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, 58 (1899), p. 293; 65 (1900), p. 103; Goodman, Trent, p. 13.
10. Charles Callender, "Miami," Handbook of the North American Indians, Vol. 15, Bruce G. Trigger, ed. (Washington, 1978), pp. 681-682; Carter, Little Turtle, pp. 20-29.
11. Carter, Little Turtle, p. 25; Anson, Miami, p. 13.
12. American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Vol. I (1832), pp. 562-583.
13. Carter, Little Turtle, p. 26. The Mengakonkia Miami were also often called the Mississinewa Miami.
14. Ibid., pp. 23-24, 28, 30.
15. Ibid., p. 33.
16. Ibid., p. 32.
17. Shriver, "Cry of the Crane," pp. 48-53.
18. Ibid., p. 50.
19. James K. Richards, "Icon of Empire," Timeline, 5 (1988), pp. 17-19.
20. Ibid. See also Walter Havighurst, Ohio: A Bicentennial History (New York, 1976), p. 21.
21. Wiley Sword, President Washington's Indian War: The Struggle for the Old Northwest, 1790-1795. (Norman, 1985).
22. American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Vol. I (1832), pp. 562-583.
23. Shriver, "Artifacts of Peace," Timeline, 5 (1988), pp. 43-45.
24. American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Vol. I (1832), p. 570-571.
25. Ibid., p. 583.
26. Sword, President Washington's Indian War, p. 331.
27. Ibid.
28. Carter, Little Turtle, pp. 235-236.

SUGGESTED READING LIST

- American State Papers
1832 Indian Affairs. Class II. 2 volumes. See particularly pages 562-583 of Volume I.
- Anson, Bert
1970 The Miami Indians. The University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Baxter, Nancy Niblack
1987 The Miamis! Guild Press of Indiana, Indianapolis. For the younger reader.
- Carper, Jean and Grace L. Dickinson
1959 Little Turtle, Miami Chief. Albert Whitman & Company, Chicago. For the younger reader.
- Carter, Harvey Lewis
1980 "A Frontier Tragedy: Little Turtle and William Wells." The Old Northwest, 6(1): 3-18.
1987 The Life and Times of Little Turtle. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- Hill, Leonard U.
1957 John Johnson and the Indians in the Land of the Three Miamis. Piqua, Ohio.
- Knopf, Richard C., editor
1960 Anthony Wayne, A Name in Arms. University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Shriver, Phillip R.
1987 "The Wampum Belt of the Greene Ville Treaty." Ohio Archaeologist, 37(2): cover, 29.
1987 "The Miami and the Illinois (Peoria) at the Time of Historic Contact." Ohio Archaeologist, 37(4): 11-17.
1988 "Artifacts of Peace." Timeline, 5(2): 43-45.
1989 "Cry of the Crane." Timeline, 6(5): 48-53, inside back cover.
- Smith, Dwight L., editor
1952 From Greenville to Fallen Timbers: A Journal of the Wayne Campaign. Indianapolis.
- Sword, Wiley
1985 President Washington's Indian War: The Struggle for the Old Northwest, 1790-1795. The University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Winger, Otho
1942 Little Turtle: The Great Chief of Eel River. North Manchester, Indiana.
- Woehrmann, Paul W.
1971 At the Headwaters of the Maumee: A History of the Forts at Fort Wayne. Indiana Historical Society Publications, Number 24.



Gen. Josiah Harmar.



Dr. Joseph Leonard, Etsuko, Wesley, and Mika

Dr. Joseph Leonard, and his 12 year-old son, Wesley, will present exhibits of the Miami Nation. They will have representative clothing of the Miami; for example, moccasins, beadwork, and their cousin's ceremonial dress, when she served as Princess of the Miami Nation, an annually elected ceremonial position. Dr. Joseph Leonard holds a Bachelor of Science Degree in Business Administration from Missouri Southern State College, a Master of Science Degree in Economics from Pittsburg State University, a MBA from Drury College and a Ph.D. from the University of Arkansas. He has long been interested in Miami University; therefore, after receiving his Ph.D. in 1983, he accepted a position with Miami University; he is Professor of Business Administration. Dr. Leonard has been involved in Indian affairs and the Inter-Tribal Council, the Cornerstone Inter-Tribal Council in Missouri, and has participated in Pow Wows in Oklahoma, and in Huntington, Indiana.



Floyd E. Leonard

Chief Floyd Leonard was born in Pilcher, Oklahoma, on the original Miami land, north of Miami, Oklahoma. After his high school graduation, he served in the military for four years, and served aboard the U.S. Navy Tanker in the South Pacific. He holds three degrees from Pittsburg State University, Pittsburg, Kansas — Bachelor of Science in Education, Master of Science, and Specialist in Education. He served as elementary school principal in Joplin, Missouri from 1952 until 1966. He served as Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Webb City, Missouri, 1966-1977, and as Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Joplin, Missouri from 1977, until retirement in 1986. Chief Floyd Leonard has served his people in tribal affairs for 29 years. He was elected to the Miami Business Committee in 1954, and served on that committee under Chief Harley Palmer and 2nd Chief Forest Olds. When Chief Palmer retired in 1963, Chief Olds was elected and Leonard was elected as 2nd Chief. He served under Chief Olds until Olds death in 1974, and Leonard was elected Chief from 1974 until 1982. He again accepted this position as Chief in September 1989, at the annual meeting. Leonard has served as Past President of the Inter-Tribal Council, Inc. of Northeast Oklahoma. He also has served on the Oklahoma City Advisory Indian Health Board, Inter-Tribal Council of Eastern Oklahoma, Advisory Board of Indian Affairs, Oklahoma, Advisory Board Seneca Indian School, Claremore Indian Hospital Advisory Board, National Tribal Chairman's Association, National Congress of American Indians, and Cornerstone Inter-Tribal Council. In 1982, he was made an Honorary Member of the Miami University Alumni Association.



Miami Tribal Office Building and Senior Citizen Center Miami, Oklahoma



Interior — Miami Office Building

The Miami Nation: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Floyd Leonard,
Chief of the Miami Nation
Dr. Joseph Leonard

I bring greetings from all the Miami of Oklahoma People. I am honored to be asked to participate in this meeting. I am greatly honored to share this part of the program with President Shriver. Dr. Shriver is indeed an expert in the area of Indian history in the old northwest. It is indeed a great reward to me to be able to tread over these parts of Mother Earth so dear to my people. I am not a historian, nor am I a scholar, so what I have to say is related to having spent all my life as a common, participating grassroots Indian.

My name is Floyd Leonard. I am an enrolled member of the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma. (Roll Number 424) I am a Crane Clan Miami. How do I know, because my father told me and his grandparents told him and so on back. If I may inject a little personal history, please:

I have been active in Miami Tribal affairs for many years. I was first elected to the business committee in 1954, was elected Second Chief of the tribe in 1963, and upon the death of Chief Forrest Olds in 1974, I was elected Chief. I was re-elected to office three times and retired for health reasons in September, 1982. I am happy and honored to report that on September 9, 1989, I was again elected Chief of the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma.

Most of you are very familiar with early Miami history particularly in your area of Ohio and Indiana. I will not try to add anything to the discussion of early Miami history; however, I have been asked to remark on the Miami's after the move west. In order to do so meaningfully, it is necessary to relate some of the circumstances that placed the Miami tribe in Oklahoma. After the battle of Fallen Timbers and the treaty of Greenville, Miami influence becomes less significant.

During the next 40 years, the government signed several treaties with my people. During these years, the primary influence of the Miami was in this area of Ohio and Indiana. In a treaty of 1840, Miami's agreed to immigrate to a reservation of 500,000 acres west of the State of Missouri. About half of



Miami Tribal Longhouse located four miles west of Commerce, Oklahoma, at the Neasho River at Steppes ford.

the tribe was to go. My people were reluctant to move, and only the threat of force in 1846, made them comply. I would be less than honest if I did not say that many Western Miami's still resent the fact that some by special permission got to stay here. Those who remained became citizens of the United States. These were mainly elected chiefs, and those of mixed blood. There is still a division of the Miami people due to this action by the United States Government. At the present, descendants of that group that remained are not recognized by the federal government as Indians; however, they are organized under the laws of the state of Indiana as a tribe. They are, at present, seeking reinstatement by the United States government as a federally recognized tribe. This federal recognition is necessary for the people to receive health services, education assistance, food, housing, legal aid, and other services available to Indians because they are Indians. Needless to say, federal recognition is the top priority for the Miami of Indiana. This division of our people has caused problems, which I will discuss later.

There is no reliable account of the departure in 1846; however, Dr. Anson says it very well, and I quote, "October 1 to 6, 1846, are very sad days in Miami history." On these days, our people were grouped together near what is now Peru, Indiana, loaded on boats to depart for the west.

The party followed the Wabash and Erie Canal to its junction with the Miami and Erie Canals in Ohio, then passed through Dayton, to Cincinnati where the entire party was transferred to the Steamer "Colorado" on the Ohio River. The party reached St. Louis on October 20, 1846, were transferred to the "Clermont II" and moved up the Missouri River. On the first day of November, my people were unloaded at Kansas Landing which is now Kansas City. Eight days later on November 9, 1846, they arrived at the reservation along the banks of the Marias Des Cygnes River in what is now Miami County, Kansas. There had been six deaths and two births on the trip. The party included 142 men and 181 women. One hundred four were under 18 years of age.

On November 5th, Joseph J. Comparet, who had contracted to deliver the Miami's horses had arrived. He arrived with 90 horses.

Disease and epidemics were suffered by the tribal members upon their arrival in Kansas in 1846-47. Furthermore, annuities paid them by the federal government made them a prey for unprincipled white people. The combination of these conditions almost broke up the tribe.

During these and later years there was much travel by Miami people between the Indiana, Ohio area and the reservation in Kansas. As a result of this, there are many descendants of so called Indiana or Eastern Miami's now living in and around the Miami, Oklahoma area. This has created some problems because these people are not eligible for Indian programs that are available to the Miami of Oklahoma.

This splitting has created situations of members of some families having people in each group. Example: I, personally, have cousins living in and around Huntington, Indiana who are members of the Miami of Indiana.

The Miami did not permit themselves to be a part of the Civil War. In February, 1867, as white settlers moved into Kansas, my people were again forced by treaty to relocate on land ceded by the Quapaw Indians in the northeastern corner of Indian territory south of Kansas. By the terms of the last treaty, on February 23, 1867, the Miami were moved to what is now northeastern Oklahoma. Under the terms of this treaty they could join with the Peoria to form a Miami-Peoria confederation. This did not happen. Some time earlier some origi-

nal Miami groups, the Wea and Pienkeshaw had moved west and become part of the Peoria tribe. This has created more problems in the mixing of families. As of now, we still have brothers with one on the Miami rolls and the other on the Peoria roll. However, the Miami and Peoria still are very closely related with many joint endeavors as witnessed by the two business offices being side by side.

In the early decades of the century, the tribal organization was weak; however, strong cultural ties with the old days remained. A ceremonial apron thought to have come from Indiana is still used for ceremonies such as the Pa ko ma ta (address to the dead), burning of cedar and use of tobacco in blessings of grounds, buildings, etc.

At this time, the tribe came under the supervision of the Quapaw Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This was later transferred to the Miami Agency at Miami, Oklahoma, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs still maintains an Indian Agency at Miami, Oklahoma. The Enabling Act of Oklahoma in 1906, followed by Statehood in 1907, gave United States citizenship to the Miami people. However, citizenship did not terminate the tribe's association with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Oklahoma Welfare Act of 1934, permitted the Indian tribes to form federal corporations with constitutions and bylaws. Under the leadership of Chief Harley Palmer, the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma's constitution was prepared, submitted, and ratified by the tribe on October 30, 1939. The tribe received its corporate charter on April 15, 1940.

The current Tribal Constitution and by-laws, amended and approved by the Secretary of the Interior on May 28, 1987, was necessary in order to take advantage of the opportunities of economic independence and social advancement.

Allow me to explain membership in Miami tribe. (This is very important because to receive many benefits such as health benefits, educational benefits, etc., you must be a member of a federally recognized tribe.) The Miami Tribe of Oklahoma is a federally recognized tribe. The following is taken from the Constitution of the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma.

Article II — Membership of Tribe

Section 1. The membership of the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma shall consist of the following persons:

(a) All persons of Indian blood whose names appear on the official census roll of the Tribe as of January 1, 1938.

(b) All children born since the date of the said roll, both of whose parents are members of the tribe.

(c) Any child born of a marriage between a member of the Miami Tribe and a member of any other Indian tribe who chooses to affiliate with the Miami Tribe.

(d) Any child born of a marriage between a member of the Miami Tribe and any other person, if such child is admitted to membership by the Council of the Miami Tribe.

Section 2. The council shall have power to prescribe rules and regulations, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, covering future membership including adoptions and the loss of membership.

Section 3. No member of another tribe shall be eligible for membership in the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma; provided, however, the foregoing disqualification does not apply to persons who acquired membership in the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma before August 31, 1964.

I might explain tribal government. The Miami Indian Tribe has its own tribal government similar to the government of a city or of a town.

The chief of the Miami Tribe is an elected tribal official. He is responsible for many tribal affairs. The Chief of the

Miami's serves on the Inter-tribal Council Governing Board, is a member of the Claremore Indian Hospital Board (representatives of 36 Oklahoma tribes and 3 Kansas tribes), member of the Oklahoma City Area Indian Health Board, member of the Oklahoma Indian Affairs Advisory Board, and has many other duties that are connected with the position of elected chief.

The Miami Tribe has an annual council meeting which is held in September. It is the first Saturday after Labor day each year. This meeting is held at the Miami Tribal Offices located at Miami, Oklahoma, or at the Miami Longhouse located northwest of Miami or west of Commerce, Oklahoma on the Neosho River.

Our annual meeting each September starts off at noon with a big dinner (buffalo meat is furnished and cooked by members of the tribe, and other Indian dishes, fry bread, grape dumplings, hominy, wild onions) are brought by the people to the tribal meeting and are served at noon on this day. The actual business of the tribe begins at a meeting at 1 o'clock. At this time, members of the Tribe along with officials of other agencies address the assembly. Mr. Jack Naylor who is the current Superintendent of Miami Indian Agency addresses the members of our tribe at the annual meeting. At this time, we have many discussions of many factors that have affected the tribe during the past year. For example: some of the older members of the tribe generally make speeches concerning what is happening for senior citizens and the younger members of the tribe, things that are happening for younger people. Anyone is allowed to have his say concerning any activities of the tribe that have been going on for the past year.

The meetings, as I say, are held annually in September. It is really an important day in the lives of the Miami. We have been reviewing the activities that take place at the annual meeting. From one annual meeting until the next annual meeting, of course, there are many activities that are conducted by the tribe. In order that the tribe might function between general council meetings, it is provided in the constitution that all business of the tribe may be conducted by the business committee.

The business committee being those elected officers of the tribe are Chief, Second Chief, Secretary-Treasurer, and two Councilpersons. Officials are elected every three years by majority vote at the General Council Meeting. The Miami tribe operates and maintains the Miami tribal office and senior citizen center which are located at Miami, and the Miami Longhouse, located 4 miles west of Commerce, Oklahoma.

The tribe administers a budget of approximately \$825,000. We administer the following programs with various agencies of the United States Government:

BIA COMMUNITY SERVICES GENERAL

Funds from this contract provide salaries for the tribe to employ a Business Manager and Administrative Assistant. The Business Manager supervises and directs the Administrative Assistant and all following programs and program directors:

BIA HOUSING IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM

Funds from this contract are used to repair houses of area, needy Indians. Persons who receive aid on this contract must meet the program guidelines.

BIA TRIBAL OPERATIONS

This program provides tribal members their C.D.I.B. Cards, upon request and proper verification. Also, provides funds to employ one (1) part-time person to up-date tribal files, tribal roll and records.

INDIAN HEALTH SERVICE — COMMUNITY HEALTH REPRESENTATIVE

This program provides funds for one (1) person full-time to provide health screening, referrals, and counseling to area Indians.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT (HUD)

Three (3) HUD Grants are in operation as follows:

HUD FY-87 (Process of Closeout)

HUD FY-88 (65% complete)

HUD FY-89 (Beginning)

The above HUD Grants provide housing rehabilitation to area Indians who meet Program criteria. This program works hand-in-hand with the BIA-HIP Program and IHS 121 Projects.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION — SMALL LIBRARY GRANT

This grant provides funds to establish a library, purchase books, shelving, etc. for elderly Indians who frequent the Center for the Dept. of Health and Human Services Title VI Program. Daily newspapers, monthly magazines, and books are available, daily. This program is supported by the Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma. Books are also purchased which are geared to the Miami and Ottawa Tribal history and culture.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION — LIBRARY SERVICES TO INDIAN TRIBES

This grant provides funds to employ a full-time librarian and part-time assistant. This program is to establish a library, programs, guest speakers, genealogy, tribal history, etc. This grant is geared to area, elderly Indians.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES TITLE VI

The Miami Tribe of Oklahoma has administered a Title VI grant from the Department of Health and Human Services, Administration On Aging Department, since October 1, 1980. The current fiscal year is from April 1, 1989, until March 31, 1990. This grant employs five (5) full-time and one (1) part-time employees. In April, 1985, the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma contracted to provide nutrition and supportive services to the Peoria and Ottawa Tribes of Oklahoma. The program provides a hot noon meal which meets $\frac{1}{3}$ the Recommended Daily Allowance. It also provides such services as education, social, recreation, outreach, health screening, advocacy, etc., to approximately 230 Native American Senior Citizens daily.

LONGHOUSE SATELLITE NUTRITION SITE

The Miami Tribe opened a new feeding site at the Miami Tribal Longhouse in July, 1985. The operation of the Longhouse is funded by Miami Tribe Title VI funds. The same services are available at the Longhouse Site as the Miami Nutrition Center. One full-time staff person is employed at this site.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

The feeding program is supplemented by U. S. Department of Agriculture. USDA reimburses at the rate of .5676 cents per meal. These funds are spent directly on the food expenses.

TRIBAL CUSTOMS GIFT SHOP

The tribe has established a small business selling locally hand-made Indian Arts and Crafts, beadwork, jewelry, etc. This business is located in the 2nd floor lobby area of the Best Westerns Continental Motor Inn, Miami, Oklahoma. This business employs 3 part-time employees.

The tribe also leases tribal land for pasture, hay, etc. The Miami Tribe has 15 employees at the present time, 10 of these are full time and 5 are part-time.

The business committee meets monthly at the Miami Tribal office, which is located in town at Miami, Oklahoma. Sometimes through the summer months, the business committee meetings are held at the Miami Longhouse in order that many tri-

bal members may attend the business committee meetings. The Business Manager and the Administrative Assistant are very important people in conducting the affairs of the tribe. They are the people who supervise the routine business matters of the tribe on a day-to-day basis.

All the things that happen at a Miami Annual Meeting or a business meeting are not necessarily big business of the tribe. There, also, is an election each year that takes place at the annual meeting which is very important to the young ladies of the Miami Tribe. Each year a princess is elected to serve in this capacity for a one-year period. This young lady, who is selected as princess, represents the Miami tribe at parades, pow-wows, and other meetings that are held in the area where Indian officials are present.

It is also a requirement that the princess of a given year must present to the tribe at the next annual meeting some incident of history that involves the Miami's. It may be a family history, may be history of the tribe, or any kind of thing that is historical and affects the Miami's. The princess also starts each meeting with a rendition of the Lord's Prayer in Indian sign language.

We have in Northeastern Oklahoma another organization that is very important to Indian culture and industrial programs of the area. We have what is called the Inter-tribal Council of Northeastern Oklahoma. This is a non-profit organization consisting of the representatives of the eight individual tribes in this area. This Inter-tribal Council of Northeastern Oklahoma was organized in 1965. Many of the programs of the eight tribes are channeled through the Inter-tribal Council making for more efficient and larger operations.

The eight tribes that are represented by the Inter-tribal Council organization of Northeastern Oklahoma are, the Miami, the Peoria, the Ottawa, the Eastern Shawnee, the Wyandot, the Quapaw, the Modoc, and the Seneca-Cayuga. The Inter-tribal Council is governed by a Board of Directors that consists of the Chief from each of the eight tribes in the area. The Inter-tribal Council meets monthly, and has many projects going on all the time for Indians in our area of Oklahoma. The Inter-tribal Council has several different types of Indian programs. One of its primary concerns is with Indian health programs that provide for Indian health in our particular area. We have a building that was built at Miami by the Seneca-Cayuga tribe and is now leased to the Indian Health Services. It is called the Miami Indian Health Clinic. This clinic provides health care for all Indians in our particular area regardless of tribe. We have, also, about 60 miles to the South and West of Miami, the Claremore Indian Hospital which is an Indian Hospital built in 1975 to serve the needs of Indians in our area. We also have community development programs and industrial development programs operated through the Inter-tribal Council. These programs are very important to our area. The Inter-tribal Council is now the distribution agency for government commodities provided to Indian people. There are other industrial developments through industrial tracts developed by various tribes. As an example of tribal projects, the Miami Tribe has enlarged and remodeled our Tribal office and senior citizens building located on reservation lands near the Miami Health Clinic.

Another very important program that is a joint effort of the eight tribes is the Housing Authority. This program is conducted by the Seneca-Cayuga Tribe. The governing body is the Seneca-Cayuga Housing Authority. Each of the eight tribes is involved with this Authority. The purpose of this pro-

gram is to provide low-cost housing both for purchase and for rental purposes. Many houses have been built in the past few years.

The Inter-tribal Council also have been responsible for development of and the erection of an eight-sided monument to the war dead of the eight Indian Tribes which is located also at the Center site near Miami, Oklahoma.

Another and very important program that is conducted through the efforts of the various tribes is the arts and crafts programs. These programs provide training for production, demonstration, and marketing of Indian arts and crafts. Arts and crafts include weaving, woodworking, sculpturing, leather work, bead work or beading, pottery and metal work. The arts and crafts' classes are conducted at various tribal sites, including the Miami Senior Citizens Center. The arts and crafts venture has a two-fold objective. The first is to assist local residents of American Indian descent who are anxious to preserve regional skills and artistry. In some approaches this objective seems recreational, but in a more profound sense this assistance preserves the pride in tribal identification. A second objective is to produce goods of American Indian design and origin. The operation provides residents of Indian descent with experience in product design and marketing. In addition, mastery artisans, acting as instructors, produce unique one-of-a-kind items for demonstration and eventual sale.

I would not wish you to think that our Indian activities at the present time are all work and no play. We do at various times during the year hold ceremonial gatherings or pow-wows to help in keeping alive our cultural heritage. These are usually inter-tribal in nature and open to the public. Many social pow-wows and dinners are held during all parts of the year in celebration and thankfulness of certain events or occasions.

I thank you for allowing me this opportunity to be with you. May I leave you with an old Miami prayer: "May the great spirit be in your heart as he has in the past, is now, and will be forever on the long trail ahead."



Chief Floyd Leonard, Miami Nation and Grandson Wesley Leonard. They are both wearing ribbon shirts. Wesley is wearing ceremonial apron and choker and holding his own Eagle Feather.



Wesley Leonard, Chief Floyd Leonard, and Dr. Joseph Leonard, as they address the crowd at the Mercer County Courthouse auditorium, for the Mercer County Historical Society, October 16, 1989. Their presentation: "The Miami Nation: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries."



Chief Floyd Leonard, wearing bear fur hat and crane clan tie with Eagle Feathers.



Chief Floyd Leonard, Miami Nation, presents Joyce L. Alig, Director, Mercer County Historical Museum, with "The Great Seal of The Miami Tribe of Oklahoma" October 16, 1989.



Dr. Joseph Leonard; Wesley Leonard; Joyce Alig, wearing the Miami shaw for dancing, and holding the Great Seal of the Miami Nation, gifts from the Leonards; and Chief Floyd Leonard. October 16, 1989.



Dwight L. Smith

Dwight L. Smith retired from the faculty of Miami University in 1984. He is a native of Ohio and a graduate of Indiana Central College and Indiana University. He was awarded an honorary degree by the University of Indianapolis. Professor Smith, a veteran of World War II, has taught courses in American frontier and Canadian history at ten Canadian and American universities. For thirteen summers he was editor-consultant to the American Bibliographical Center in Santa Barbara, California. He has served as president of the American Indian Ethnohistoric Conference, the Association for the Bibliography of History, the Ohio Academy of History, and the Alumni Association of his alma mater. He was a founding editor of *The Old Northwest*. He holds a Distinguished Service Award from the Ohio Academy of History. He has published nineteen books, numerous articles, abstracts, and book reviews.

Fort Recovery's Pivotal Role in the Indian Wars

Dwight L. Smith

The Indian wars of the 1790s were crucial in the history of the nation and the Old Northwest. Their outcome helped to determine, in the long run as well as more immediately, that American settlers would displace the Indians as occupants of the land. What happened and what did not happen at the place that would be known as Fort Recovery on the western edge of present Mercer County in western Ohio is told only in part by the priceless relics on exhibit in museums and by the monuments that commemorate the battles of those wars of two hundred years ago. Fort Recovery's pivotal role in these developments must be considered in the context of the wars themselves.

The Treaty of Paris of 1783 that concluded the American Revolution defined the boundaries of the United States as extending westward to the Mississippi River. This included what came to be called the Old Northwest, that is the western country between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River. The Indians,

who were the principal occupants of this area, however, had neither been consulted in the treaty negotiations nor were they mentioned in the document.

Just twenty years before, another treaty had changed political boundaries with this area passing from French to British jurisdiction. These had not been very satisfactory years for the Indians or the British, but especially for the Indians. Neither promises nor performance had resulted in the establishment of a British Indian policy that would assure the Indians of anything but the prospect of their continued exploitation and use in whatever way would best serve British interests. As they had earlier hearkened back to the French days as being better than under the British flag, Indians now anticipated that their fate under the Americans would not be as good as it was under the British.

The British did not hesitate to encourage this attitude through material aid and morale feeding means. This, and that the Americans needed to assert their sovereignty over the area and its Indian inhabitants made many of the Indians reluctant even to negotiate with the Americans. If only the Americans would perform in the same spirit in which they talked and promised to act, but the Indians were skeptical and somewhat pessimistic that this would be the case.

The Indians of the Old Northwest and the American government did not come to terms until the Treaty of Greene Ville in 1795. That point was not reached until the Americans prevailed in the Indian wars of the 1790s, wars in which Fort Recovery figured importantly. To understand why force was resorted to, it is helpful to consider the actions and the reactions of both the Indians and the Americans in the years following the 1783 Paris peace treaty.

Rumors of the peace settlement had reached the Indians who became apprehensive as to its precise terms. As a Wea and Kickapoo delegation said to a British official: "We are informed that instead of prosecuting the War, we are to give up our lands to the Enemy, . . . in endeavouring to assist you it seems we have wrought our own ruin." The Indians were told not to believe what they were hearing from the "bad birds." They should only listen to what the British would tell them.¹ What the British said in messages and in council sessions with the Indians was that the treaty would not take away their "right of soil," nor would the Americans take away any of their country from them by asserting that they had conquered it. The British had not deserted them. They would continue to trade with them and to supply them with presents. Peace was much to be preferred to incessant turmoil.²

Two American messengers were sent to inform the Indians of the war's end, of the impending British evacuation of the forts within American territory, and of the American anticipation of treaties of peace and friendship with the several tribes. They were prevented by British officials from meeting with the Indians.³

The American government believed that since the Indians were not party to the treaty ending the Revolution, it was necessary to arrive at a supplementary peace settlement with them. A Congressional committee proposed a general line following the Great Miami, Mad, and Maumee rivers.⁴ George Washington wanted to exclude the settlement at Detroit from the Indians.⁵ A later committee under Thomas Jefferson wanted to shift the line further west to pass through the meridian line of the Falls of the Ohio River, near present Louisville, Kentucky. As Congress simply did not have the re-

sources to field an army sufficient to impose such a settlement, the realistic solution was to negotiate treaties with the several tribes to achieve piecemeal cessions of lands from the Indians.⁶

In 1784, the Six Nations (Iroquois) renounced any claim to land beyond the Ohio River. The next year, the Chippewa, Delaware, Ottawa, and Wyandot agreed to confine themselves to the area of northern Ohio between the Cuyahoga and the Maumee rivers. The Shawnee, who had refused to be party to this arrangement, a year later accepted the lands between the Great Miami and Wabash rivers as their domain.⁷ These treaties relinquished the Indian title from what is now approximately the eastern third and the southern half of Ohio. They stipulated Indian retreat and assignment to defined territories.

The American assumption was that the way was now clear for white settlement to advance westward and northward across the Ohio River. In order to keep control of this movement and to gain some much needed revenue, the government issued the Ordinance of 1785. This provided for the survey and the sale of land to settlers who needed acreage to establish homes and to developers who wanted larger tracts. This was followed by the Ordinance of 1787 which made provisions for government of what would come to be known as the Northwest Territory or the Old Northwest. It anticipated the creation of several states.

To the contrary, however, the Indians viewed things differently. The treaties would disperse the locations of the several tribes and dissipate the effect of their cooperation. They had experienced the value of working with each other and with the British during the Revolution. Now the British who shared their apprehension about the advancing American frontier were suggesting that the piecemeal treaties with the Americans only undermined their position. Those Indians who signed the treaties were not always authorized tribal representatives. The perceived coercion and deceit that attended the treaty negotiations and the Indian misconception of the meaning of the treaty provisions caused confusion, disillusionment, and bitter rejection of the documents. The treaties came to be regarded as worthless scraps of paper. Increasingly, the tribes coordinated their resistance and asserted that only treaties agreed to by all of them would be binding.

Frontiersmen who gave little heed to the treaties or to American law and order efforts helped to destabilize things. Raids and counter raids jeopardized the fragile peace. As Secretary of War Henry Knox observed, responsibility for this situation had to be shared by both parties. "The injuries and murders have been so reciprocal, that it would be a point of critical investigation to know on which side they have been the greatest." Unless immediate steps were taken "to terminate those mutual hostilities, they will probably become general among all the Indians northwest of the Ohio."⁸

Meanwhile, the Indians were moving towards a united front. At Detroit in late 1786, a grand council of the western tribes asserted that the peace and friendship they wanted with the Americans could not be built on the previous piecemeal treaties. The council called for new negotiations with the confederacy as a whole that would result in recognition of the Ohio River as the Indian-white boundary line.⁹

The Indian demand for American recognition that the land beyond the Ohio River was Indian country and the American program under the Ordinance of 1787 for eventually incorporating that same region into the Union as states were opposing scenarios. The two positions probably could not be reconciled. Northwest Territory governor Arthur St. Clair was instructed to pursue a modified procedure that

would eventually achieve the government's goal. For the sake of argument, the government would recognize the Indian title to the land they occupied and would buy this title from them. Accordingly, in early 1789, St. Clair negotiated two treaties with several tribes at Fort Harmar that approximated two of the three earlier treaties and included additional compensation and other considerations. The Shawnee were not present so their earlier treaty was not a part of the Fort Harmar proceedings.¹⁰

As before, these treaties hardly moved beyond the scraps of paper status that the Indians had given the previous ones. The continuing tension between them and the whites underlined the seeming intractability of the problem.

The new government of the United States under the Constitution was now in place and President George Washington gathered whatever intelligence was available to assess the situation.¹¹ He instructed Governor St. Clair to determine whether the Indians most wanted peace or war. If peace, then he should pursue it. If war, he was authorized to request state militia detachments from Virginia and Pennsylvania.¹² Secretary of War Knox emphasized that a general treaty with the Indians was much desired.¹³

In the spring of 1790, St. Clair sent a message to the Indians who lived along the Wabash and Maumee rivers calling for an end to hostilities and the establishment of a general peace. The tribes and villages along the Wabash were non-committal and deferred the matter to the Miami Indians living on the Maumee. There, an assemblage of Delaware, Miami, and Shawnee told the American agent that they could only determine an answer after consulting with the British in Detroit and with the other members of the confederacy. Returning from the Indian country, the agent noted that war preparations were already under way in some of the villages.¹⁴

Governor St. Clair decided that force was necessary and planned for a fall offensive against the Indians. Josiah Harmar would march from the western military headquarters at Fort Washington at Cincinnati to strike at the heart of the Miami confederation of tribes in the upper Maumee River country. John Francis Hamtramck would move from Vincennes up the Wabash River to distract the attention of the Wabash tribes from Harmar's main attack. Hamtramck's army, inadequate for its assignment and delayed in its departure went only part of the way and found only empty villages. Unknown to Hamtramck at the time, a force of six hundred Indians had prepared to attack if he had tried to move up the Wabash any further.¹⁵

Meanwhile, Harmar, under handicaps similar to those attending Hamtramck, moved northward on a punitive expedition. He would display American power with a sudden blow that would destroy Indian crops and villages and build a fort. In mid-October he reached the Miami Villages near present Fort Wayne only to find them deserted. He plundered their supplies, destroyed their towns, and burned their cornfields. The Miami, under Little Turtle, ambushed an American reconnoitering attempt and routed and drove back a detachment sent to avenge the ambush loss. Besides these setbacks, the pack horses, unable to graze because of the lateness of the season, were dying or straying off in alarming numbers. Harmar returned to Fort Washington while the remainder of his army was still intact.¹⁶

From whatever perspective, the Harmar expedition was not a convincing demonstration of the government's ability to coerce the Indians by force. The Indians were encouraged to step up plundering the frontier settlements and to believe that

it was possible to stem the tide of American encroachment into their homelands. It was not safe for Americans to establish homes beyond the Ohio River itself. This was dramatically emphasized when, on January 2, 1791, Shawnee massacred some half of the inhabitants of the settlement at Big Bottom, about forty miles up the Muskingum River from Marietta.¹⁷ As one observer noted, "it was now evident that the war was become general and that it was necessary to prepare for the worst."¹⁸

Preparations were already under way for Governor St. Clair to do what Josiah Harmar had failed to accomplish.¹⁹ As in the previous summer before launching the Harmar campaign, a peace mission was sent to the Wabash-Miami country, but the Indians wanted nothing to do with the peace plans. St. Clair confused the Indians when he sent a letter to the Iroquois Indians soliciting them to take up arms against the western tribes.²⁰

Preliminary to St. Clair's projected major offensive, two diversionary efforts were directed against the Indians. In the late spring of 1791, Charles Scott crossed the Ohio River near present Madison, Indiana, and marched northwestward towards the Wea towns on the Wabash River near present Lafayette. He took captives which could be exchanged later for white prisoners and he burned supplies and several towns. In mid-summer, James Wilkinson led a second force northward from Fort Washington and then westward across Indiana to the same area of Scott's operations. The village he destroyed was probably the principal Wea settlement. The Scott and Wilkinson raids were logical components of the American efforts in 1791 as the Wea were an important subdivision of the Miami tribe, the main element in the Indian confederation.²¹

St. Clair's army left Fort Washington in the early fall of 1791 and moved towards the same destination as that of Harmar's troops the previous year. It would establish and garrison a post there in the heart of the Miami confederation country, "for the purpose of awing and curbing the Indians in that quarter, and as the only preventive of future hostilities." In addition to the number of soldiers needed to defend the post, there should also be five or six hundred available "to chastise any of the . . . hostile Indians, or to secure any convoys of provisions."

Towards that end, St. Clair was to erect a chain of forts from Fort Washinton northward. This would facilitate the safety and movement of armies and supply trains and give the Americans a military thrust into the heart of the Indian confederation country. Further, assuming that his expedition succeeded in its mission, the Indians would sue for peace. He was to secure the Maumee and Wabash rivers as the boundary beyond which the Indians should remove. If he could get it, a Maumee-Wabash line to about central Indiana and thence due west to the Mississippi River was more desirable. This would also have gained central and southern Illinois for the Americans.²²

The preparations for St. Clair's major offensive operation made the Indians aware that the Americans regarded Harmar's defeat in 1790 as merely a temporary setback. The erection of Fort Hamilton in mid-September, the northward marching army, the building of Fort Jefferson in mid-October, and the Movement of American scouts pointed to St. Clair's destination as being the same as Harmar's.

Buoyed by their success in preventing Harmar from achieving his goal, the Indians could hope to do the same to St. Clair. This second major American offensive, however, was comparatively stronger and would be more difficult to de-

feat. The confrontation was coming. Better that this would not happen in the heart of the confederation country. Rather than to let the Americans choose the place and circumstance, taking the offensive and adding the element of surprise would give the Indians a distinct advantage against this new threat. The Indians chose well.

On the night of November 3, Arthur St. Clair's army camped some one hundred miles north of Fort Washington on six or seven acres of high ground on the east bank of a stream about twenty yards wide. The location was in the midst of otherwise low and swampy terrain. The Kentucky militiamen were posted on high ground on the opposite bank. Believing they had gone beyond the watershed dividing the waters of the Great Miami River and the Saint Marys River, they concluded they were now on a branch of the Saint Marys. In this, however, they were mistaken, as they were on the upper reaches of the Wabash River.²³

At sunrise the next morning, the Indians inflicted a slaughter and defeat on St. Clair's army, arguably one of the worst in all of American history. The survivors fled in utter confusion, hardly pausing until they reached the comparative safety of Fort Jefferson and Fort Hamilton.²⁴ Thomas Jefferson had been optimistic about St. Clair's expedition. "I hope," he wrote to the president, "we shall give the Indians a thorough drubbing this summer." The "drubbing" was given, not by the whites, but by the Indians to the American army.²⁵ The location the Indians had selected to challenge the Americans would not be forgotten by either side.

American reaction to St. Clair's defeat was mixed. Understandably, those who were intimately involved in opening the Ohio country were pessimistic. Rufus Putnam said the Indians "began to believe themselves invincible, and they truly had great cause of triumph." John Cleves Symmes was apprehensive as to what they might be tempted "to undertake against these settlements" in the winter and coming spring. The Indians would be in no mood for peace, and he was afraid the Congress would decide that it was too expensive to maintain a military establishment on the frontier any longer.²⁶ On the other hand, President Washington told Congress he was optimistic that the loss could be "repaired" without too much difficulty. He asserted that "we must pursue such measures as appear best calculated to retrieve our misfortune."²⁷

Over the next two years, in pursuit of resolution of the problem to allow the advance of American settlement into the Ohio country, several attempts were made to negotiate a peace with the Indians. These failed. Some American agents were murdered and some were turned away without giving them a hearing. Rufus Putnam did negotiate a treaty of peace and friendship with the Wabash and Illinois tribes, but the Senate refused to ratify it because it did not recognize the exclusive right of the United States to preempt Indian lands.²⁸

Emphasized by occasional Indian raids, it was simply not safe for American settlements to move into the wilderness away from the Ohio River. Increasingly, in councils and other pronouncements, the Indians were asserting that they considered the Ohio River itself as the rightful boundary, the line they were determined to maintain beyond which American settlement could not advance.²⁹

The Indians were encouraged to believe that they had a reasonable chance to get American recognition of this boundary. Not only had they blunted American military efforts to defeat them and had made it precarious for settlement to push into the area, but they perceived that the British were prepared to support their efforts against the United States. The British hoped that the Indians would solicit their aid and even

suggested to their officials in the field that they engineer a "spontaneous" appeal from the Indians without any appearance of "collusion" or "inspiration" from the British.³⁰

The Indians did approach the British soliciting supplies and assistance.³¹ Unfortunately, they came to believe that the British would even support them with active military intervention against the Americans. They were encouraged in this belief by such things as Lord Dorchester, Guy Carleton's February 1794 speech. Addressing an Indian delegation, Dorchester, who was commander-in-chief of British North America, predicted an Anglo-American war within the year. A week later he directed the rebuilding of British fortifications on the Maumee River.³²

Understandably, the Indians were delighted. "You have set our hearts right," they said, "and we are now happy to see you standing on your feet in our country."³³ With this encouragement and the constant rumors and intelligence about American preparations, the Indians stepped up their readiness.³⁴

Meanwhile, the American government was preparing for a military showdown that would reverse the Harmar and St. Clair losses if the Indians would not respond favorably to American peace overtures. Anthony Wayne had been organizing and drilling his forces since the autumn months of 1792. He arrived at Fort Washington in May 1793. Five months later he encamped about six miles north of Fort Jefferson and established Fort Greene Ville where he decided to winter his army.³⁵

He had pondered how best to use St. Clair's battlefield, the high point of Indian resistance against the American military efforts to put them down. Occupying the site might deal the Indians a psychological blow, perhaps affecting their morale. American presence there could also give Wayne an offensive advantage for the spring campaign. St. Clair's battlefield had even been considered as a possible winter encampment location before he had established Fort Greene Ville.

Wayne resolved to construct a post there as a forward base for an early spring move against the Indians. A detachment went to the disaster scene in late December. The troops gave burial to the bones of St. Clair's slain. They erected four blockhouses, enclosed them with a stockade, and removed the trees around the fort for a clear field of fire. They uncovered, cleaned, and remounted some of St. Clair's cannons and fired them in salute as the structure was activated as Fort Recovery. Two units were left to garrison this new outpost.³⁶ The place of Indian triumph against St. Clair was now to be used towards their ultimate defeat.

As they had before, both sides continued to put out peace feelers, sometimes sincerely offered and sometimes used as a ploy for delay or for buying time. It became increasingly certain to both sides, however, that resolution could not be achieved until the Indians were defeated by the American military effort or the Indians could drive the Americans out. Both sides planned accordingly and hoped to prevail.³⁷ Wayne was determined to establish a major post on the Auglaize River in the heart of the Indian country. This, he believed, would compel the Indians to fight or to leave their country, probably the former.³⁸

While Wayne was preparing for his summer of 1794 offensive, the Indians were getting ready for an offensive of their own. War parties from outlying tribes assembled with area warriors. They were joined by some British officers, agents, and fur traders. In mid-June, a force of about 2000 moved southward towards Fort Greene Ville, planning to assault one American fort after another. When their scouts sighted a sup-

ply packhorse convoy headed for Fort Recovery, the convoy and the fort became their immediate target.³⁹

On the morning of June 30, the Indians surprised the packtrain outside the walls of the fort as it was preparing to return to Fort Greene Ville. They exacted heavy casualties on it and the troops that had dashed from the fort to its rescue. Exhilarated by their success and the few casualties they had sustained, the Indians surrounded and stormed the fort. This was a mistake. The stumps in the clearing around the fort did not give the Indians the protective cover that the loopholed fort walls afforded the soldiers.⁴⁰

Having taken several American scalps, in need of supplies and ammunition, discouraged in their failure to repeat their success of 1791 at the same location, and lacking proper and sufficient organization and leadership of their forces, the Indians left the scene. Many of them returned to their tribes.⁴¹ They were discouraged and indicated they would return only "in case of any pressing emergency," whatever that might mean in the context of the occasion. They seemed to sense that the failed attempt to take Fort Recovery was the climax of their effort to turn Anthony Wayne back. One of the British officers who had been with the Indians wrote, "I must observe with grief that the Indians had never [had] it in their power to do more — and have done so little."⁴²

Although demoralized, their ranks badly depleted, and having lost what would be their best opportunity, they came to recognize that they would still have to reckon with the threat posed by Wayne's army. While Wayne marched northward, established posts, and sent out peace feelers, the Indians began to reassemble and to seek British support and encouragement.⁴³

Wayne hoped to do battle at the juncture of the Auglaize and Maumee rivers but the Indians deprived him of this satisfaction by withdrawing ahead of him. Wayne erected Fort Defiance there and moved down the Maumee. The Indians selected the place where they would challenge Wayne. A wooded area where a storm had felled trees that would afford them cover was in proximity to the British Fort Miamis from which they expected more than moral support. On August 20 they soon discovered they were no match for Wayne and that they had miscalculated in their hopes of overt British help.⁴⁴ The tide had turned against them at Fort Recovery and the climax of their efforts came at the Battle of Fallen Timbers.

Starting in early November and throughout the winter months Indian delegations came to Wayne at his headquarters at Fort Greene Ville to talk peace. In early 1795 chiefs of the various tribes agreed to preliminary articles calling for cessation of hostilities, mutual exchange of prisoners, and setting mid-June for a conference to draw up a peace treaty.⁴⁵

During the negotiations, the Indians learned that the Americans wanted to move even further into their lands than had been stipulated in the earlier treaties they were still contesting. The north-south dividing line was to be extended westward beyond Loramie's store to Fort Recovery. From there the boundary was to go southward to a point on the Ohio river opposite the mouth of the Kentucky River. The Indians protested this would deprive them of prime hunting land. They wanted the line to follow the road from Fort Recovery to Fort Hamilton on the Great Miami, and down that river to its mouth. Wayne explained that this would be a very crooked and difficult line to follow because there were several roads between the two points some of which were miles apart. This "might certainly be productive of unpleasant mistakes and differences." Furthermore, he pointed out, they would still retain their hunting rights wherever the line was drawn "with-

out hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and offer no injury to the people of the United states." Wayne prevailed.⁴⁶

Fort Recovery as a place and its role in the early history of the nation, the Old Northwest, and Ohio began as Arthur St. Clair marched his army northward out of Fort Washington in 1791. His assignment was to strike a mortal blow to the Indian resistance movement. Before he could reach his destination, the Indians decided to challenge him at a location of their own choosing. Here at the site of the future Fort Recovery, they nearly dealt the American offensive a mortal blow.

Two years later, Anthony Wayne was marching northward into Indian country. For psychological and strategic reasons he chose St. Clair's battlefield for the building of another in the chain of forts extending northward from Fort Washington. He departed from the usual practice of naming the posts after prominent persons and aptly called it Fort Recovery.

The Indians felt compelled to answer the challenges of Fort Recovery and Wayne's advance. In mid-1794 they assembled their largest force ever and made Fort Recovery their goal to repeat what they had done to St. Clair at the same location in 1791. Their failure was a principal turning point in their effort to stem the tide of American settlement into the Old Northwest. Within weeks the climax came at the Battle of Fallen Timbers.

Finally, Fort Recovery figured again in the peace negotiations that brought a conclusion to the Indian wars. It was designated as the westward point on the general boundary line, and thus became the most advanced location to which American settlement could move by Indian-American agreement.

From the time that the Indians decided to contest the march of Arthur St. Clair into their country in 1791 to the signing of the Treaty of Greene Ville in 1795, Fort Recovery had played a pivotal role in the Indian wars of the 1790s.

NOTES

1. Arent S. De Peyster to Frederick Haldimand, June 28, 1783, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Historical Collections* 11 (1888): 370-372. De Peyster to Allen Maclean, June 18, 1783, in *ibid.*, 20 (1892): 128. Maclean to De Peyster, June 26, 1783, in *ibid.*, 20:130-131. Maclean to Haldimand, May 18, 1783, in "Calendar of Haldimand Collection," *Report on Canadian Archives, 1886* (1887): 32-33.
2. Council Transactions, British with Indians, August 26-September 8, 1783, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Historical Collection* 20:174-183. Alexander McKee to De Peyster, September 8, 1783, in *ibid.*, 11:385-386.
3. Haldimand to Lord North, August 6, 1783, in *ibid.*, 11:378-379.
4. Committee report, October 15, 1783, in Worthington Chauncey Ford, et al., eds., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, 34 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904-1937), 25 (1922): 680-694.
5. George Washington to James Duane, September 7, 1783, in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, 39 vols. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1931-1944), 27 (1938): 133-140.
6. Committee report, March 19, 1784, in Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, 26 (1928): 152-155.
7. Treaties of Fort Stanwix (1784), Fort McIntosh (1785), and Fort Finney (1786).

8. Henry Knox to Washington, June 15, 1789, in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 2 vols. (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832), 1:12-14.

9. Indian council to Congress, December 18, 1786, in *ibid.*, 1:8-9.

10. A standard source for information about the treaties is Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, 4 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904-1929).

11. Tobias Lear to William Jackson, July 22, 1789, in Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *The Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, 1787-1803*, vol. 2, *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934), 199. Lear and Jackson were secretaries to Washington.

Washington to the Senate, August 7, 1789, in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1: 12. Knox to Washington, June 15, 1789, in *ibid.*, 1:12-14.

12. Washington to St. Clair, October 6, 1789, in *ibid.*, 1:96-97.

13. Knox to St. Clair, December 19, 1789, in Carter, *Territory Northwest of the River Ohio*, 2:224-226.

14. Journal of Antoine Gamelin, April 5-May 5, 1790, in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1:93-94.

15. St. Clair to Knox, August 23, 1790, in *ibid.*, 1:92-93. Josiah Harmar to John Francis Hamtramck, July 15, 1790, in Gayle Thornbrough, ed., *Outpost on the Wabash, 1787-1791* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1957), 236-238. Hamtramck to Harmar, November 2, 1790, in Thornbrough, *Outpost on the Wabash*, 259-264; Hamtramck to Harmar, November 28, 1790, in Thornbrough, *Outpost on the Wabash*, 266-267.

16. Knox to St. Clair, September 14, 1790, in William Henry Smith, ed., *The St. Clair Papers: The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair*, 2 vols. (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1882), 2:181-183.

Harmar's and other journals are in Basil Meek, "General Harmar's Expedition," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 20 (1911): 74-108.

17. David Zeigler to St. Clair, January 8, 1791, in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1:122.

18. Rowena Buell, ed., *The Memoirs of Rufus Putnam and Certain Official Papers and Correspondence* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1903), 112-113.

19. "An Act for raising and adding another Regiment to the Military Establishment of the United States, and for making further provisions for the protection of the frontiers," March 3, 1791, *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 1:222-224.

20. Journal of Thomas Procter, March 11-May 21, 1791, in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1:149-162.

21. Charles Scott to Knox, June 28, 1791, in *ibid.*, 1:131-132. James Wilkinson to St. Clair, August 24, 1791, in *ibid.*, 1:133-135.

22. Knox to St. Clair, March 21, 1791, in *ibid.*, 1:171-174.

23. "Winthrop Sargent's Diary While With General Arthur St. Clair's Expedition Against the Indians." (*Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*), Volume XXXIII/1924, pp. 237-273. "Courtesy of the Ohio Historical Society"

24. St. Clair to Knox, November 9, 1791, in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1:137-138.

25. Thomas Jefferson to Washington, April 17, 1791, in Julian P. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950-), 20 (1982): 144-146.

26. Buell, *Memoirs of Rufus Putnam*, 116. John Cleves Symmes to Elias Boudinot, January 12 and 15, 1792, *Historical*

and Philosophical Society of Ohio Publications 5 (July-September 1910):93-101.

27. Washington to Congress, December 12, 1791, in Fitzpatrick, Writings of Washington 31 (1939):442. Washington to John Armstrong, March 11, 1792, in *ibid.*, 32 (1939):1-2. Washington message, December 16, 1791, in Carter, Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, 355.

28. Journal [of] the Executive Proceedings [of the] Senate of the United States of America, 1-19 Cong., 3 vols. (Washington: 1828; reprint ed., New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1969), 1:128, 134-135, 144-146.

29. "Indian Council at the Glaize," September 30-October 9, 1792, in E.A. Cruikshank, ed., The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe, with Allied Documents, 5 vols. (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1923-1931), 1 (1923):227. "Captain Brant's Journal of the Proceedings at the General Council held at the Foot of the Rapids of the Miamis," May 17-August 9, 1793, in *ibid.*, 2 (1924):5-17.

30. George Hammond to John Graves Simcoe, July 11, 1792, in *ibid.*, 1:175-177. Charles Stevenson to Henry Dundas, n.d., (endorsed July 31, 1793), in *ibid.*, 1:409-413.

31. Indian delegation to Matthew Elliott, May 16, 1792, in *ibid.*, 1:157. Indian delegation to Simcoe, [August] 1793, in *ibid.*, 2:35-36.

32. Lord Dorchester, Guy Carleton, to Seven Nations of Canada, February 10, 1794, in *ibid.*, 2:148-150. Dorchester to Simcoe, February 17, 1794, in *ibid.*, 2:154.

33. Indians to Simcoe, April 14, 1794, in Canadian Archives, "Colonial Office Records," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Historical Collections 24 (1895):656.

34. Journal of Alexander McKee, September 25-December 24, 1793, in Cruikshank, Simcoe Correspondence, 2:126-129. Richard G. England to Simcoe, June 19, 1794, in *ibid.*, 2:278-279.

35. Frazer E. Wilson, ed., Journal of Capt. Daniel Bradley, an Epic of the Ohio Frontier (Greenville, Ohio: F.H. Jobes & Son, 1935), 51ff., *passim*.

36. England to Simcoe, February 2, 1794, in Cruikshank, Simcoe Correspondence, 2:139. Wayne to Knox, January 8, 1794, in Richard C. Knopf, Anthony Wayne, A Name in Arms: Soldier, Diplomat, Defender of Expansion Westward of a Nation (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1960), 297-298. Geo. Will to John S. Williams, May 25, 1842, in Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Historical Collections 34 (1905):502-503.

37. Wayne to Indians, January 14, 1794, in Cruikshank, Simcoe Correspondence, 2:131-132. Wayne to Knox, January 18, 1794, in Knopf, Anthony Wayne, 299-300. Wayne to Knox, March 20, 1794, in Knopf, Anthony Wayne, 311-313.

38. Wayne to Knox, March 3, 1794, in Knopf, Anthony Wayne, 306-308.

39. Alexander McKee to Joseph Chew, June 3, 1794, in Cruikshank, Simcoe Correspondence, 2:258-259. England to Simcoe, June 25, 1794, in *ibid.*, 2: 294. McKee to England, July 5, 1794, in *ibid.*, 2:305-306.

40. Wayne to Knox, July 7, 1794, in American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 1:487-489.

41. *Ibid.* McKee to England, July 5, 1794, in Cruikshank, Simcoe Correspondence, 2:305-306. McKee to Simcoe, July 5, 1794, in Cruikshank, Simcoe Correspondence, 5 (1931):95-96. McKee to Joseph Chew, July 7, 1794, in *ibid.*, 2:310.

42. Robert Pilkington to Simcoe, July 7, 1794, in *ibid.*, 2:309. McKee to England, July 10, 1794, in *ibid.*, 2:315. "Diary of

an Officer in the Indian Country," June 14-July 2, 1794, in *ibid.*, 5:90-94.

43. England to Simcoe, July 22, 1794, in *ibid.*, 2:333-334. Indians to England, August 5, 1794, in *ibid.*, 2:357. McKee to Simcoe, July 26, 1794, in *ibid.*, 2:344-345.

44. Wayne to Knox, August 14, 1794, in American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 1:490. Wayne to Knox, August 28, 1794, in *ibid.*, 1:491. William Campbell to England, August 20, 1794, in Cruikshank, Simcoe Correspondence, 2:395-396.

45. Wayne to Knox, November 12, 1794, and enclosures, in American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 1:526-529. Preliminary articles of a treaty of peace, February 11, 1795, in Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Historical Collections, 20:393-394.

46. Minutes of the Treaty of Greene Ville, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 1:564-583, especially 571, 576, 578. Article 3, Treaty of Greene Ville, August 3, 1795, in *ibid.*, 562-563.



Arthur St. Clair

cended gradually for three miles to a small creek supposed to be a branch of the waters emptying into Lake Erie; proceeded two miles further, and encamped on pleasant, dry ground, on bank of a creek about twenty yards wide, said to be the Pickaway fork of the Omee (known since to be a branch of the Wabash). Distance this day about nine miles; general course north-west thirty degrees. Fresh signs of the savages appeared to-day in several places; parties of riflemen detached after them, but without success. It was later than usual when the army reached the ground this evening, and the men much fatigued prevented the General from having some works of defense immediately erected. Major Ferguson, commanding officer of artillery, sent for, and a plan agreed on, intended to be commenced early on to-morrow. The high, dry ground barely sufficient to encamp the army; lines rather contracted. Parallel with the front line runs the creek, about twenty yards wide. On both flanks low, wet ground, and along most part of the rear. Militia advanced across the creek about three hundred yards. Had accompanied the quartermaster in the afternoon on to this ground; it was farther than could have been wished, but no place short of it appeared so suitable. I was much pleased with it; returned and made report; found the army halted and about to encamp on flat land, and with no good water; although it was late, the march was continued till just dark, when we reached the creek.

4th. — Camp on a creek twenty yards wide, supposed to be the Pickaway fork of the Omee, ninety-eight miles from Fort Washington. The frequent firing of the sentinels through the night had disturbed the camp, and excited some concern among the officers. The guards had reported the Indians to lie skulking about in considerable numbers. About ten o'clock at night General Butler, who commanded the right wing, was desired to send out an intelligent officer and party to make discoveries. Captain Slough, with two subalterns and thirty men, I saw parade at General Butler's tent for this purpose, and heard the General give Captain Slough very particular verbal orders how to proceed. Myself and two or three officers staid with the General until late, when I returned to the Commander-in-Chief, whose tent was at some distance on the left, and who was unable to be up.

The troops paraded this morning at the usual time, and had been dismissed from the lines but a few minutes, and the sun not yet up, when the woods in front rung with the yells and fire of the savages. The poor militia, who were but three hundreds yards in front, had scarcely time to return a shot — they fled into our camp. The troops were under arms in an instant, and a smart fire from the front line met the enemy. It was but a few minutes, however, until the men were engaged in every quarter. The enemy from the front filed off to the right and left, and completely surrounded the camp, killed and cut off nearly all the guards, and approached close to the lines. They advanced from one tree, log, or stump to another, under cover of the smoke of our fire. The artillery and musketry made a tremendous noise, but did little execution.

The Indians seemed to brave every thing, and, when fairly fixed around us they made no noise other than their fire, which they kept up very constant, and which seldom failed to tell, although scarcely heard. Our left-flank, probably from the nature of the ground, gave way first; the enemy got possession of that part of the encampment, but, it being pretty clear ground, they were too much exposed, and were soon repulsed. Was at this time with the General engaged toward the right; he was on foot, and led the party himself that drove the enemy and regained our ground on the left. The battalions in

the rear charged several times and forced the savages from their shelter, but they always turned with the battalions and fired upon them back; indeed, they seemed not to fear any thing we could do. They could skip out of reach of the bayonet, and return as they pleased. They were visible only when raised by a charge. The ground was literally covered with the dead. The wounded were taken to the center, where it was thought most safe, and where a great many who had quit their posts unhurt had crowded together. The General, with other officers, endeavored to rally these men, and twice they were taken out to the lines. It appeared as if the officers had been singled out; a very great proportion fell, or were wounded, and obliged to retire from the lines early in the action. General Butler was among the latter, as well as several other of the most experienced officers. The men, being thus left with few officers, became fearful, despaired of success, gave up the fight, and, to save themselves for the moment, abandoned entirely their duty and ground, and crowded in toward the center of the field, and no exertions could put them in any order even for defense; perfectly ungovernable. The enemy at length got possession of the artillery, though not until the officers were all killed but one, and he badly wounded, and the men almost all cut off, and not until the pieces were spiked. As our lines were deserted the Indians contracted theirs until their shot centered from all points, and now, meeting with little opposition, took more deliberate aim and did great execution. Exposed to a cross fire, men and officers were seen falling in every direction; the distress, too, of the wounded made the scene such as can scarcely be conceived; a few minutes longer, and a retreat would have been impracticable. The only hope left was, that perhaps the savages would be so taken up with the camp as not to follow. Delay was death; no preparation could be made; numbers of brave men must be left a sacrifice — there was no alternative. It was past nine o'clock, when repeated orders were given to charge toward the road. The action had continued between two and three hours. Both officers and men seemed confounded, incapable of doing any thing; they could not move until it was told that a retreat was intended. A few officers put themselves in front, the men followed, the enemy gave way, and perhaps not being aware of the design, we were for a few minutes left undisturbed. The stoutest and most active now took the lead, and those who were foremost in breaking the enemy's line were soon left behind. At the moment of the retreat, one of the few horses saved had been procured for the General; he was on foot until then; I kept by him, and he delayed to see the rear. The enemy soon discovered the movement and pursued, though not more than four or five miles, and but few so far; they turned to share the spoil. Soon after the firing ceased, I was directed to endeavor to gain the front, and, if possible, to cause a short halt that the rear might get up. I had been on horseback from the first alarm, and well mounted; pushed forward, but met with so many difficulties and interruptions from the people, that I was two hours at least laboring to reach the front. With the assistance of two or three officers I caused a short halt, but the men grew impatient and would move on. I got Lieutenants Sedam and Morgan, with half a dozen stout men, to fill up the road and to move slowly; I halted myself until the General came up. By this time the remains of the army had got somewhat compact, but in the most miserable and defenseless state. The wounded who came off left their arms in the field, and one-half of the others threw theirs away on the retreat. The road for miles was covered with firelocks, cartridge-boxes and regimentals. How fortunate that the pursuit was discontinued; a single In-

dian might have followed with safety upon either flank. Such a panic had seized the men, that I believe it would not have been possible to have brought any of them to engage again. In the afternoon Lieutenant Kersey, with a detachment of the First regiment, met us. This regiment, the only complete and best disciplined portion of the army, had been ordered back upon the road on the 31st of October. They were thirty miles from the battle-ground when they heard distinctly the firing of the cannon; were hastening forward and had marched about nine miles when met by some of the militia, who informed Major Hamtramck, the commanding officer, that the army was totally destroyed. The Major judged it best to send on a subaltern to obtain some knowledge of things, and to return himself with the regiment to Fort Jefferson, eight miles back, and to secure at all events that post. He had made some arrangements, and as we arrived in the evening, found him preparing again to meet us. Stragglers continued to come in for hours after we reached the fort.

The remnant of the army, with the first regiment, were now at Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles from the field of action, without provisions, and the former without having eaten any thing for twenty-four hours. A convoy was known to be upon the road, and within a day's march. The General determined to move with the First regiment and all the levies able to march. Those of the wounded, and others unable to go on, were lodged as comfortably as possible within the fort. Accordingly, we set out a little after ten and continued our route until within an hour of daylight, then halted and waited for day and until the rear came up. Moved on again about nine o'clock; the morning of the 5th we met the convoy. Stopped a sufficiency to subsist us to Fort Hamilton; sent the remainder on to Jefferson under an additional escort of a captain and sixty men; proceeded, and at the first water halted, partly cooked and eat for the first time since the night preceding the action. At one o'clock moved on, and continued our route until nine at night, when we halted and made fires within fifteen miles of Fort Hamilton. Marched again just before day; the General soon after rode on to the fort. Troops reached in the afternoon.

7th. — Fort Hamilton command was ordered off with a small supply for the wounded, etc. About twelve same day, continued our march, and halted before night within fifteen miles of Fort Washington, which place we reached the afternoon of the 8th.

The prediction of General Harmar, before the army set out on the campaign, was founded upon his experience and particular knowledge of things. He saw with what material the bulk of the army was composed; men collected from the streets and prisons of the cities, hurried out into the enemy's country, and with the officers commanding them totally unacquainted with the business in which they were engaged; it was utterly impossible they could be otherwise. Besides, not any one department was sufficiently prepared; both quartermaster and contractors extremely deficient. It was a matter of astonishment to him that the commanding general, who was acknowledged to be perfectly competent, should think of hazarding, with such people, and under such circumstances, his reputation and life, and the lives of so many others, knowing, too, as both did, the enemy with whom he was going to contend; an enemy brought up from infancy to war, and perhaps superior to an equal number of the best men that could be taken against them. It is a truth, I had hopes that the noise and show which the army made on their march might possibly deter the enemy from attempting a serious and general attack. It was unfortunate that *both* the general officers

were, and had been disabled by sickness; in such situation it is possible that some essential matters might be overlooked. The Adjutant-General, Colonel Sargent, an old revolutionary officer, was, however, constantly on the alert; he took upon himself the burden of every thing, and a very serious and troublesome task he had.

St. Clair's defeat, November 4, 1791 — Diary of Daniel Bradley, a Connecticut officer with St. Clair. Frazer E. Wilson. Journal of Captain Daniel Bradley. (Greenville, 1935), pp. 29-35. (note: bold print is Bradley's account; regular print is notation by Frazer Wilson)

The army, after the 1st Regiment was detached, moved on rapidly towards the Maumee Towns. This night were within about twenty miles of them.

A supply of flour arrived on the 31st and on Nov. 1st the road cutters advanced, followed by the army on the 2nd lightened of its superfluous baggage. The flat, marshy spreads of the upper reach of Still Water Creek was crossed in the morning and in the afternoon the trail was joined by another Indian path from the south-east. The army gained eight miles this day and encamped on the upper waters of the Mississinewa river a short distance north of the present site of Lightsville, Darke County, Ohio. On the 3rd. the troops broke camp at nine o'clock and gained nine miles on a course thirty degrees west of north passing over the dividing ridge and encamping on the eastern branch of the upper Wabash.

BATTLE ON THE WABASH

Novemb'r 4th — the army is now about 100 miles from Fort Washington. This morning at daylight the Indians came on with the war hoop and made the attack upon a party of Militia and drove them into camp. The army was now ready to receive them. The Indians were repulsed at first but soon rallied and returned to the attack and in a few minutes was all round our army — behind every tree, stump and log with their rifles cut our men down at a shocking rate. Our men charged them several times and drove them but they immediately returned to action again and by their well directed fire in the course of three hours they had killed & wounded a great part of our army. The officers being principally cut off and the men disheartened, confusion increasing, 'twas thought advisable to retreat to effect which we were obliged to charge and break through the enemy's line.

It was an error to think that the army was within twenty miles of the Maumee Towns (site of Fort Wayne, Ind.) as they were about fifty or fifty-five miles — This is a brief and partial description of the battle afterwards popularly known as "St. Clair's Defeat" enacted on the present site of Fort Recovery, Ohio, about twenty-four miles west from north of Greenville, Ohio. The narrator did not take part in this battle as he was with the garrison at Fort Jefferson and must have obtained his information from wounded soldiers and officers who took part in the engagement and were left in his charge.

The attack began at sunrise and was first concentrated against the gunners of the artillery who were rapidly slain until all the guns were silenced. Not being able to see the enemy who flitted from tree to tree and stump to bush the troops fired at random and were soon encircled by the howling and exulting Redskins who rushed boldly into the camp from all sides. The troops were huddled closely like a flock of sheep and eventually became stupefied being rapidly mowed down

by the enemy, charge after charge was made by Col. Darke and others without much effect until about half of the army was cut down and it became imperative to make a feint and retreat to save the remnant after three hours of fighting in the enemy's country.

PROPERTY LOSS

Besides the large number of brave officers cut down a large amount of Government property was lost. Col. Sargent enumerates three 6 pound brass cannon, three 3 pounders and two iron cannon, two traveling forges, four ox-teams and two baggage wagons with officers, three hundred and sixteen pack horses with harness, thirty-nine artillery horses besides a number of dragoon and private horses. Sargent also says that thirty women were killed and three escaped. The Indian loss was roughly estimated at about one hundred and fifty. Besides the officers mentioned in the journal Col. Oldham, leader of the militia and Maj. Clark were killed together with ten others with the rank of Captain, ten with the rank of lieutenant, five other ensigns, two quartermasters, two adjutants. Among the officers wounded were Col. Sargent, Lt. Col. Gibson (who died later at Fort Jefferson), Major Thos. Butler and Viscount Malartie.

St. Clair rode up and down the lines attempting to reassure the panic stricken troops and had two or three horses shot from under him during the engagement. Altogether the bravery and discipline of the officers was remarkable and stood out in strong contrast to the conduct of the troops as a whole. This is accounted for by the fact that many of the soldiers had been collected from the streets and prisons of the cities, hurried to the frontier and given insufficient drilling and discipline.

Great inefficiency was displayed in both the Quartermaster's and the Contractor's departments due partly to the difficulty of collecting army supplies in the east and forwarding them to Fort Pitt and Fort Washington. On this account the troops were poorly clothed and fed and great discontentment prevailed.

As usual where mixed troops were employed there was lack of Co-operation. The Regular troops naturally had a feeling of aloofness and superiority while the levies and the militia refused to be subjected to rigorous discipline.

It seems strange that General St. Clair's name is not mentioned anywhere in the account. The omission may have been due to the excitement of the occasion but seems to have been intentional as it is scarcely found elsewhere in the narrative and suggests that he was not popular with Lieut. Bradley or the army. The battle on this occasion was fought with a choice body of Indians largely of the Miami, Shawanese, Delaware Wyandot, Ottawa, Chippewa and Pottawatomie tribes led by such wily chiefs as Little Turtle, Blue Jacket, Bukongehelas, Black-Hoof and Simon Girty assisted by Canadians making a body of effective warriors conservatively estimated at about fifteen hundred.

ST. CLAIR RETREATS

Made our retreat in great disorder. The Indians pursued us about 4 or five miles and then returned to triumph over and massacre their prisoners. Such a horrid scene, I believe, never was acted before in this Country. Braddock's defeat & Harmer's expedition is not to be compared to this.

The shattered remains of the army; arrived at Fort Jefferson on the evening of the 4th. after retreating 30 miles with as many wounded as they could bring off. Left the wounded at this garrison. After halting about two hours, continued their march to Fort Washington, leaving Capt. Shaylor and myself in this garrison with the sick and wounded to defend the fort which we expect every day to be attacked. We had about 50 officers, killed and wounded — mostly killed — among which is Gen'l Butler, Major Heart & Major Ferguson (2nd. Regt., Capt. Kirkwood, Capt. Phelon, Capt. Newman, Lieut. Warren, Ens'n Cobb & Ens'n Balch) 6 last officers kill'd belonged to our Regiment.

Novemb'r 5th, 6th, 7th & 8th the men that were wounded and scattered in the woods are daily coming in, one in particular came in scalped, a tomehawk stuck in his head in two places.

A few days after the action we had a supply of provision come on — enough to last till 1st Jan'y 1792. From the time of the action till Christmas nothing material happened, except the death of Col'o. Gibson 12th Decem'r & Capt. Bayley and a number of soldiers died of their wounds.

As noted before five men had already lost their lives at Fort Jefferson — not including any who might have died of disease. Two more officers are here added to the list and an unknown number of soldiers who died largely from wounds received on the 4th November. We have no record where their bodies were interred but it is probable that they were buried just outside the walls of the fort. It may be that they were interred on the slope of the hill about two hundred yards to the north on the site of the old cemetery, near the new Methodist Church building. It is hoped that further exploration will reveal the site.

24th of Decem'r — only 6 days provision on hand and 68 miles from any resource. We began to think hard of evacuating this garrison, but fortunately, with a day or two came on a large supply of provision, also a reinforcement to the garrison. From this time till the last of Jan'y, or the 1st Febr — nothing material happened.

Last Jan'y or Feb'r 1st Gen'l Wilkinson came on with about one hundred & fifty Melitia & one hundred and fifty Federal troops. Gen'l Wilkinson with the Melitia horse went on to the Field of Action, buried a number of our dead men, brought of some carriages, a quantity of iron, &, &.

BURIAL OF REMAINS

The ground was covered with twenty inches of snow making it difficult to find and bury the bodies of the slain. As Wayne reports finding and burying some six hundred skulls and parts of skeletons when a detachment was sent from Greeneville to erect Fort Recovery nearly two years later it seems.

"Winthrop Sargent's Diary While With General Arthur St. Clair's Expedition Against the Indians." (Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly), Volume XXXIII/1924, pp. 237-273. "Courtesy of the Ohio Historical Society"

Thursday, November the 3rd. — Light northeast wind last night and this day, with a small flight of snow, but not enough to cover the ground. The army has marched eight miles this day, and our distance from Fort Washinton is ninety-seven miles by the line which the surveyor has run, the road not very materially deviating therefrom; its breadth is almost all the way sufficient for two carriages. In the first three miles of this morning, we passed small, low prairies (extensive to the right and left) and wet, sunken grounds of woodland, timbered with oak, ash and hickory; the residue, of gentle, rising grounds, timbered principally with beech, but some oak and hickory; and small limestone runs, though not abounding with water at this time. Our encampment is on a very handsome piece of rising ground, with a stream of forty feet in front running to the west. The army in two lines, and four pieces of artillery in the centre of each; Faulkner's company of riflemen upon the right flank with one troop of horse also upon the left. The militia across the stream (which is supposed to be the St. Mary, emptying itself into the Miami of the Lakes) and over a rich bottom of three hundred yards, upon a high extensive fine flat of open woods. Here are an immense number of old and new Indian camps, and it appears to have been a place of their general resort. About fifteen of them, horse and foot, quitted this ground near the time we arrived upon it, as was discovered by their tracks in the banks of the stream. Colonel Oldham, who has long been conversant with Indian affairs, supposes it a party of observation, and the first that has been about us since he joined the army; imagining all the others that have been noticed mere hunters.

Friday, November the 4th, 1791. — Moderate northwest wind, serene atmosphere and unclouded sky; but the fortunes of this day have been as the cruellest tempest to the interests of the country and this army, and will blacken a full page in the future annals of America. The troops have all been defeated, and though it is impossible at this time to ascertain our loss, yet there can be no manner of doubt that more than one-half of the army are either killed or wounded. The whole amount of our private baggage, with the artillery, military stores, provisions and horses, have fallen into the hands of the enemy, and the shattered remains of our forces are coming into Fort Jefferson this evening, at seven o'clock, after the precipitate flight of twenty-nine miles since nine o'clock in the morning. The detail of this misfortune shall be made out as soon as I am furnished with returns from the different corps in action.

Saturday, November the 5th. — Fair weather and fresh north-west wind all day.

Upon a consultation last night with the field officers, the General thought proper to move the army at ten o'clock P.M. It appeared that Fort Jefferson was destitute of provision, that flour was near at hand and that there was no prospect of refreshing the troops but from that source. The garrison might be suddenly invested, and, of course, it became a matter of the utmost consequence to throw in supplies as soon as possible. We moved about seven miles during that night, and were obliged to halt from the severe fatigues the troops had undergone. At daylight we resumed our march, and at eight o'clock we met a convoy of flour, and soon after, a drove of cattle. Two rounds of the former, per man, was served out and the

residue, about eighty-five hundred pounds, and the cattle, were immediately sent back for the garrison and wounded, under an escort of fifty men from the First Regiment. We continued our march all day and for a couple of hours in the night, which brought the advance to within thirteen miles from Fort Hamilton, but the men are very much dispersed and the disorder consequent upon a defeat was perhaps never more conspicuous.

Sunday, November the 6th. — Fair weather and light southerly wind. Arrived at Fort Hamilton at nine o'clock this morning. First Regiment got in generally by evening, and the lame and wounded of the army have been dropping in singly and by small parties all day. Some of them, and of the militia more particularly, are pushing on to Fort Washington, notwithstanding orders to the contrary. Indeed, very little attention is paid by them to any regulation whatever. The officers appear to have lost almost the shadow of command, and there is scarcely a hope of reducing them to system and obedience short of the fort. Such are the effects of our ignominious flight — for so it must be deemed from the circumstances along of the men's throwing away their arms after they quitted the field of action, and which was very general in every corps engaged.

Monday, November the 7th. — Fair weather and light southerly wind all day. The garrison at Fort Hamilton relieved this day by Captain Armstrong and fifty men of the First United States Regiment. The wounded and stragglers of the army are still coming in, and probably will be for a number of days. At twelve o'clock the First Regiment, militia, and such of the other corps as have arrived, were put in motion for Fort Washington, and marched twelve miles before night.

Tuesday, November the 8th. — Showery and calm before daylight and till noon; residue cloudy. In motion at daylight, and arrived at Fort Washington at twelve o'clock. The troops were immediately encamped in its vicinity upon Deer creek, and every means possible used to make them comfortable; but all the camp equipage being lost in the late action, they are destitute indeed of common necessaries, even axes they have not. The officers finding houses to cover themselves, quit their men, and the consequences are very great disorder.

Wednesday, November the 9th. — Rainy morning and until twelve o'clock; the residue fair, with moderate southwest wind. Every house in this town is filled with drunken soldiers and there seems one continued scene of confusion. (The General's indisposition prevents much of his own attention to the army at this time; he has been suffering under a most painful fit of the gout since the 23rd ultimo, and was not able to mount his horse on the morning of the action without assistance.) But no efforts have been wanting to prevent abuses and disorder, as well as to afford comfort and convenience to the soldiers and to obtain hospitals and all proper provisions for the wounded, whose situation is truly distressing at this time.

Thursday, November 10th. — Heavy showers of rain with much thunder, before day; light and wet weather until nine o'clock; the residue of this day fair weather, with a strong west wind. A detachment of fifty men as an escort to some provisions has marched for Fort Jefferson this day.

254 *Ohio Arch. and Hist. Society Publications*



Lt. Col. William Darke



Gen. Anthony Wayne.

building Fort Recovery — Anthony Wayne to Henry Knox, Secretary of War, January 8, 1794. Richard Knopf, *Anthony Wayne, A Name in Arms* (Pittsburgh, 1960) pp.297-298.

WAYNE TO KNOX

No. 69¹Head Quarters

Greenville 8th January 1794

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters of the 25th & 29th of November & 7th of December 1793 with their respective enclosures to which particular & due attention has & shall be paid.

Permit me now Sir, to Inform you, that on the 23rd ultimo Major Henry Burbeck, Marched from this place with Eight Companies of foot & a detachment of Artillery, with orders to possess the Field of Action of the 4th of November 1791, & there to fortify (which proves to be on the main branch of the Wabash, & not on the St. Mary's as heretofore understood).²

This being an object of consequence to our future Operations as well as to afford an additional security to the Western Frontiers, at a crisis, when from most certain & recent intelligence, the savages were a second time Collected or Collecting in force at Au Glaize, & wou'd more than probably dispute the Occupancy of a *favorite Ground*, wishing therefore to give countenance to the Operation, I thought proper to advance with a small reenforcement of Mounted Infantry, accompanied by the Officers mentioned in the enclosed Extract from the General Orders of the 28th of Decr to which I must beg leave to refer you for a detail of this Manoeuvre!

Fort Recovery is now furnished with a sufficient Garrison well provided with Ammunition Artillery & Provision, Commanded by an Officer (Capt Gibson,) who will not betray the trust reposed in him!

On the 2d Instant Mr Collings,³ A D Q Master with a serjeant corporal & twelve privates of Capt Eatons Company who were sent to reconnoitre a position between this place & Au Glaize preparatory to further operations, came in sudden contact with a considerable Indian encampment, which they deemed less dangerous to attack, than to attempt a retreat, after being discover'd, the result was, the loss of three brave privates killed on the spot, upon our part, & five warriors upon theirs, when this gallant little party seeing themselves out number'd thought proper to fall back — the Enemy probably sore from the rencounter did not find it expedient to pursue!

The remainder of this small party arrived in Camp in the course of the next day one of them slightly wounded in the shoulder & the clothing of most of the others perforated by rifle balls.

I have since order'd out an other detachment Under Capt. Eaton to complete the business upon which Mr. Collings was first sent & expect his return in the course of two or three days with some interesting information.

I have the honor to be with sincere Esteem Your most obt & very Huml Sert

ANTY WAYNE

The Honble
Major Genl
H Knox

1. W.P., XXXII, 15. (All of the papers through Aug., 28, 1794 are published in the *Pa. Mag. of Hist. & Bio.*, LXXVIII, July & Oct., 1954, edited by Richard C. Knopf.)

2. Fort Recovery, erected on the site of St. Clair's defeat, Dec. 23-26, 1793.

3. Capt. Collings, of whom there is no official record, is probably Capt. Collins, a deputy quartermaster. See: W.P., XXX, 3; XXXI, 74, 84.

298

A NAME IN ARMS

building Fort Recovery — George Will to John S. Williams, May 25, 1842 — Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Historical Collections 34 (1905): 502-503.

Adelphii, May 25th, 1842.

John S. Williams, Esq.

Dear Sir — The first opportunity that offers of any of my neighbors going to Chillcothe, I will send the old journal I have in my possession to Mr. Ely. It is a journal that contains the daily occurrence of the most important transactions during the campaign of general Anthony Wayne, commencing at Greenville the 28th day of July, 1794, and ending the 2d November following. You will find some things contained therein very interesting, particularly many of the general orders, and the correspondence between general Wayne and the commander of the British garrison at Fort Maumee or Miami, which took place next day after the general battle on the 20th August, 1794. You may rely on the truth of all that is contained in the journal. I was an eye-witness to all that is contained in the journal. If I had the talent for writing, I could inform you of many transactions that took place in the army; (I joined Wayne's army at Pittsburgh, in August, 1792, and continued therein until I was discharged in Detroit in April, 1798,) but I am not qualified to write a history of the war.

I will give you a short statement of some of the principal movements of the army. The regular troops destined for the army to be put under the command of general Wayne, were concentrated at Pittsburgh in August and September, '92. On the 12th day of December the army moved down the river about twenty miles and erected huts on the bank of the Ohio, and there remained until the 28th day of April, 1793, when it descended the river in numerous flat boats, containing the troops, munitions of war, provisions, and not less than twenty boat loads of hay for the use of the dragoons, and arrived at Cincinnati on the 5th day of May, '93; formed our camp at the lower end of the small village of Cincinnati, and called the camp "Hobson's Choice." The army remained there until the following September, when it again took up its line of march and arrived at what was afterwards called Fort Greenville, and commenced building huts for winter quarters. On the 24th of December, 1793, general Wayne marched with about one thousand men to the ground where general St. Clair was defeated, and erected a fort on that ground, which was called Fort Recovery. We arrived on that ground on Christmas day, and pitched our tents on the battle ground. Six hundred skulls were gathered up and buried; when we went to lay down in our tents at night we had to scrape the bones together and carry them out to make our beds. After the fort was completed, one company of artillery and one company of riflemen were left in the fort, and the balance returned to Greenville. Nothing particular took place until the last day of June and the first day of July, 1794. The Indians attacked Fort Recovery, but were repulsed with considerable loss on both sides. Major McMahan, (a braver man never existed,) was killed; he was much regretted by all persons in the army, officers and soldiers. On the 28th of July, 1794, the army left Greenville on the campaign. An account of the campaign you will find in the

journal sent you, written by a lieutenant Boyer. The treaty with the Indians took place at Greenville in the summer of 1795. In the early part of the summer of 1796, the army, with the exception of a small force, left Greenville for the purpose of taking possession of the American forts, to wit: Maumee, Detroit, Makinac, &c., that had still remained in the hands of the English. If I mistake not, general Wayne left the army at Detroit early in December for his residence in Pennsylvania, but got no further than Erie, where he died.

I forgot to say in the proper place, that in the battle of the 20th August, '94, I received a severe wound through my body, which rendered me unfit for actual service for about two months.

Very respectfully, yours, &c.
GEO. WILL

building Fort Recovery — Richard G. England to John Graves Simcoe, February 2, 1794. E.A. Cruikshank, Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe (Toronto, 1923-1931), vol. 2, p. 139. Richard England was Commandant at Detroit. Simcoe was Lieutenant Governor of Canada.

"Since I wrote, no reports of any consequence reached me till the 8th of January, when I was informed that the Delawares had decided on making overtures for Peace with the United States and that four of them authorized by the rest accompanied by an Interpreter had set out for Fort Jefferson for that purpose, this circumstance added to some ill-grounded Reports of Robberies and depredations committed by Indians on the Traders in the neighbourhood of the Foot of the Rapids, having occasioned an Alarm among the Merchants here, induced me to request Colonel McKee to return to the Foot of the Rapids, and by his influence restore security to those in trade, and enquire into the particulars of the overtures for Peace said to have been made by the Delawares.

"Since the Colonel has been at the Foot of the Rapids, I received two letters from him, Copies of which I have the honor to enclose you, the latter accompanied with a Copy of an Address from Major General Wayne to the Tribes of Indians who are considered hostile to the United States.

"By the Address Your Excellency will perceive that General Wayne has built a Fort on the Ground where the Action was fought on the 4th of November, 1791, which he calls Fort Recovery; it would also appear that he has established a new Post which he calls Grenville;¹ from which he dates his Address; I have not yet been able to learn where Grenville is."*

*His winter Camp, six miles in front of Port Jefferson, eighty miles from Fort Washington.

Endorsed: — In Lt. Governor Simcoe's No 21 of the 28th Feby, 1794.

1 Greenville.

attack on Fort Recovery, June 30, 1794 — Anthony Wayne to Henry Knox, Secretary of War, July 7, 1794. American State Papers, Indian Affairs (Washington, 1832), volume 1, pp. 487-489.

Head Quarters, Greenville, 7th July, 1794.

At seven o'clock in the morning of the 30th ultimo, one of our escorts, consisting of ninety riflemen and fifty dragoons, commanded by Major McMahan, was attacked, by a very numerous body of Indians, under the walls of fort Recovery,

followed by a general assault upon that post and garrison, in every direction.

The enemy were soon repulsed, with great slaughter, but immediately rallied and reiterated the attack, keeping up a very heavy and constant fire, at a more respectable distance, for the remainder of the day, which was answered with spirit and effect, by the garrison, and that part of Major McMahon's command that had regained the post.

The savages were employed, during the night, (which was dark and foggy) in carrying off their dead by torch light which occasionally drew fire from the garrison. They, nevertheless, succeeded so well, that there were but eight or ten bodies left upon the field, and those close under the influence of the fire from the fort.

The enemy again renewed the attack, on the morning of the 1st instant; but were ultimately compelled to retreat, with loss and disgrace, from that very field where they had, upon a former occasion, been proudly victorious.

Enclosed is a particular general return of the killed, wounded, and missing. Among the killed, we have to lament the loss of four good and gallant officers, viz: Major McMahon, Captain Hartshorne, and Lieutenant Craig of the rifle corps, and Comet Torry, of the cavalry, who all fell in the first charge. Among the wounded are the intrepid Captain Taylor, of the dragoons, and Lieutenant Drake, of the infantry.

It would appear that the real object of the enemy was to have carried that post by a *coup de main*: for they could not possibly have received intelligence of the escort under Major McMahon, which only marched from this place on the morning of the 29th ultimo, and deposited the supplies, the same evening, at fort Recovery, from whence the escort was to have returned at reveille the next morning; therefore, their being found at that post was an accidental, perhaps a fortunate, event. By every information, as well as from the extent of their encampments, (which were perfectly square and regular) and their line of march in seventeen columns, forming a wide and extended front, their numbers could not have been less than from fifteen hundred to two thousand warriors.

It would also appear that they were rather in want of provisions, as they killed and ate a number of pack horses in their encampment, the evening after the assault; also, at their next encampment, on their retreat, which was but seven miles from fort Recovery, where they remained two nights, probably from being much incumbered with their dead and wounded. A considerable number of the pack horses were actually loaded with the dead.

Permit me now, sir, to express my highest approbation of the bravery and conduct of every officer and soldier of the garrison and escort, upon this trying occasion; and, as it would be difficult to discriminate between officers equally meritorious and emulous for glory, I have directed the adjutant general to annex the names of every officer of the garrison and escort, who were fortunate enough to remain uninjured, being equally exposed to danger with those who were less fortunate.

But I should be wanting in gratitude were I to omit mentioning, in particular, Captain Alexander Gibson, of the 4th sub-legion, the gallant defender of fort Recovery.

Here, it may be proper to relate certain facts and circumstances, which almost amount to positive proof, that there were a considerable number of the British and the militia of Detroit mixed with the savages, in the assault upon fort Recovery, on the 30th ultimo and 1st instant.

I had detached three small parties of Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians, a few days previous to that affair, towards

Grand Glaize, in order to take or obtain provisions, for the purpose of gaining intelligence. One of these parties fell in with a large body of Indians, at the place marked *Girty's town*, (in Harmar's route) on the evening of the 27th ultimo, apparently bending their course towards *Chillicothe*, on the Great Miami. This party returned to Greenville, on the 28th, with this further information, "that there were a great number of white men with the Indians."

The other two parties got much scattered, in following the trails of the hostile Indians, at some distance in their rear, and were also in with them when the assault commenced on fort Recovery. These Indians all insist that there were a considerable number of armed white men in the rear, who they frequently heard talking in our language, and encouraging the savages to persevere in the assault; that their faces were generally blacked, except three British officers, who were dressed in scarlet, and appeared to be men of great distinction, from being surrounded by a large body of white men and Indians, who were very attentive to them. These kept a distance in the rear of those that were engaged.

Another strong corroborating fact that there were British, or British militia, in the assault, is, that a number of *ounce balls* and buck shot were lodged in the block houses and stockades of the fort. Some were delivered at so great a distance as not to penetrate, and were picked up at the foot of the stockades.

It would also appear that the British and savages expected to find the artillery that were lost on the 4th of November, 1791, and hid by the Indians in the beds of old fallen timber, or logs, which they turned over and laid the cannon in, and then turned the logs back into their former birth. It was in this artful manner that we generally found them deposited. The hostile Indians turned over a great number of logs, during the assault, in search of those cannon, and other plunder, which they had probably hid in this manner, after the action of the 4th November, 1791.

I therefore have reason to believe that the British and Indians depended much upon this artillery to assist in the reduction of that post; fortunately, they served in its defence.

The enclosed copies of the examination of the *Pawatamy* and *Shawanee* prisoners, will demonstrate this fact, that the British have used every possible exertion to collect the savages from the most distant nations, with the most solemn promises of advancing and co-operating with them against the legion, nor have the *Spaniards* been idle upon this occasion.

It is therefore more than probable, that the day is not far distant, when we shall meet this *hydra* in the vicinity of Grand Glaize and Riche de Bout, without being able to discriminate between the white and red savages.

In the interim, I am in hourly expectation of receiving more full and certain intelligence of the number and intention of the enemy.

I have no further or other information respecting the mounted volunteers of Kentucky, than what you will observe in the enclosed copies of the correspondence between Major General Scott and myself. I hope they may be completed to their full number, because it would appear that we shall have business enough for the whole of them.

You will herewith receive the general and field return of the legion, the quarterly return of ordnance and ordnance stores, at this place, the Quartermaster General's return, and the return of the hospital department.

The horses that were killed, wounded, and missing, in the assault against fort Recovery, will not, in the least retard the

advance of the legion, after the arrival of the mounted volunteers, because I had made provision for those kind of losses and contingencies, which, from the nature of the service, must be expected, and will unavoidably happen.

I have the honor to be, &c.
ANT'Y WAYNE.

Copy of a letter from Major General Wayne to the Secretary of War, dated

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of a detachment under the orders of Major McMahon, in the action near fort Recovery, the 30th of June, 1794.

	Killed.					Total commissioned officers, non-commissioned, and privates.	Wounded.					Total commissioned officers, non-commissioned, and privates.	Miss'g.			Horses					
	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Cornets.	Sergeants.		Captains.	Lieutenants.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Music.		Privates.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Privates.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.		
Cavalry,	-	-	-	1	-	8	9	1	-	2	1	2	6	12	-	-	-	13	13	17	
Riflemen,	1	1	1	-	1	6	10	-	-	1	-	-	5	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Garrison of fort Recovery,	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	3	-	-	7	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total regular troops,	1	1	1	1	1	15	20	1	1	6	1	2	18	29	-	-	-	13	13	17	
Contractor's Department,	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	46	9	204	
Aggregate,	1	1	1	1	1	17	22	1	1	6	1	2	19	30	-	-	-	3	59	22	221

JOHN MILLS, *Adjutant General.*

Officers uninjured.

Captain Gibson,
Lieuts. Covington,
Dunn,
Michael,
Shanklin,
Ensigns Dangerfield,
Dold.

Names of the officers killed and wounded.

Major William McMahon, 4th s. legion, killed,
Captain Asa Hartshorn, 1st do. do.
Lieutenant Robert Craig, 3d do. do.
Cornet Daniel Torrey, Dragoons, do.

Captain James Taylor, Dragoons, wounded
Lieutenant Samuel Drake, 2 d s. legion, do.

attack on Fort Recovery, June 30, 1794 — Alexander McKee, Indian agent, to Richard G. England, July 5, 1794 — E.A. Cruikshank, Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe (Toronto, 1923-1931), vol. 2, pp. 305-306.

Rapids, July 5th, 1794.

Sir:

I send this by a party of Saganas,¹ who returned yesterday from Fort Recovery, where the whole body of Indians except the Delawares, who had gone another route, imprudently attacked the Fort on Monday the 30th of last month, and lost 16 or 17 men, besides a good many wounded.

Everything had been settled prior to their leaving the Fallen Timber, and it had been agreed upon to confine themselves to marking convoys and attacking at a distance from the Forts, if they should have the address to entice their Escort out, but the impetuosity of the Mackinac Indians and their eagerness to begin with the nearest prevailed with the others to

alter their system, the consequence of which from the present appearance of things, may most materially injure the interests of these People, both the Mackinac and the Lake Indians seeming resolved on going home again, having completed the belts they carried, with scalps and prisoners and having no provisions there or at the Glaize to subsist upon, so that His Majesty's Posts will derive no security from the late great influx of Indians into this part of the Country, should they persist in their resolution of returning home so soon.

The immediate object of the attack was 300 Packhorses going from this Fort to Fort Grenville, in which the Indians completely succeeded in taking and killing all of them; but the Commanding Officer, Captain Gibson, sending out a Troop of Cavalry, and turning his Infantry out in front of his Post, the Indians attacked them and killed about 50 among whom is Captain Gibson and two other Officers.

On the near approach of the Indians to the Fort the remains of his garrison retired into it, and from the loopholes killed and wounded as mentioned already.

Captain Elliot writes that they are immediately to hold a Council at the Glaize, in order to try if they can prevail on the Lake Indians to remain, but without provisions, ammunition, &c., being sent to that place, I conceive it will be extremely difficult to keep them together.

The mountain Leader, the Chickasaw Chief, was killed two days before the attack and Wells and May, as I am informed, were both killed on the 30th, with two more Chickasaws; by the reports of three prisoners who were taken, there were 60 Chickasaws with the Army, viz. 20 at Fort Recovery, 40 at Grenville, and that large bodies of Souther Indians were shortly expected to join them.

The bearer of this letter or his reports are not to be depended upon.

With great respect I have the honor to be &c.,
A. McKEE.

Lt. Colonel England.

1 From Saginaw Bay, Mich.
S.C. — 21
306

THE SIMCOE PAPERS

attack on Fort Recovery, June 30, 1794 — Alexander McKee to John Graves Simcoe, July 5, 1794 — E.A. Cruikshank, Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe (Toronto, 1923-1931), Vol. 5, pp. 95-96.

Rapids 5th July 1794.

Sir,

Last Night I received Intelligence that the Michilimackinac and Lake Indians after an Action at Fort Recovery on the 30th of last Month were on their return Home and this morning several of the latter had arrived here. This Action, tho' unsequential, will by the return of the people considerably weaken the defence we expected from the collected exertions of 2000 Indians and I am only concerned that the situation of Public Affairs leaves me as yet unauthorized either to Stop the Indians as they return here or to forward to them Provisions and Ammunition to keep them together above.

The Attack alluded to was made on 300 Pack Horses returning to Fort Grenville from whence they came the day before with Provisions all of these with the Pack Horse men were either taken or killed close by Fort Recovery together with 30 Bullocks — Captain Gibson the Officer Commanding on perceiving that Attack made on his Horses, Ordered a Troop of Dragoons or Light Horse to charge the Indians, And at the same time he drew up his Garrison in the front of the fort as if with a design to sustain his Cavalry but they were all beaten back in a few minutes and pursued to the Gate of the Fort with the loss of about 50 Men and upwards of 25 Horses — The loss of the Indians commenced from this period, for they kept up a useless Attack upon the Fort while the troops within were firing at them through loop holes and seventeen were killed and as many Wounded.

The Mountain leader was killed two days before the Action by a Scouting Party of the Hurons. He was the Chief of the Chickasaws. Wells was killed in the Engagement and May is Reported to be so (by one of three Prisoners who were taken) together with two more Chickasaws: Captain Gibson and two other Officers are also among the killed.

My information states that these Prisoners report there are 60 Chickasaws with their Army 20 of whom are at Fort Recovery and 40 at Fort Grenville and that a great many of

the Southern Indians are expected to join them in a short time — They also say that the Horses which are now taken and killed were the only means General Wayne had of transporting provisions, that he was to commence the Campaign about the beginning of next Month and waited for an augmentation to his force of 3000 Militia from Kentucky, that he is to Build a Fort at the Glaize and proceed from thence to Detroit — If this information be true we may probably be in security for a little time longer, but, if by any means, Genl. Wayne should be informed of the separation of the Indians he will undoubtedly endeavour to push forward with as much celerity as possible — The Chiefs of several Nations are now in Council at the Glaize & I hope they will adopt Measures to reunite their force if possible, the want of Provisions and Ammunition will be the greatest obstacle to encounter, and should their being collected and in force, at so important a period, be an Object in the Contemplation of Government, I shall hope speedily to receive Your Excellency's Commands on that subject.¹

I have the honor to be &c.
A. McKEE.

Governor Simcoe.

(Simcoe MSS., Vol. XX, pp. 8-10.)

1 Cf. Le Maistre to Simcoe, 23 June, 1794, Vol. II, pp. 292-3.
96 THE SIMCOE PAPERS

Attack on Fort Recovery, June 30, 1794 — Alexander McKee to Joseph Chew, July 7, 1794 — E.A. Cruikshank, Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe (Toronto, 1923-1931) volume 2, p. 310.

Miamis Rapids 7th July 1794.

Dear Sir:

Early on the morning of the 30th of last month the Indians who had collected a force of about 2000 men took & killed 300 pack horses with about 60 drivers near Fort Recovery; these Horses had been brought the day before the Indians arrived loaded with flour — the escort intended for their return had not quitted the Fort when the attack was made on the Pack Horses but they turned out immediately on hearing the firing & were repulsed with the loss of about 50 men and 25 or 30 Troop Horses; The Indians followed them close to the gates of the Fort which they wanted to storm but met with a check from the Loop Holes of the Block Houses and then retired to a secure distance with the loss of 17 men killed and as many wounded — they kept the same position all that day & the night following, but from the want of provisions and ammunition, were obliged to retire to the Glaize, from whence all the Lake Indians as well as those from Michilimackinac have come hither, those latter cannot be prevailed to remain having accomplished the call of their Belts by Scalps and Prisoners, and are going home again — so that instead of deriving any advantage from these People and those of Sagana, the Indians in this part of the country will feel a sensible diminution of their strength by the example they shew all the other Lake Indians as well as those who are here as those who are expected and whom they must meet on their way home.

I perceive great danger of the security of His Majesty's Posts from the unfortunate separation of the Indians at this period, but having no authority to stop them or to keep the others together by giving them provisions & ammunition over & above the ordinary supply, I have only to lament what may shortly be the probable situation of this country; but that I

may not neglect any thing on this occasion which I conceive to be my duty, I request of you to represent to His Excellency the Commander in Chief that there is an absolute necessity of sending Provisions and ammunition to some convenient place in the vicinity of the Glaise, provided His Majesty's Posts are considered by His Excellency objects of Importance.

From the Information I have received the Commanding officer of the Fort and two other officers were killed as was the Chickasaw Chief called the Mountain Leader and two of his men, the Indians took also about 30 head of Cattle about the Fort.

with the greatest Regard I am, &c.
A. McKEE.

Joseph Chew Esqr.

Attack on Fort Recovery, June 30, 1794 — diary of a British Canadian officer with the Indians. E.A. Cruikshank, Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe. (Toronto, 1923-1931) volume 5, pp. 90-94.

DIARY OF AN OFFICER IN THE INDIAN COUNTRY.

Glaise 14th June 1794.

This day on our arrival here we were saluted by a discharge of small Arms — our party being fourteen in number returned the compliment.

The advanced part of the Indian Army gives information of their hearing the report of General Wayne's Cannon from their encampment which is about Sixteen miles south of this place.

Several Indians have been lately killed by the American Scouts — a party was discovered a few days ago consisting of about twenty six men — some on Horseback; the Indians followed their trail but could not come up with them.

— Sunday 15th —

The Ottawas and Wyndotts joined the Army this day and were saluted by a discharge of small Arms from a line of about Six hundred warriors drawn up for that purpose —

— Munday 16th —

This day a Council of war was held at the Mequisake Town — the result of which was "That every white man either English or French residing among or getting their livelihood by the Indian Trade or otherwise now within the limits of their Country shall immediately join the Indian Army to defend the territory in which their mutual interest is so greatly concerned. That their Father (the English) had always told them to defend their Country, and were happy to see us at this critical period in order to have our advice; consequently were unanimously of opinion that they could not dispense with our presence at a juncture when probably the event would determine their future happiness — Resolved therefore that we shall join the Army now in readiness to march." A bunch of black wampum handed by the Speaker to Capt. Elliott as a token of their determination. —

1 Cf. Dairy of an officer in the Indian country, immediately following.

THE SIMCOE PAPERS

— Wednesday 18th —

The resolution of the Army in respect to us, permitted of no alternative but to prepare ourselves with all speed, which

we this day set about and changed our mode of dress and put on the Warriors, which was earnestly recommended for fear of mistakes in Action.

Provisions begins to get scarce so much that our Mess is a mere *scramble*, that is to say him who can eat the fastest reaps the best share of a small quantity. The little Pork and Flour which remained here was nearly out before we came, notwithstanding Capt. E. — talks of leaving some in case of Col. McKee's arrival. Our fare is very ordinary, nothing better than what the french call *Gross sacre Gieux* which is Indian Corn boiled whole. Tom¹ will make an excellent Campaigner he generally comes off with the best share.

One hundred and twenty seven Macinac and Saguinau Indians joined the Army — they committed depredations and ravished the women in the villages where they had to pass therefore Capt. Bluejacket recommends that those whom are yet to join may be directed at the Rapids to follow the track of the otter and his party to the general Rendezvous at the fallen Timber and not to come this rout, as their villages will be destitute of men and under no protection.

— Thursday 19th —

A large number of Warriors marched off this day to join the advanced Army and tomorrow the last is to move — the number cannot be easily ascertained owing to their irregular distribution until the whole Body is together, but it is supposed that the total at present cannot be much less than fifteen hundred.

Wampum is so very scarce that a sufficiency cannot be collected to make up a Belt in order to send with Blackbeard to the Southern Indians on a matter of the utmost importance —

Bluejacket says that the Wampum he received was not for the Maquisake Chiefs, but for his own purpose and requests that the little Poney may not be delivered to Knaggs as the said Mr. Knaggs having no manner of claim.

Memorandum. Capt. Elliott wishes to inform Mr. Selby that Capt. C. is tampering with his Farmer, consequently in all likelihood will loose him, therefore wishes a hint may be dropped to C — ^l2 in order he may desist from such proceedings as being highly detrimental to Capt. E. especially in his absence from home.

It is to be lamented that five hundred spears could not be procured in time, as it is conjectured that Waynes dependence is chiefly on his Horse and Riflemen. I am persuaded in myself that Spears would be the most effectual instruments to resist the Cavalry. It has been my invariable opinion that the best plan would be, to starve out the Garrisons and cut off the retreat — considering the situation of the Indians and their active spirit over a vanquished enemy — I have endeavoured to imbibe this idea whether it will take I cannot say. My confined Latitude obliges me to subscribe my name J.C.

Camp at the old Fallen Timber 66 miles South of the Glaise 23 June 1794.

We left the Glaise the 20th and only arrived here this day on account of our being obliged to encamp every day at one or two o'Clock in order to give time to the Hunters as our whole dependence is on them for provisions, which they have supplied us hitherto in great abundance.

1 Probably Thomas McKee.

2 Capt. Wm. Caldwell.

The Otter and his party in their rout from Rochedebout killed 40 deers and 5 Bears.

Tobacco and ammunition will shortly be wanted and must be procured so soon as we are able to take a sufficient number of the enemy's Horses to send for it.

Remains at the Glaise about 140 bushels of Corn of the quantity that was purchased from the Traders which amounted in all to about 311 bush.

Camp at the old Fallen Timber 24 June 1794.

An express arrived from Buckengellis the purport of which that he had determined to take another rout to the westward and join the main Army near Fort Recovery in order to prevent the possibility of the enemy making a sortie on the Towns without being discovered.

We are now in Camp 1014 men exclusive of the Delawares and a number of other parties that are daily expected from different quarters which when together will amount to about 2000.

Camp at the old Fallen Timber, Wednesday 25 June 1794.

Sent off a reconnoitering party towards Fort Greenville where we understand the main body of the enemy lies.

Altho' Buckengellis's division was to move on the 20th along with the remainder of the Glaise Indians intelligence is just received that he had not moved on the 24th a circumstance very extraordinary and cannot be accounted for excepting the Rum that was brought to the Glaise by Round-heads sister and Duchouquets wife had got among them.

Fifty Saguinaus arrived.

Camp on Kettle Creek 82 miles from the Glaise Thursday 26 June.

This day we marched s b w in open Files leaving an interval of about ten rod between each — our Hunters at the same time scouring the woods on our flanks and ahead of the Army.

Yesterday deserted from the Army seven Indians living at the mouth of Detroit River.

Our Hunters espied a Scouting party of the enemy dress'd like Indians.

Camp 90 computed miles from the Glaise

Friday 27th June 1794.

Marched this morning from Kettle Creek west about four miles crossed Harmers Track and came into a road made by the enemy last winter 34 miles in length from Fort Greenville — followed the said Road S S W four miles and encamped about 12 o'Clock in order to give time to the Wyndotts and others in the rear to join.

Forty Miamis joined —

Sent off two parties on a Decouvert one of them met a party of the Chickasaws killed one and brought in his scalp.

The white Loon a Seneca came from the Ohio and says that a vast number of Troops waggons &c. came across that River and marched towards the Forts in number about 3000.

The Delwares has behaved shabbily we have not yet seen them —

We expect the Wyndotts to join today.

The Bearer of this goes off with a green Scalp of one of the Chickasaw Spies to hurry up the rear.

Borrowed from Blanchette 73 lb Powder and 80 lb Ball to be returned at the Rapids 2 for 1.

A few days now will produce interesting events.

Camp on a branch of the Wabash 96 miles from the Glaise, Saturday 28th June 1794.

Continued on the same road leading to Fort Greenville S b W six miles marching twelve open Files.

Twenty five Mingoies joined.

The number of Deer killed this day are computed at 200 and as many Turkeys.

A Miami Indian came into Camp and says that Wells had killed 5 more of his Nation near Miami Towns.

The number of men this day in Camp amounts to 1159 — one hundred and nine of them without Arms.

This night ten men to be posted on Greenville road. Bells stopt, Horses tied up and the Men to have their Arms in order.

Cutting off the Communication between the Forts and the Ohio is the only object by which we could promise success but as the Northern Indians take the lead we are forced to comply to change our Course tomorrow for Fort Recovery were nothing effectual can be done but on the contrary the means perhaps of discovering our Force and put the enemy on their guard.

Camp 120 miles from the Glaise Sunday 29th June 1794.

Detached twelve men to take a Prisoner in order to get information respecting the force of Wayne's Army and when the provision Brigade is to set off from Fort Washington.

About 90 Wyndotts joined.

John Norton *is supposed* to have deserted to the enemy.

Camp before Fort Recovery 128 miles computed from the Glaise 30 June 1794.

Our spies came in and gave information of a vast number of Pack Horses being arrived at Fort Recovery last night and probably would return this morning consequently marched west and came upon the van of the Brigade, made an attack and killed 15 men, taken 4 Prisoners, 300 pack Horses, 30 Bullocks and a few Light Horse. The Garison attempted to give them assistance by sending out the Light Horse but they were soon driven in again. In this attack we had only 3 men killed, but the Indians were so animated foolishly kept up a continual fire for a whole day upon the Fort by which they lost 17 men and as many wounded. I am sorry to say that for want of good conduct this affair is far from being so complete as might be expected.

Capt. Beaubien was shot thro' the body very near the Heart but perhaps not mortal.

The Garison of Fort Recovery is 350 men 20 Chickasaws & a company of Light Horse.

Fort Recovery consists of blockhouses mounted with Cannon and picketed between.

The Fort kept up a continual Fire and every now and then a Shell together with small Arms so as we were not able to bring off some of the dead and wounded.

Four Wyndotts met a party of Chickasaws had one wounded and another killed or taken prisoner.

Between Fort Recovery and Greenville there are about 100 Chickasaws to serve as scouts and spies some hundreds more to come (as a prisoner says) —

Wells, May and the Chickasaw Chief were killed in this attack.

Had we two barrels of Powder Fort Recovery would have been in our possession with the help of Sinclairs Cannon.

Camp 20 miles E N E from Fort Recovery 1 July 1794. on the head of the Wabash River —

This day we buried our dead and carried off the wounded to this place one Chickasaw more killed —

The Lake Indians all went off this day.

General Wayne is to commence his Campaign about the beginning of next month and expects an augmentation of his force of 3000 Militia from Kentucke and 1000 Chickasaws and Choctaws. He is to build a Fort on the Glaise and proceed from thence towards Detroit. Capt, Gibson Commandant of the Fort is killed.

— 2nd July —

After the Lake Indians went off the whole Army was breaking up, but a message came from the Dellawares that they were (at last) upon their march and would join this day — the four nations in consequence will wait their arrival and if they can agree, to proceed from hence in a circular rout to Fort Hamilton where they ought to have gone at first.

Instead of having about 2000 men as was expected we will not have now above 500 — such a disappointment never was met with.

Mr. Norton found, he being lost in the woods for several days — as he says.

The Delawares joined, a council of war held and it was unanimously agreed that it was better to (illegible) the Lake Indians at all events were going back and the enemy now alarmed so as to prevent us making any stroke upon the provision Brigades and also that there was the greatest probability that Wayne would not turn out to fight until the Kentuck Militia were arrived — The Delawares in the mean time to keep a look out and watch the motions of the enemy.

The number of the enemy killed in this last attack cannot be ascertained, a great many must have been killed when they came out of the Fort together with several shot through the Embasures. a great groaning has been heard in the Fort so that the dead and wounded may be nearer 50 than the number before mentioned as that being the number only of those we have seen.

I must observe with grief that the Indians had never it in their power to do more — and have done so little.

It is not above 80 miles in a direct course from the Glaise to Fort Recovery, and can be Rid in one day.¹
(Unsigned.)



THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY



Randall L. Buchman

PROFESSOR RANDALL L. BUCHMAN: Has been on the faculty of The Defiance College for the past twenty five years. Prior to that he taught in public schools and was on the staff of the Ohio Historical Society. He has been a visiting Professor at Bowling Green State University, Ball State University, and his ALMA MATER Heidelberg College. He is author of *Woods Journal*, editor of "Historic Indians of Ohio" and many articles and reviews in various learned journals. He serves on the Editorial Board of *Ohio History* and *The Intelligencer*. He is on the Board of Trustees of The Maumee Valley Historical Society, Schauffler College, and the Defiance Area Foundation.

Little Turtle's Allies: Their Historic Perspective in Ohio

Randall L. Buchman

The Indian Wars of the Old Northwest, 1790-1795, have been the focal point of volumes of historical writings. The exploits of Generals Harmar, St. Clair, Wilkinson, and Wayne have been recorded, retraced, reviewed and reconstructed hundreds of times by scholars, novelists, and journalists. In these attempts to tell the story to our contemporary world, the Indian side of the story has always been an appendage to the white narrative. Only a few attempts to record the events from the Indian viewpoints have been attempted. The Indian side is harder for the Historian and others to grasp because of the lack of written sources by the Indian, and the bias of the existing records created by the whites.

The cultures of the Indians of the lower Great Lakes had gone through a series of alterations during the previous century of white contact. The culture was 1790 a hybrid, yet mentally the Indians were still red. Although they accepted the names and labels placed on them by the whites they still thought as red people.

Their collective world stretched from the Upper Ohio Valley to the far reaches of the Wabash: from the "lakes" to the southern drainage of the Ohio.

Some of their numbers had lived in this area for as long as their oral traditions could recall. Others were newcomers who had been here a little over fifty years. The long term occupants looked on the land as theirs given to them by the "great spirit" to use in perpetuity; the newcomer had no claim on the land other than the permission to occupy it granted by their fellow Indians. The newcomers land had been taken by the white in the eastern and southern parts of this new nation. Their way of life had been so contaminated by the white life-styles that their ancestors would have hardly recognized it.

The greatest disparity between the white and red cultures was what they considered the focal point of their existence. The white was humanistic, faith in the individual; the red was communal and spiritualistic, faith in the unknown through spirits rather than the ability to control their own destiny. These spirits were in everything and constantly making "their" desires and wishes known to the Indian. It was very hard for the white person to conceive that invisible powers were at work constantly in all aspects of their lifeway making things possible or impossible and constantly warning the Indian of the ramifications of certain actions.

The Indians who were to participate in the decade of conflict 1785-1795 can be grouped in three different ways: 1) language, 2) subsistence, 3) tribal affinity.

Linguistically they were either Algonkian or Iroquoian speaking people. The Algonkian included the Delaware, Ottawa, Shawnee, Miami, Wea, Potawatomi, Kickapoo, Chipewewa and Piankeshaw. The Iroquoian speaking people included the Wyandots (Huron), Cherokee, Mingo (Seneca) and the eastern allies of the Iroquois Confederation, Mohawk, Cayuga, Oneida, Onandaga, and Seneca. The Miami, Wea, Piankeshaw and Potawatomi were long-term residents of the area dating back to pre-historic times. The Wyandot, Ottawa, Shawnee, Mingo, and Delaware were transplants from white pressures or inter-tribal warfare and had arrived in this area sometime in the past eight decades. The others lived on the outer edges of the area and only fragments of the tribes would become involved.

The majority of the Indians involved were prairie people. Hunting was their major source of food. They were also limited gardeners and still did considerable gathering. The day to day hunting was done locally, the use of traps, snares, and lures was giving way to the rifle for the procurement of the small game such as rabbit, squirrel and beaver. The hunting expeditions still sought the deer, elk, and buffalo as the major source of meat. Their garden plots grew maize, squash, beans and pumpkin. The wild plants, berries, and nuts were systematically collected and stored. The Miami, Piankeshaw, Wea, Kickapoo, and some of the Potawatomi were prairie people. Their housing was a mixture of grass and skin covered wigwams and white-like shacks covered with skin or grass matting. Their housing was built for the nuclear family now as well as the traditional extended family communal houses. Their tools, clothing, and ornamentation was profusely contaminated by white man's metal utensils, style and design, and the white man's beads. Many had lost the art of tool making and hunting of their forefathers. They were dependent upon firearms for warfare and hunting even though they were unable to repair or fix a malfunctioning firearm.

The balance of the Indians were eastern woodland people. Gardening was their major source of food. They raised the same crops as the prairie people, but greater amounts of maize was grown near their villages. These extensive fields were communal and cared for by the women of the

village. Their hunting and gathering procedures were much the same as the prairie people. In many cases because of their location fish and shellfish were a regular part of their subsistence. Their houses were covered with skin and bark and took the shape of a wigwam if Algonkin, a long house if Iroquoian, or the gabled and flat-roofed shack of the whites. Most of their housing was now built for the single family rather than the traditional multiple family dwellings. They too had assimilated white technology in their lifestyle so that the skills of their ancestors were no longer a major part of their lifestyle.

The village was now the uniting force of these people rather than tribal affinity. In a single village there might have been people of four different tribes held together by economic necessity. Villages of different linguistic groups or different subsistence patterns were not uncommon by the 1780's. Only on the western extreme of this area were the villages still enclosed with a picket-like wall to protect themselves from the large herds of animals. Many of the groups in a single village would have a Christian element among them. This would create even greater divergencies within the village for not only would you have Delaware and Wyandot in the village but you might have Christian (Protestant) Delaware, Wyandot, and Christian (Catholic) Wyandots bonded together for survival. Thus, a culture based on homogeneous groups was being fractured by heterogeneous grouping held together by external forces and economic survival. Each village had its own hierarchy, a civil chief, a war chief, and a religious spokesman. Each of these had a significant role to play in the lives of the people of the village. In some cases one man played the role of two chiefs, Civil and War, such as the Crane (Tarhe) among the Wandot. The civil chief among the Iroquoian people was usually a hereditary office following the female lineage. The mother's clan determined availability for chieftainship. The War and Religious leadership positions were earned by accomplishments in conflict or ability to influence the spirits. Among the Algonkin speaking people the civil chiefs often were hereditary too, but followed the male lines for selection. The War and Religious leaders among the Algonkin were usually chosen the same as the Iroquoian. Villages generally were named by the Indian, but often were identified by the whites as the town of the one they thought was the principal Chief, i.e. Blue Jacket's village and Prophet's town. The village was autonomous in regard to tribal or multiple village actions. It was possible for a Miami village to choose not to join the other Miamis in conflict if it so decided. Even then individuals of the village could be participants. The warrior role of the males still prevailed, leaving each individual male to follow his own course of action, which was always influenced by the "spirits."

The Indians had no choice in their plight; the spirits had deemed that they must deal and contend with the whites if they were to survive. The Indians' world had drastically changed since the arrival of the whites. The Indians felt the whites way of life was so different, so bad, so inferior to the Indian that resistance, destruction, and force seemed to be the only solution.

The Indians felt a stand must be made to stop the white encroachment upon their lands. Twice before, they had allied themselves with the whites only to be betrayed by their allies in conflict. The first time, the French just up and quit and gave their claim to the land to the British without consulting with the Indian. When some of the Indians attempted to continue the struggle, such as Pontiac, the French made no attempt to help. This was not the way the Indians felt the allies should be treated.

To the Indians of this area, the British appeared not to be a serious problem. They continued to allow the eastern Indians, the Iroquois, to be the major conductors of trade and the only settlements were trading or military posts on the frontier. The British were quite generous with their gifts to the Indians and truly appeared to be concerned about the Indians needs and affairs. They let the French traders continue their effort among the western people.

The only bad things they were aware of was the way the colonists, the "long knives," were forcing the red people off their land in the east. Already the Delaware had come to the Wyandots and sought permission to use the eastern part of the Ohio Valley north of the "river." The southern people of the Algonkin speaking Indians, the Shawnee, were feeling the pressure of the "long knives" indirectly as the Cherokee were being pushed west and Shawnee moved across the "river" to what was once their homeland. The area was filling up with fragments of Mohawk, Seneca, Cayuga, and other eastern peoples who were escaping the pressures of whites or other Indians because of the white pressure. The realignment of the eastern peoples had fragmented the Hurons, Ottawas, and some of the Potawatomi. Some of these peoples were now calling this area home.

Then came the War between the British and Colonists and most of the people in our area sided with the British. It seemed that those who remained neutral got the worst of it, such as the Delaware in the Muskingum Valley. The British seemed to be doing all right; they certainly had more gifts to share with the Indian than the "long knives."

All at once in 1783 the Indian was told the war was over. Once again, their ally never consulted with them about the peace. The British now told the Indian they had given their claim to the Indians land to the Colonists. The new government told the Indian that since the Indian had fought on the side of the British and lost they had given up their rights to their land. When the Indians turned to the British for help they were told that they should hold onto their lands and that the British would help them in their struggle with supplies and advice.

Joseph Brandt, the famous Mohawk leader, became involved in the negotiations and counsel to the Indians of this area. He was to become the spokesman of the British interests and often for the western peoples.

At the first meetings with the Americans it seemed to the Indian that the American position was to allow the Indian to stay where they were, north of the river, and that all claims to other lands were no longer recognized. As the number of white people who came across the river and cleared the land became larger and larger the Indians retaliated with raids on these people. The Shawnee never accepted the American premise that the land south of the Ohio was no longer Shawnee lands to use.

It appeared that the best thing for the Indians to do was form a confederation to deal with these new kinds of problems. The British had betrayed them like the French had. They were very suspicious of the British who now wanted to help. Several councils were called to talk about the direction they would take. One thing they all agreed upon was a unified stand and that all interested parties must be represented in their negotiations with the Americans. Across the Appalachian Mountains the Ohio river was to be the separation line, all the way to the Mississippi. The western people were willing to allow Joseph Brandt to be their spokesman, because of his understanding of the whites' devious ways of dealing with the Indians.

In the beginning all seemed to go fairly well for the western Indians. At several of the councils' they showed a united stand, and supported by the willingness of the British to help, the Americans seemed to listen.

After the mid 1780's, the western Indians felt that their position was being eroded. Brandt and the British were counseling that the eastern portion of Ohio north of the river might be open to both. Fragments of the western groups were going to treaty talks with the white and giving into the white demands. Segments of the Wyandots, Delaware, Ottawa, and Chippewa were acting outside the confederation. As the whites' activity increased in trying to pressure agreements with the Indian, so did the numbers of whites crossing the Ohio. Once again, the Indians called a council and sought advice from the British. At this council it appeared to the western Indians that Joseph Brandt no longer cared for their interests and that he was too much like the white man. Even the British counseled relinquishing some of the lands in southeastern Ohio. The western people felt the eastern were no longer totally committed to their cause.

The leadership to white resistance shifted from the east to the west after 1786. The Miami and Shawnee were the most vocal. Their people held the strongest position as far as unity and numbers were concerned. The Wyandot, Ottawa, Delaware, Mingo and the others vacillated more on the critical issues, such as the Ohio river line, the all for one one for all stance, and retaliatory action. Among the eastern people the dependency on the white technology had become too great; the loss of tribal identity made it easier for villages and bands to act in their own best interest. The constant pressure of the white, the dislocation, the Christian influence, the series of epidemics, and the toll of warfare had not only reduced their numbers, it had reduced their will to resist. Survival was the issue to many; their immediate needs could not be met by their fellow Indians. As long as the British would supply them, they would heed their advice. When the British eased off on their stand, this group of Indians would more than likely follow.

The western groups had no single spokesman like Joseph Brandt. At the various councils Brandt continued to speak and the whites assumed he spoke for all, but then several different chiefs of the western groups spoke out. The Americans thought they had broken the Indians' resolve and could progress in their plans with little resistance. The western people were now listening and following the counsel of the British agent, Mathew Elliot, whom they felt better understood their position.

The western groups started to increase their retaliatory raids upon the Ohio river frontier. Little Turtle and Le Gris of the Miami, Blue Jacket and Captain Johnny of the Shawnee, Buckgonehelas of the Delaware, and Leatherlips of the Wyandots were the most active. Their raiding parties or sorties were often composed of various warriors of different villages mixed with white British sympathizers. White response was usually filibustering raids by frontiersmen into the Indians' territory carried on by militia or just local leaders such as George Rogers Clark in Kentucky.

The turmoil on the frontiers by 1789 was so great that the Federal government knew the only solution was a strong demonstration of force. St. Clair, the governor of the newly formed Northwest Territory, felt strongly the Indians were so disunited that a show of force would cement the eastern faction's acquiescence to the American viewpoint. The British were counseling patience and giving up the strong position of the

Ohio river as the boundary. The Indians were split into two factions. The decision to show force and the outcome of Harmar's campaign changed the entire scene on the western frontier north of the Ohio River. His unsuccessful venture helped to identify for the Indian capable leadership, the ability to win, and influenced the western British leaders that their long-hoped for Indian buffer state might be a possibility. Little Turtle, Blue Jacket, and Buckgonehelas all demonstrated leadership and strategy that equalled or surpassed the white leaders. It appeared that Little Turtle had distinguished himself more than the others. To the Indians and the British, this was significant because he was leader of the largest group of Indians involved. If any resistance was to succeed, the largest Indian groups and British support was essential. Little Turtle and Blue Jacket represented large factions of the two most numerous Indian groups and Buckgonehelas represented a vacillating group that might hold together the Confederation. More than anything else the "spirits" had shown all the Indians that they would look favorably upon the Indian endeavors and that the Wabash-Maumee Indians were in charge.

The raids upon white settlements increased in number and frequency. A poorly conceived peace strategy and a worse execution of the plan by the whites united the Indians even more and assured the participation of the eastern factions of the old confederation, the Iroquois. When it became evident that the Americans would once again attempt to control the Indians by force, the Wabash-Maumee Confederacy would be joined by representatives of the Iroquois of the east and at the urging of the British, members of Lake Indians, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Chippewa, and Huron. Arthur St. Clair was given command of the new Federal Force; his objective was the center of the resistance, present day Fort Wayne.

Leadership of the Indian forces has been the subject of historical debate for years. There were four potential leaders, Blue Jacket, Buckgonehelas, Little Turtle, and Joseph Brandt. In most cases, historians agree, Buckgonehelas, although probably favored by many of the Indians, acquiescently in favor of another. This is a reasonable conclusion because the Delaware were only guests of the Wyandot and Miami in the eyes of the Indians. The promotion of Joseph Brandt as leader fails to take into account the dissatisfaction of his role as leader by the Wabash-Maumee faction who were in control. Years after the fact, while visiting our nation's capital, both Blue Jacket and Little Turtle claimed the role of leadership. Historical consensus is that Little Turtle was in charge, supported by Blue Jacket, Buckgonehelas and others. The strategy used was similar to that used in the Harmar campaign; Little Turtle commanded the largest faction of the confederacy. Later testimony by people who knew the Indians, such as William Wells, all favored Little Turtle.

The victory on the field of battle was complete. St. Clair was put to rout in 1791. The Indians stood on the threshold of complete victory in the struggle. Two patterns of their culture would deny them ultimate victory. The obsession for taking trophies to show their warrior accomplishments or earn their acceptance into the warrior status. At the very moment they should have pursued St. Clair's defeated forces, they went about doing what was inherent to their way of life, collecting trophies. All was not lost, for a formidable attack on the fleeing army was still possible the next day. Secondly, that night the "spirits" came first to the Ottawa; they convinced others that the "spirits" would not be favorable to them if they pursued in battle. The next morning Little Turtle's force wilted

away. The opportunity for total victory was gone. The Indian concept of warfare had prevailed.

The reports of St. Clair's defeats reverberated through the eastern half of North America. The British became more adamant in their pursuit of an Indian buffer state and support of their Indian allies. The Indians' spirits were at an all-time high; factions from all over east of the Rockies wanted to be in on the kill. George Washington's image was tarnished and his leadership was questioned, but his determination to carry out an aggressive Indian policy persisted.

The British suggested outright war again between England and the United States and when they reconstructed a Fort on the Maumee River in United States territory, the Indians' cause was assured. The Indians were eager to go on the offensive and raids were to become constant after celebration, consultation, and contemplation were over. The concept of sporadic conflict in warfare still prevailed; the next major attack need not be while the enemy was weakest. The councils supported resistance and reasserted the Ohio River boundaries as well as giving the participants in the victory an opportunity to share their glory and celebrate the "spirits" support to assure continued good fortune.

The news that the United States was once again mounting a force did not seem to be of concern to the Indians, in fact, it appeared to stimulate them over more into a more militant mood. They laughed at the attempts of the United States to hold peace talks unless the government was willing to start on the basis of the Indians' desires. They challenged the British to join their forces and move against the "long knives." On June 30 and July 1, 1794, the first phase of the Indian strategy was implemented. They needed to do two things: capture the supplies of Wayne's army and destroy his northernmost outpost in his supply network. The Indians' style of battle was ambush, constantly interrupt the whites' supply lines which were essential to white armies, and raids rather than drawn-out battles. At Fort Recovery, the combined efforts of the Indian force of over two thousand men failed; an all-out frontal attack fell short. Several factors contributed to this: the heroics of the Federal Forces, the loss of the element of surprise, and the inability of Little Turtle to command complete control of the Lake Indians. The actions of the Lake Indians would have serious implications in Little Turtle's future actions. The Indians could not carry out this type of warfare and Wayne was made aware that an attack could come at any time. The Lake Indians were not so sure of the wisdom of Little Turtle or even the importance of their continued participation.

Before the next major confrontation Little Turtle would give up the leadership of the Indian forces, and the Lake Indians and many of the eastern fragments would desert the Wabash-Maumee force. The size of the combined Indian force would be reduced by a thousand. Blue Jacket would lead the Indians against Wayne at Fallen Timber with a force of a little over a thousand. The alliance was dealt a severe blow and when the British failed them again at the gates of Fort Miamis, Indian resistance collapsed.

Little Turtle realized to further resist would only destroy any remnants of his people.

NOTES

1. Randolph C. Downes, Council Fires on the Upper Ohio still stands above the others.

2. Most pre-historians and Indian scholars believe that the Shawnee were the descendents of the pre-historic Fort Ancient people.

3. Fort Miamis in present day Maumee, Ohio.

Bibliography

- Anson, Bert. The Miami Indians. (Norman, 1970).
- Bennett, John. Blue Jacket: War Chief of the Shawnees and His Part in Ohio's History. (Chillicothe, 1943).
- Berkhofer, Robert F., Jr. "Barrier to Settlement: British Indian Policy in the Old Northwest 1783-1794", in David M. Ellis ed., The Frontier in American Development: Essays in Honor of Paul Wallace Gates. (Ithaca & London, 1969).
- Bird, Harrison. War for the West 1790-1813. (New York, 1971).
- Boyd, Thomas. Simon Girty; The White Savage. (New York, 1928).
- Buell, Rowena, (ed). The Memoirs of Rufus Putnam and Certain Official Papers and Correspondence. (Boston and New York, 1903).
- Butterfield, Consul W. History of the Girtys. (Cincinnati, 1890).
- Calloway, Colin G. Crown and Calumet. (Norman, 1987).
- Carter, Henry Lewis. "A Frontier Tragedy: Little Turtle and William Wells," The Old Northwest, (VI Spring 1980).
- Carter, Henry Lewis. The Life and Times of Little Turtle. (Urbana and Chicago, 1987).
- Downes, Randolph C. Council Fires on the Upper Ohio. (Pittsburgh, 1940).
- Harvey, Henry. History of the Shawnee Indians from the Year 1681 to 1854, Inclusive. (Cincinnati, 1855).
- Hill, Leonard V. John Johnston and the Indians in the Land of the Three Miamis. (Piqua, 1957).
- Horsman, Reginald. "American Indians' Policy in the Old Northwest 1783-1812." William and Mary Quarterly, (3rd series, 18, 1961).
- "The British Indian Department and the Abortive Treat of Lower Sandusky, 1793." Ohio Historical Quarterly, (70, 1961).
- "The British Indian Department and the Resistance to General Anthony Wayne, 1793-1795," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, (49, 1962-63).
- Howard, Dresden W.H. "The Battle of Fallen Timbers as told by Chief Kin-jo-o-no." Northwest Ohio Quarterly. (20, 1948).
- Hulton, Paul A. "William Wells: Frontier Scout and Indian Agent," Indiana Magazine of History. (74, 1978).
- Irvin, Thomas. "Harmar's Campaign." Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly. (19, 1910).
- Kelsay, Isabel Thompson. Joseph Brandt 1743-1807: Man of Two Worlds. (Syracuse, 1984).
- Knopf, Richard C. ed. Anthony Wayne, A Name in Arms: The Wayne-Knox-Pickering-McHenry Correspondence. (Pittsburgh, 1960).
- Pickham, Howard H. "Josiah Harmar and His Indian Expedition." Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly. (50, 1946).
- Quaife, Milo Milton, ed. "General James Wilkinson's Narrative of the Fallen Timber's Campaign." Mississippi Valley Historical Review, (16, 1929-30).
- St. Clair, Arthur. Narrative of the Manner in which the Campaign Against the Indians . . . Was conducted, Under the

Command of Major General St. Clair. (Philadelphia, 1812).

Sargent, Winthrop. "Winthrop Sargent's Diary While With General Arthur St. Clair's Expedition Against the Indians," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, (33, 1961).

Smith, Dwight L., "Provocation and Occurrence of Indian-White Warfare in the Early American Period in the Old Northwest," Northwest Ohio Quarterly. (33, 1961).

_____, "William Wells and the Indian Council of 1793," Indiana Magazine of History. (57, 1954).

Sturtevant, William C., ed. Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 15: Bruce G. Trigger, ed. Northeast. (Washington, 1978).

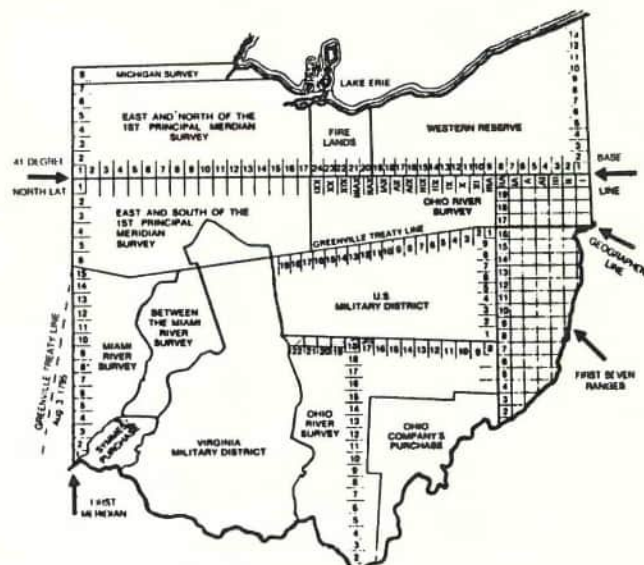
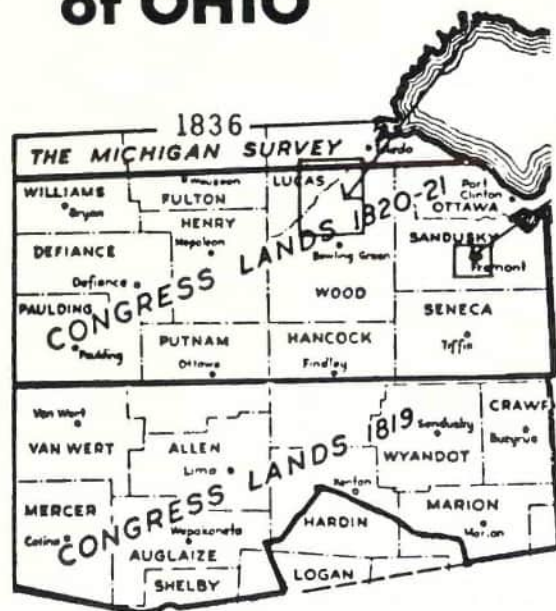
Sword, Wiley., President Washington's Indian War., (Norman, 1985).

Thornbrough, Gayle, ed. "Outpost on the Wabash 1787-1791: Letters of Brigadier General Josiah Harmer and Major John Francis Hamhamck," Indiana Historical Society Publication (19, 1957).

Young, Calvin M., Little Turtle: The Great Chief of the Miami Indian Nation. (Greenville, 1917).



The BUILDING of OHIO



FEDERAL LAND OFFICES IN OHIO YEARS OF OPERATION AND SUCCESSOR OFFICES

- Canton 1808-1816; Wooster 1816-1840
- Chillicothe 1801-1876
- Cincinnati 1801-1840
- Delaware 1820-1828; Tiffin 1828-1832; Bucyrus 1832-1842
- Piqua 1820-1833; Wapakoneta 1833-1835; Lima 1835-1843
- Upper Sandusky 1843-1848; Defiance 1848-1855
- Marietta 1800-1840
- Marion 1837-1845
- Steubenville 1800-1840
- Zanesville 1804-1840

OHIO'S MAJOR LAND SURVEYS

THOMAS E. FERGUSON
AUDITOR OF STATE

Custodian of Ohio Land Records

Supervisor of School and Ministerial Lands



George W. Knepper

Dr. George W. Knepper, Distinguished Professor of History and University Historian at the University of Akron, was born and raised in Akron, received a B.A. degree in History from the University of Akron, and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Michigan. He has taught at The University of Akron since 1954. He is the author of five books dealing with aspects of Ohio. His most recent publication, *Ohio and Its People*, is the first general history of the state written in this generation. Dr. Knepper is active in many organizations. He has served as president and trustee of The Ohio Historical Society, the Ohio Academy of History, and the Summit County Historical Society. He is a member of many other professional organizations and served on the Ohio Commission on the Bicentennial of the Northwest Ordinance. He is a former Fulbright Scholar, has won a number of teaching awards and was recognized in 1982 with an award for the best book on Ohio local history.

Settlement Of Westcentral Ohio Under Federal Land Policies

George W. Knepper

For several decades following the War of Independence the United States government experimented with land policies in the region lying north and west of the Ohio River. Long before territorial government was introduced in July, 1788, under terms set down in the Northwest Ordinance (1787), Congress had tried to deal with the knotty problems of illegal settlement in that region and with the removal of Indian title to portions of that land.

The war had not yet ended when illegal settlers — squatters — crossed the Ohio and moved into the fertile bottom lands of that river and its tributaries. Congress wanted to restrain these fiercely independent “banditti,” for they promised to be difficult to control, and they stirred up trouble with the Indians. To this end Congress issued a proclamation in 1783 ordering the squatters to abandon their illegal holdings and remove back across the Ohio. Words had no effect so the tiny frontier army was ordered to force out recalcitrants. The job was too large for the available troops, and the squatters remained.

Meanwhile Congress sent commissioners to effect a treaty with the Ohio tribes that would remove Indian claims to portions of the trans-Ohio lands. The 1785 Treaty of Ft. McIntosh, signed by sub-chiefs who had no right under Indian custom to alienate land, was rejected by the Ohio tribes, but Congress chose to regard it as valid. It established a boundary line opening most of eastern and southern Ohio to white settlement. Congress now saw the need to impose a system of land survey and sale on the newly open region if future growth were to be orderly and at the same time provide revenue for the federal government. Thus on May 20, 1785, Congress enacted “An Ordinance for Ascertaining the Mode of Disposing of Lands in The Western Territory,” an act better known to later generations as the Land Ordinance of 1785. Before the year was out, surveyors were laying out the Seven Ranges in what is now eastern Ohio.¹

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the Land Ordinance. It fastened the rectilinear survey upon the public lands and, after Congress had experimented with several variants, a basic pattern evolved featuring six-mile-square townships, usually subdivided into one-mile-square sections and fractions thereof. Ohio was the testing ground for this pattern, and once its utility had been demonstrated, all other territorial lands of the United States would be surveyed under this basic pattern.

Territorial government followed on the heels of the initial surveys. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 described steps for converting wilderness into organized states of the Union. Ohio (1803), the first state organized from the Northwest Territory, embraced hundreds of thousands of acres of federal land within its borders.

Among these federal lands was acreage within and adjacent to what is now Mercer County, located in westcentral Ohio just east of the Indiana border. The settlement of this area under federal land policies is the subject of this essay.

Westcentral Ohio deserves a special look because the conditions under which it was settled give it unique touches that set it apart from other Ohio regions. One special feature relates to Indian occupation.

Following Harmar’s and St. Clair’s unsuccessful attempts to subdue the Ohio tribes and their allies in 1790-91, Major General Anthony Wayne defeated them and broke their spirit at Fallen Timbers. During the following summer he dictated terms of peace to tribal representatives gathered at Ft. Greenville. This Treaty of Greenville (1795) established a boundary line separating Indians and whites. That part of the Greenville Line which affects this study ran west by southwest from the Tuscarawas River near Ft. Laurens (Bolivar, Tuscarawas County) to Loramie’s Store (Ft. Loramie, Shelby County), thence west by northwest to Ft. Recovery from which point it ran a bit west of south to the Ohio River opposite the mouth of the Kentucky River. Except for certain land cessions which the Indians agreed to, those lands lying north and west of the Greenville Line remained in Indian hands while those south and east of the line were now recognized by Indian tribal leaders as legitimately open to white settlement.²

The Greenville Line cut across modern Mercer and Shelby counties. Portions of Gibson, Granville, and Marion townships in Mercer, and about two thirds of Shelby lay south of the Greenville Line and were thus open to whites long before Indian claims north of the line were removed by the Treaty of Ft. Meigs (Rapids of the Maumee) in 1817 and the various treaties at St. Mary’s in 1818. Land south of the Greenville Line was included in the Miami River Survey and was laid out under the federal land act of 1796. Land north of the

Greenville Line was in the survey known as the Survey South and East of the First Principal Meridian (i.e. the Ohio-Indiana line), and it was laid out under the land act of 1800 as interpreted by instructions promulgated in 1815 by Edward Tiffin, Surveyor General of the United States.³

Congress Lands west of the Miami River were among the first surveyed under the land law of 1796. Their northern border — the Greenville Line — was fairly well known although in 1796 it had not yet been marked on the ground. This survey included what is now extreme southeastern Indiana that lay east of the Greenville Line. The present Ohio-Indiana line was defined in the 1802 Enabling Act as a meridian running north from the mouth of the Miami River. Yet four years earlier, in 1798, surveyors had used this meridian as the base for their range numbers, numbering them east and west from the meridian. They based township numbers, however, on the Great Miami, whose crooked course made the numbering more awkward than it need to be. Sections within the townships are all numbered according to the law of 1796 with the northeasternmost section being number 1 and then proceeding west to section 6, immediately south of which is section 7, thence east through 12, and so on, back and forth, until section 36 is reached in the extreme southeast corner of the township. A numbering exception occurred in Range I, townships 14 and 15 which were affected by the diagonals of the Greenville Line. In each regularly numbered township the four central sections — 15, 16, 21, 22 — were reserved, section 16 for support of public schools, and the others for future sale.⁴

Westcentral Ohio north of the Greenville Line, including most of Mercer, all of Auglaize, and a third of Shelby, was surveyed in 1819, 1820, and 1821 except for those portions still in Indian reservations. Another exception were the land grants along the St. Mary's River in Mercer County made to Miami Indians in 1815-1818. The best known of these were the 1815 and 1817 grants to Anthony Shane at Shane's Crossing,

modern Rockford. With the exceptions noted, the survey of this region was uniform. Ohio's western boundary was marked on the ground north from the Greenville Line in 1817. It was the principal meridian from which the ranges were numbered. The forty-first parallel of north latitude was the base line from which townships were numbered both north and south, thus townships north of the Greenville Line in Mercer, Auglaize, and Shelby have higher numbers as they proceed southward toward that line.⁵

The surveys proceeded while county boundaries were still much in flux. Counties were political units, so they did not influence the geographically based surveys. During Ohio's first years as a state, much of westcentral Ohio was considered part of Montgomery County. By 1812 Darke and Miami had superseded Montgomery in that region. Miami assumed its present configuration in 1819, the same year that Shelby was erected and organized. Shelby's boundaries changed in the succeeding nine years. Darke took on its present form by 1848. Mercer County, erected in 1820, remained attached to Darke until county government was organized in 1824. For the next twenty-four years, Mercer either gained or lost land, the final loss coming in 1848 when Auglaize County was erected and organized.⁶

The earliest white settlers in westcentral Ohio were predictably diverse in background. Many settled within striking distance of the Great Miami, and it is likely that a fair proportion were squatters. At any rate, accounts describing these first settlers tend to be vague, and they seldom mention land purchases. In 1796, for instance, "several Frenchmen" settled at the mouth of Honey Creek (in the vicinity of modern Tipp City). Other first-comers were former soldiers.⁷ They were probably among those who had spotted promising home sites while campaigning in the recently completed Indian wars.

The largest number of pioneer settlers in Miami, Shelby, and Darke counties came from the older-settled regions of Ohio or from the "old states of the Union." Miami County attracted an unusually cosmopolitan group. Early arrivals from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia predominated, but "the Carolinas and Georgia were well represented in the southwest part of the county by the Friends [Quakers] and antislavery emigrants from the South." One would also find a "sprinkling" of New Englanders and New Yorkers along with families from Delaware and Tennessee.⁸

Shelby County was similarly diverse. Green, Cynthian, Dinsmore, and Jackson townships drew settlers from the settled parts of Ohio and from the older states in the period from 1815 until the early 1830s. McLean Township was mainly settled by Germans. Loramie Township had a French concentration while Russia (in Loramie Township) was "laid out [to resemble] a locality in Russia in which some of its first citizens had formerly lived." A.B.C. Hitchcock, the early historian of Shelby, reported that Roman Catholics from Maryland "grouped themselves in neighborhoods" where they were secure in their religious tradition, but he fails to identify those neighborhoods. By 1850 German Lutherans and German Baptist Brethren (Dunkards) had settled in Shelby, the latter group located five miles east of Sidney.⁹

In the mid-1840s, Mercer County was described by Henry Howe as "the southernmost of the wild counties of Ohio."¹⁰ He was referring, of course, to its recent emergence from Indian hands and to its isolation and wild state. Mercer lagged behind Miami, Shelby, and Darke in attracting settlers. It was opened and surveyed much later, and it was also further removed from the Miami River access. Not until construction of The Miami and Erie Canal had proceeded well



Captain James Riley, Surveyor of Northwest Ohio and Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1820's, platted Willshire, Ohio 1822.

north of Dayton was it provided with a convenient transportation link to more settled regions. Mercer's earliest settlers moved in after the War of 1812 from other parts of Ohio and from Virginia and Kentucky. In 1830 Mercer had a population of 1,737, but Asiatic cholera struck with such force in 1832 that it "nearly depopulated" the county.¹¹

The second wave of settlers brought Mercer its most distinctive population cohort. The new influx of settlers, starting about 1832-33, was largely German Catholic. This group was especially strong in the southern half of Mercer County, in Celina, in Hopewell Township just to its northwest, and in what is now western Auglaize.¹²

Henry Howe described the German Catholic settlers as a "thrifty, upright, industrious body of pioneers, intensely patriotic and well adapted to cope with a wilderness condition."¹³ As these new settlers took up their land, English speaking people from the older parts of Ohio settled to the north and east of them. By 1840, the county's 8,277 people resided in fourteen organized townships.¹⁴

German migration to Mercer County may have commenced in September, 1833, when ninety-seven young Germans met together in Cincinnati and formed a stock company. They purchased one section (640 acres) from the federal land office in Piqua for \$800, the price set by the land law of 1820. They settled upon their land (located in modern Auglaize County), calling it Stallstown for the dominant member of their party. Cholera in 1833 and a crop failure two years later threatened the community, but it survived, thanks in part to flour sent by a nearby Quaker community. Within a few years the citizens of Stallstown changed its name to Minster, commemorating the German Münster, the home from which many had come.¹⁵

The Ohio River was the great highway to Mercer County and the West, but to reach it, immigrants had to survive an arduous trip. Elisabeth Boeke, one among thousands of German immigrants who made that trip, left a dramatic and detailed account of her adventure. From her home in Nellinghof in Oldenburg to the port of Bremen took eight days. There after fifteen days of search and inquire, she and her traveling companions boarded ship for Baltimore, and in the three days it took for the ship to work its way down the Weser River to Bremerhaven she had already sized up the crew — "impudent! filthy! lewd!"¹⁶ The passengers were aboard ship 59 days before landing in Baltimore; from there another sixteen days were spent travelling the National Pike to Wheeling on the Ohio. The overland journey by ox-drawn wagon was trying — "Up and down, sideways, bouncing . . . my behind is ruined and sore!"¹⁷ In Wheeling, the travelers followed the familiar water route to Cincinnati which was a "clearing house" for the distribution of German immigrants. Elisabeth Boeke's journey ended with a trip north on the Miami Canal to Stallstown, "then left on the woods path to Stammen Station, then the little path north, and at the three log houses again directly to the west, about one hour to four or five log houses — then we are, at last, at St. John."¹⁸

Thousands of Germans, mostly young people with limited prospects at home, made similar trips. The immigrant stream was fed by a "great and very cleverly managed campaign of propaganda" conducted especially in Hanover, Westphalia, the Rhineland, Baden, and Bavaria which, along with letters and books, spread news of opportunity in America. Ohio proved a special magnet for them because land agents, meeting immigrant ships in eastern ports, directed them there.¹⁹

As a rule, wrote Paul J. Knapke, the historian of the Society of the Precious Blood, Germans were better supplied with funds than other new arrivals in the West so they could afford to buy land (many bought 80 acres at \$1.25 per acre when purchased from a federal land office).²⁰ The land act of April 5, 1832 permitted purchases in units as small as quarter-quarter sections (40 acres) and the \$1.25 per acre price remained as it had been since 1820. Germans settling in Mercer County appear to have purchased their land directly from federal land offices. An alternative in some areas, of course, would be to purchase from a speculator who would charge whatever the traffic would bear. Since the price speculators charged had to be competitive with the federal price, there was little short-term advantage to a speculator in regions like southern Mercer County where settlements were so remote as to escape the inflationary impact experienced by land situated close to booming towns where land values increased rapidly.²¹

German Catholics settled together, usually under a zealous German priest or missionary. Religious services were in German language. These settlers "wanted the order and discipline of parish life as they had known it in Germany."²² Within a decade of early settlement five parishes were organized in southern Mercer County, varying in size from Minster's 1,288 souls to St. Rose's 100.²³ The Catholic population was somewhat larger in 1845 when priests and confreres of the Society of the Precious Blood, led by Father M. Francis De Sales Brunner, first came from northern Ohio to minister to the region. Father Brunner, seven priests and seven confreres had arrived at Cincinnati in 1843; Bishop Purcell had assigned them to various charges in north central Ohio before their coming to Mercer.²⁴

Ten years prior to Father Brunner's arrival, when Mercer County was receiving its first Germans, it was still wild and raw. Elisabeth Boeke left a graphic account of her arrival in the primeval wilderness that was St. John in 1835. "My introduction," she wrote, "was entirely frustrating, unexpected. It shocked me." In the forest, she wrote, "I am imprisoned, swallowed deep in its gloomy throat . . . these wooded depths . . . so dreadfully quiet, so damp, dark, cool. Behind, below, above, in front are the brush, the weeds, and two million unbending trees." It was impossible to describe, she wrote, "how dense, dull and clumsy, how pitifully bewildered we and our neighbors were. Saying goodbye to the forest . . . was not possible. Get out? We could not!" In time, however, "our complaints went away. It was worth our wailing and screaming. God is indeed with us!"²⁵

The Boekes were more fortunate than some, for they had neighbors reasonably close by. Communication was by crude forest trail, but one day a week Natz Boeke had to work for Marion Township building roads, bridges, culverts, and dams. He also worked a half-day building the church and school. As his wife said, it was precious time to give up, "but not wasted."²⁶

It is easier to generalize about the German experience in westcentral Ohio than it is to generalize about non-Germans. The latter were too diverse; they represented too wide a spectrum of practices and traditions to explain in short scope. New Englanders, for example, had different farming practices, a different outlook on public education, different customs, than did the upland southerners who settled the region. Yankees were present in small numbers, but Virginians and Kentuckians were conspicuous.

Elisabeth Boeke described the latter, whom she mislabeled Yankees, in contradictory terms. The Yankee, she wrote, had the advantage of being born in America and thus

understood "the American situation, its expectations, possibilities and limits." He can venture into the forest better than the Germans; he is not obsessed with ghosts and magic. The Yankee is at peace, free from guilt feelings and "imprudent priests;" he does not need to "buy his Heaven here with cash." The Yankee pays promptly, does not concern himself with weather, money, boundaries, clothes, prospects. He is not stingy. He is clannish and haughty. He is a better hunter, better woodsman, wood carver, wood chopper, trapper, and tradesman. He has more patient traits, is a better horse handler, knows nature, water, weather, streams and animals better. His voice is honey-sweet, not gruff like the Low German men and women. But he "is too lazy, too stupid" and does not want to take care of his own house, garden, or farm.²⁷

Along with the Germans, another conspicuous group was found among the early settlers of Mercer County. About 1833-34 a Quaker reformer, Augustus Wattles of Connecticut, founded a school for Cincinnati blacks whom he wanted to remove from the limitations imposed by the city environment. In 1835 he purchased land in Mercer County and established a black colony on 30,000 acres in Granville, Franklin, and Marion townships. The blacks were farmers who, according to Henry Howe, bore a "good reputation for morality." They showed "a laudable desire for mental improvement." Wattles owned 190 acres at Carthage on which he established a manual training school for his charges. It became the Emlen Institute and performed useful work until its demise in 1857.

Much wilderness remained in westcentral Ohio in 1850, but the cutting edge of the frontier had largely passed beyond. Auglaize County was formed partly from Mercer in 1848.²⁹ The Miami and Erie Canal was completed to Toledo in 1845 and provided a market outlet that stimulated local business. Despite the canal, it was still common for farmers to drive livestock all the way to Cincinnati, yet within a short time, railroads would make such trips obsolete and would integrate westcentral Ohio into the nation's developing transportation and market network.

Possibly the most unique aspect of westcentral Ohio's settlement is the cultural persistence of the German settlers through many generations down to the present day. The prominent church buildings across rich farmland are visible reminders of the faith, courage, and determination they brought to this region which today is among the most productive in Ohio.

NOTES

1. A convenient overview of Congress's efforts is in George W. Knepper, *Ohio and Its People* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1989), pp. 47-59. See also Andrew R. L. Cayton, *The Frontier Republic: Ideology and Politics in the Ohio Country, 1780-1825* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1986), pp. . A copy of the Land Ordinance may be found in C.E. Sherman, *Original Ohio Land Subdivisions . . .* (Columbus: The Ohio State Reformatory, 1925), pp. 173-77.
2. For the Treaty of Greenville see Henry Steele Commager, ed., *Documents of American History*, 4th ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948), pp. 123-24.

3. For the effect of the Greenville line see Sherman, *Ohio Land*, plate 27, p. 121 and also the large, detailed survey map of Ohio which accompanies Sherman's book. The land act of 1796 can be found in *ibid* pp. 178-92. Tiffin's 1815 instructions are in *ibid*, pp. 193-201.

4. Sherman, *Ohio Land*, plate 27, p. 121; pp. 123-24.

5. Sherman, *Ohio Land*, figure 5, p. 138; plate 31, p. 139; large survey map accompanying Sherman; pp. 131-32. Shane received 320 acres in 1815 and 640 more in 1817. Other grants were Louis Godfrey (3,840 acres), Black Loon (640), Crescent (640), Charley (640), Labadie (640), and 320 acres to Richardville in present Van Wert County; *ibid*, p. 138.

6. Details of Ohio county configuration are found in Randolph C. Downes, *Evolution of Ohio County Boundaries* (Columbus: The Ohio Historical Society, 1927, reprinted 1970), various pp.

7. *The History of Miami County, Ohio* (Chicago: W. H. Beers & Co., 1880), p. 216.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 217.

9. A.B.C. Hitchcock, *History of Shelby County, Ohio and Representative Citizens* (Chicago: Richmond-Arnold Publishing Co., 1913), pp. 243, 324, 338, 351, 356, 361, 365, 370; *The History of Darke County, Ohio* (Chicago: W. H. Beers & Co., 1880), pp. 213-16.

10. Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, in 3 vols. (Columbus Henry Howe & Sons, 1891), II, 500.

11. Joyce L. Alig, ed., *Mercer County Ohio History* (Celina, OH: Mercer County Historical Society, 1978), p. 735; Howe, *Ohio*, II, 484.

12. Alig, *Mercer*, pp. 457, 735; Howe, *Ohio*, II, 499. Celina was surveyed and laid out by James Watson Riley and three other joint proprietors. The plat was recorded in 1834, *ibid*, 500.

13. Howe, *Ohio*, II, 499.

14. Howe, *Ohio*, II, 484.

15. *Souvenir of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of Minster, Ohio* (n.a., n.p., 1932?), pp. 7-12.

16. Luke B. Knapke, ed., *Liwät Böke 1807-1882; Pioneer* (Minster, OH: The Minster Historical Society, 1987), pp. 39-41.

17. Knapke, ed., *Böke*, pp. 40-47 and two maps in a book-pocket.

18. Knapke, ed., *Böke*, maps in book-pocket.

19. Paul J. Knapke, *History of the American Province of the Society of the Precious Blood*, vol. II (Carthage, OH: The Messenger Press, 1968), II, p. 18.

20. Knapke, *Precious Blood*, II, 18. The relative wealth of Germans is confirmed by Daniel Dwarko, "The Settler in the Maumee Valley: Henry, Lucas, and Wood Counties, Ohio, 1830-1860" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Bowling Green State University, 1981), p. 7.

21. Alig, *Mercer*, p. 871 reported that much land in Washington Township was owned by non-resident speculators. Dwarko, "Maumee Valley," p. iv, says that in the Maumee Valley the speculator "positively contributed" to the region's development, particularly through regular payment of taxes on his holdings and provisions of 'reasonable terms' for disposition of his land."

22. Knapke, *Precious Blood*, II, 19, quoting C. J. Barry, *The Catholic Church and German Americans*, p. 8.

23. Knapke, *Precious Blood*, II, 85.

24. Knapke, *Precious Blood*, II, 21.

25. Knapke, ed., *Böke*, p. 100.

26. *ibid.*, p. 100.

27. *ibid.*, pp. 118-21.

During the years 1819-20, Captain James Riley held an appointment as a Deputy Surveyor, under Surveyor General of the U.S. lands in Ohio and Indiana, Edward Tiffin, Esq.; which territory was then almost an unbroken wilderness.

Captain James Riley, Upper Houses (Cromwell) Conn., had served as a sea captain for over two decades. After the War of 1812, Captain Riley acknowledged the changing maritime economy. As other captains had done, Captain Riley went west and became surveyor in the lands of the Old Northwest Territory.

The following correspondence gives first hand description of this land.

Capt. Riley to B. Sandford, Esq.

FOREST — head of the Wabash River, near
Fort Recovery, Ohio, Nov. 20, 1819

Dear Sir: Embracing a leisure moment, while my companions are asleep, I will attempt to give you some description of the country in which we are employed. And although you may be acquainted with an outline of the geographical situation, it may not be uninteresting to give a more particular view than it has been in the power of any one to take, before a part of the surveys were completed.

This tract of country, commonly called the "New Purchase," in Ohio, lies in the North-west part of the State, and comprises *one-fifth* part of its whole area, or about 5,000,000 of acres. It was ceded — by several tribes of Indians — to the United States, by the treaties of Fort Meigs, in 1817, and St. Marys, in 1818. It is bounded north by Lake Erie and Michigan Territory, west by the line that separates Ohio from Indiana, south and east by the line of former purchases from Indians; and lies between latitude 40° 20', and 41° 50'; and West long. 82° 55', and 84° 50'. South of latitude 41°, in this purchase, lies an extensive, level country — a kind of *plateau*, and is the most elevated part of Ohio.

The Wabash, Miami and Scioto rivers, which discharge their waters through the Ohio and Mississippi rivers into the gulf of Mexico: and the St. Mary's, Auglaize and Sandusky rivers, that empty their waters into Lake Erie, take their rise and have their sources in this elevated plain. The head branches of those rivers running different courses and emptying into different oceans, interlock in such a manner as almost to form a junction with each other in the spring of the year; and boats have actually sailed from the Wabash into the St. Mary's, and thence to Lake Erie, through the river Maumee. The waters of the Scioto and the Miami also approach each other in a singular manner, and are nearly connected with the Sandusky and Auglaize rivers. Hence, by but a trifling expense, they might be made to commingle, and thus afford great agricultural and commercial facilities. The climate, for the 40° of latitude, is mild. We have as yet had no snow this season, and but little frost; and the inhabitants who have "*squatted*" in considerable numbers on the public lands in this quarter, are now plowing their fields as in summer, and the corn blades were not nipped with frost so as to injure them before the 20th of October. The soil is in general excellent, and appears to have been formed by alluvial deposit; in digging a well near the St. Mary's river, and on the summit level, they passed through different strata of blue and yellow clay, very fibrous, to the depth of 35 feet, without coming to either rock or gravel, nor did they find good water; when at this depth a shower of rain caused the

sides to cave in, and it was abandoned. Along the banks of all the streams the land is good and dry; every quarter section (160 acres,) may afford a good farm.

All the country, except part of the Sandusky plains, is well timbered with hickory, sugar maple, beech, white oak, elm, poplar, white and black walnut, etc. The undergrowth is *paw-paw*, hazel, spicewood, and some prickly ash. On receding from the banks of the streams and rivers some wet land is met with, such as swamps and wet prairies. Most of these, however, will drain themselves when the land around becomes cultivated; and the others afford excellent meadow and grazing land. All the before mentioned rivers take their rise in swamps, or wet prairies, and are not produced by springs, so that in dry seasons they afford but little water; and as but few springs are met with on the summit level, (which extends in breadth from north to south about twenty miles,) the inhabitants must depend on wells or their supplies of water at all seasons of the year; but as we proceed north towards the Lake, where the country assumes a gently rolling aspect, springs and branches are more frequent, and the whole surface inclines gradually to the northward to the margin of Lake Erie.

The rivers and streams flowing north soon become rapid, and abound with excellent fish; and mill seats are very numerous, where machinery to any amount may be kept in constant operation. In traversing, inch by inch, this interesting region of Ohio, the mind is almost bewildered by the contemplation of its importance — its climate, soil, local situation and permanent advantages. Here may be discovered the sites of future cities, towns, and villages, where agriculture, the arts and sciences, and commerce will flourish in a few years. And here are routes for canals, that at no very remote period, will unite the waters of the Ohio and Lake Erie.

This region of country is so easy of access from New England by the "*New York Grand Canal*" and Lake Erie, that no doubt can be entertained of its speedy settlement; while hundreds of citizens already settled in this State are selling, or have sold their farms, with the intention of purchasing and removing into the newly ceded territory as soon as the lands there shall be surveyed and offered for sale, and to increase the chances of a good market.

Besides this "new purchase," there are several millions of acres of excellent land yet unsettled in the most fertile parts of this State — the reasons of this I will attempt to develop. Emigrants removing from the Atlantic States find much difficulty and fatigue in crossing the Alleghany mountains, and hope on *entering* Ohio to find a smooth and level country, instead of which, on the Wheeling and Steubenville roads, they encounter hills and ridges more steep and difficult than the mountains they have passed; and this is found to be the case for nearly two hundred miles, to the vicinity of Chillicothe. Many break their waggons, wear down their teams, curse the road and the country, and either go on to Indiana or Illinois, at great expense, or in disgust return eastward again; never imagining that all, or nearly all, of the land in Ohio north of the road along which they pass, is smooth and fertile, or that one day's travel northward would bring them into a region according with their expectations and desires. Those farmers who wish to emigrate into the western country from New England or New York, may entirely shun the Alleghany mountains, and the no less formidable Ohio hills, by proceeding to Buffalo, and from thence either by land or water to Erie or Cleveland; and thence go southward and westward, where they will not fail of suiting themselves either in Ohio or Indiana.

Having nearly completed the surveys for which I have contracted, I intend to set off in a few days for Fort Wayne, in Indiana, on a tour of observation; and from thence down the Maumee river to Lake Erie, and shall write you from the principal places I visit as I go along.

My candle, formed of wax taken to-day from a "bee-tree," (which afforded us nearly ten gallons of good honey,) is nearly burned out. The wolves howl tremendously around our tent, seeking for food; the great owl, and screech owl, mingling their ominous notes, join in the outcry; and I must now join my companions in sleep.

Please excuse all errors on the ground of haste, and the circumstances under which I write.

Your friend and obedient servant,
JAMES RILEY

Capt. Riley to B. Sanford, Esq.

FORT WAYNE, Indiana, Nov. 24, 1819

Dear Sir: Having concluded my surveys for the season, and wishing to view the country between the St. Mary's and the Maumee rivers, to examine for myself the practicability of so uniting the Wabash with the Maumee, as to render intercourse by water, between the Ohio river and Lake Erie, safe and easy, through that channel, &c., &c.

I sat out yesterday from Shane's crossing, on the St. Mary's, and traveling through a district of good land, on or near the right bank of that river, 40 miles, reached this place early in the evening. Early this morning I sat off to look at the junction of the St. Joseph's, rising in Michigan Territory, runs southwesterly about 200 miles, receiving in its course several tributary streams; and the St. Mary's, rising in Shelby County, Ohio, runs northwesterly more than 200 miles, including its meanders, when, forming a junction nearly from opposite points of the compass, the river turns suddenly south, and assumes the name of the *Miami of the Lake*, or, as pronounced by the French, *Maumee*; then turning gradually round again, their congregated waters flow off in a northeasterly direction, about 200 miles, (following the course of the river,) to the southwestern extremity of Lake Erie, where they disembogue into that inland sea.

Fort Wayne stands on a bluff just below the junction, and on the right bank of the Maumee. Its situation was admirably chosen by the General whose name it bears; in whom were united the greatest personal courage and intrepidity, and the most consummate prudence and skill in conducting and supporting an army amidst the forest and morasses, separated from the inhabited parts of the country, by a dreary and boundless wilderness; surrounded on all sides by an innumerable host of savage enemies, flushed and excited by a recent and decisive victory over the unfortunate General St. Clair.

The active and comprehensive mind of Gen. Wayne created resources as he went along, buffeting the attacks, and baffling the skill and savage cunning of his enemies. With astonishing industry and activity, he cut roads, and marched his troops into all the important points, which he seized and secured with an unerring military eye; and with profound judgment he selected and fortified such posts, and such only, as would inevitably secure his conquests, and afford the surest protection to his army, and an extensive frontier settlement. At every step in this country, every unprejudiced mind will more and more admire the movements and achievements of the army conducted by this veteran, and truly wise and great commander. By occupying Fort Wayne, the communication between Lake Erie and the Ohio, through the channels of the

Maumee and the Wabash, (which is the shortest and most direct water route from Buffalo to the Mississippi river,) was cut off, or completely commanded.

The Wabash river, which rises in Ohio, runs north past Fort Recovery, enters Indiana about ten miles from that post, and continuing its course northwardly, approaches Fort Wayne within eighteen miles, when it turns more to the southwest, running diagonally across the State of Indiana, and receiving in its course numerous important tributary streams, until it reaches the line that separates Indiana from Illinois in latitude 40°; thence meandering through Illinois, and again back into Indiana in a southern direction, discharges its waters into the Ohio river. The little Wabash rises in an elevated swamp prairie, six miles south of Fort Wayne, and joins the Wabash eighteen miles hence. Thus, in high stages of the water, a portage of only six miles, carries merchandize from the head of the Maumee into the navigable waters of the Wabash, (and vice versa) from whence, floating with the current, it may go either to supply the wants of the interior of the country, or proceed south to New Orleans, or north to Lake Erie.

Through a part of the above mentioned swamp (which is very extensive) a canal might very easily be cut, six miles long, uniting the Wabash to the St. Mary's a little above its junction; and from what I saw and learned from others, it is my opinion, that the swamp might afford water sufficient for purposes of canal navigation.

To-morrow morning it is my intention to start for Fort Defiance, in company with B. F. Stickney, Esq., late an Indian Agent at this place; a man of worth, good sense, much science, and well acquainted in these parts. He is now a resident of Port Lawrence, near the Maumee Bay.

I am, with regard, yours, &c.,

JAMES RILEY.

B. Sanford, Esq.

William Willshire Riley. SEQUEL TO RILEY'S NARRATIVE, LIFE, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS OF CAPTAIN JAMES RILEY. Columbus, Ohio: George Brewster. 1851.



