

leader, and I am proud that a young man who served on this House floor 27 years ago, Bill Gates, had the freedom and the opportunity to succeed so that a magnificent country such as ours could benefit from someone who pursued that American dream.

Now, what does this decision say to the next young man or woman who wants to be Bill Gates? Who wants to create their own Microsoft? What does it say to our children in the 20-something years that have an idea and want to see it succeed? To me it says if one succeeds, then the government will come after them and will stifle their success.

There are two central flaws in this opinion, this finding of facts. First is the finding that Microsoft's development of the Windows operating system has created an "applications barrier to entry." In this theory they broke the law by trying to preserve that so-called barrier, including trying to destroy competing products. In my estimation, Microsoft has simply acted as any very rational competitor in the industry would act, trying to forward their product. They have a superior product. In most cases it appears to have been in the interest of the other companies to have their products work with Windows.

For example, when they reached a deal with America Online to distribute their Internet browser instead of the Netscape browser, AOL did so not because of threats from Microsoft but because it benefited their customers. They wanted to sell the product because it was a better product. And then at the end of 1998, when they could have ended that exclusive arrangement, they decided they wanted to extend it. While Microsoft has been very aggressive in promoting its products, we do not punish aggressive competition in America.

But, Mr. Speaker, the more egregious flaw in the findings is the reason that it is based on a pitifully outdated theory of tying. Now, if some competitor comes along with a better browser, frankly Microsoft can rapidly find itself at the losing end of that competition, and there is no reason or rationale to apply the theory of tying one product with another in the computer world; as Professor George Priest has so aptly stated. As such, the traditional tying theory, Professor Priest argues, may be irrelevant in this case because it simply did not apply to computers.

Madam Speaker, I would hope that my colleagues would pay attention to this and make sure that this Justice Department does not end up putting a damper on the innovation and technological growth that has made this country great.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. WILSON). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. KIND) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. KIND addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

#### NORTHWEST TERRITORY OF THE GREAT LAKES HERITAGE AREA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. SOUDER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SOUDER. Madam Speaker, as a member of the Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands, and as a representative of historic Ft. Wayne, Indiana, I rise this evening to introduce a bill to create the Northwest Territory of the Great Lakes Heritage Area. I am pleased to be joined by original cosponsors, these Members representing both political parties from not only Indiana but the Old Northwest States of Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin: The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HASTERT), the gentleman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR), the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. GILLMOR), the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. LAHOOD), the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE), the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BOEHNER), the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. PORTMAN), the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. STUPAK), the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BARCIA), the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. EWING), the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. ROEMER), the gentleman from Ohio (Mrs. JONES), the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. HOEKSTRA), the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. MCINTOSH), the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. SAWYER), the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PHELPS), the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. GREEN), the gentleman from Michigan (Ms. STABENOW), and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. OXLEY).

The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. ENGLISH) who represents Erie, Pennsylvania, is also a cosponsor. Though Erie was not part of the Northwest Territory of the Great Lakes, Erie, Pennsylvania, was intimately involved in our history, including being the launching place for Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry's fleet to victory on Lake Erie and as the final resting place of General Anthony Wayne.

Mr. Speaker, many of the sites from the Northwest Territory period are now lost, but throughout the Midwest there are still key buildings and sites that have been preserved. As my colleagues can see on this map of the Northwest Territory, this is the original Northwest Territory of the United States, including all of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois. And at that time, Illinois also included the State of Wisconsin and Minnesota east of the Mississippi River.

In Ohio, we not only have the Battle of Fallen Timbers Historic Site and the International Peace Memorial to Commodore Perry at Put-in-Bay at South Bass Island in Lake Erie, but other diverse sites as well including the Fort Recovery State Memorial, where Gen-

eral St. Clair was defeated; Fort Meigs at Toledo; and such pioneering sites as the Golden Lamb Inn in Lebanon which dates from 1803, has played host to 10 Presidents; the 1807 mansion of Thomas Worthington in Adena; in Lancaster, Ohio, is the Square 13 Historic District that includes a number of homes from the 1810s and 1820s, including the 1820 home of William Tecumseh Sherman; and in Marietta, "Campus Martius: The Museum of the Northwest Territory," which includes the Rufus Putnam house, the only structure from the original stockade, and the 1788 plank-and-clapboard Ohio Land Company Office.

In Indiana, we have numerous sites related to this period as well: The Lincoln Boyhood Memorial; New Harmony, the first State capital; and Governor William Hendricks home in Corydon; the historic town of Madison; the Connor Prairie Museum; National Historic Sites at Vincennes and Tippecanoe; and the battle sites in Ft. Wayne, including the forts; Little Turtle; and Indian village sites including the Richardville House; and Johnny Appleseed Park and Gravesite.

Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan have important sites as well, but they were less settled at that time. Mackinac Island was a trading anchor of the upper Midwest and has many historic buildings in a beautiful location where automobiles are still banned. These wonderful historic sites, however, are somewhat lost without a cohesive story. The Lewis and Clark Trail, in which they charted America's frontier, has numerous informative materials about its history as well as visitor centers along the trail. However, in the Midwest this is not as true.

In the legislation that we are introducing this evening, it includes only those sites from the Northwest Territory period of 1785 to 1835. It forms a management authority consisting of appointees by the governor of each Northwest Territory State, including a Native American appointee from each State, as well as representatives of each State's historical society.

Duties and powers include the ability to receive funds, disburse funds, make grants, hire staff, develop a management plan, and to "help ensure the conservation, interpretation, and development of the historical, cultural, natural, and recreational resources related to the region historically referred to as the Northwest Territory of the Great Lakes during the period from 1785 through 1835."

Madam Speaker, this may include developing an Internet Web site and other marketing programs, erecting signs, recommendations on conservation, funding and management for development of the Heritage area, but only within existing State and local plans and with comments of residents, public agencies, and private organizations within the Heritage Area.

The Act specifically forbids taking any action which "jeopardizes the sovereignty of the United States" and

stipulates that the authority "shall not infringe upon the private property rights of individuals or other property owners." It authorizes appropriations of up to \$1 million per year and not more than \$10 million for the Heritage Area as a whole. Federal funding cannot exceed 50 percent of the total cost of any assistance.

The Midwest has far too long been overlooked. The rivers and Great Lakes were America's first transportation system that opened up the West and nourish breadbasket of the world, not to mention providing the raw materials and distribution system for the industrial heartland of America.

Madam Speaker, the Native American nations in the Midwest, because so many of their historic sites and culture were destroyed and because there is less modern documentation, are often forgotten while similar and smaller some less powerful tribes of the West get far more attention.

Madam Speaker, it is a great honor and a proud day for Ft. Wayne and all of the Midwest to introduce this bill this evening. It has been a long day in coming.

Madam Speaker, I submit a copy of the bill and the following facts about the Northwest Territory for inclusion in the RECORD.

H.R. —

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Northwest Territory of the Great Lakes National Heritage Area Act of 1999".

#### SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSE.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds the following:

(1) The region which includes Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio was once known as the Northwest Territory. It was the first frontier region of the new United States of America. Some of the indigenous peoples of the area were the Delaware, Kikapoo, Miami, Ottawa, Piankeshaw, Potawatami, Shawnee, Wea, and Wyandotte Indians.

(2) The distinctive landscape of this area was largely defined by—

(A) the Ordinance of 1785, which established a system of transferring land ownership from the Indians to the United States Government and then to private owners, and created the system of land surveyance and township and county plats which remains today;

(B) the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which established a process through which self-government in this first frontier of the newly organized United States could be established; and

(C) the Treaty of Greenville of 1795, which signaled the end of Indian resistance in the region.

(3) The local environmental and topographical landscape of the area was largely defined in commercial and strategic terms by—

(A) the area river systems, including but not limited to—

(i) the Fox River, the Illinois River, and the Kankakee River, in the State of Illinois;

(ii) the Eel River, the Elkhart River, the Kankakee River, the Maumee River, the St. Joseph River, the St. Mary's River, and the Wabash River in the State of Indiana;

(iii) the Detroit River, the St. Mary's River, and the St. Joseph River in the State of Michigan; and

(iv) the Great Miami River, the Maumee River, and the St. Mary's River in the State of Ohio;

(B) the Great Lakes;

(C) the River Portage Trails, including but not limited to—

(i) the 3 mile portage from the St. Joseph River to the Little Wabash River in Fort Wayne, which was the only separation in the waterway from the upper Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico; and

(ii) the Great Miami River to the St. Mary's and Wabash—Rivers in Ohio;

(D) the 13 forts which developed in the region, including but not limited to—

(i) Fort Dearborn, in Chicago, Illinois;

(ii) Fort Wayne, in Fort Wayne, Indiana;

(iii) Fort Mackinac on Mackinac Island, Michigan; and

(iv) Fort Defiance, in Defiance, Ohio; and

(E) the settlements, including Native American villages, early trading posts, and territorial capitals that developed in the region.

(4) The military history of the region includes, but is not limited to—

(A) LaBalme's Defeat in 1780;

(B) the defeat of General Harmar in 1790;

(C) the defeat of General St. Clair in 1791;

(D) the United States victory by General "Mad" Anthony Wayne at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794; and

(E) the Battle of Lake Erie in 1832.

(5) The confederacy of Indian Nations was organized by Tecumseh and "The Prophet" to stop American advancement. General William Henry Harrison defeated The Prophet at the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811. This was the last major battle east of the Mississippi River with Indian Nations and led to the famous slogan "Tippecanoe and Tyler too", which propelled Harrison to the Presidency of the United States.

(6) The War of 1812, during which the region might have been lost to Canada without Commodore Perry's victory at Put-in-Bay on Lake Erie.

(7) The rush of settlers to the region after the War of 1812 led to additional treaties and conflict with the Native Americans. Most Indians were removed in a series of events culminating with the so-called "Black Hawk Wars", which ended in 1833.

(b) PURPOSES.—The purposes of this Act include the conservation, interpretation, and development of the historical, cultural, natural, and recreational resources related to the region historically referred to as the Northwest Territory of the Great Lakes during the period from 1785 to 1835.

#### SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.

For the purposes of this Act—

(1) the term "Authority" means the Northwest Territory of the Great Lakes National Heritage Area Authority;

(2) the term "Heritage Area" means the Northwest Territory of the Great Lakes National Heritage Area established in section 4; and

(3) the term "Plan" means the management plan required to be developed for the Heritage Area pursuant to section 5(e)(1)(G).

#### SEC. 4. THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY OF THE GREAT LAKES NATIONAL HERITAGE AREA.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is hereby established the Northwest Territory of the Great Lakes National Heritage Area.

(b) BOUNDARIES.—The Heritage Area shall be comprised of historically significant areas, as defined by the Authority, within Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio (as defined by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787), such as the following historically significant locations:

(1) Fort Dearborn and Fort Clark in the State of Illinois.

(2) In Indiana—

(A) Anthony Wayne, Chief Little Turtle, and Chief Richardville sites (Fort Wayne);

(B) The Historic Forks of the Wabash Park and Chief LaFontaine Home (Huntington);

(C) Kokomo Village (Kokomo);

(D) Deaf Man's Village (Peru);

(E) Munsee Town (Muncie);

(F) Chief Menominee Monument (Plymouth);

(G) Historic Vincennes (Vincennes);

(H) Prophetstown (Lafayette); and

(I) Historic Corydon (Corydon).

(3) In Michigan—

(A) Fort Michilimackinac (Mackinaw City); and

(B) Fort Mackinac (Mackinac Island).

(4) In Ohio—

(A) Fallen Timbers State Memorial (Maumee);

(B) Fort Defiance State Memorial (Defiance);

(C) Fort Adams/Ft. Amanda State Memorial (Wapakoneta);

(D) Fort Recovery State Memorial (Fort Recovery);

(E) Fort Greenville/Treaty of Greenville Memorial (Greenville);

(F) Fort Jefferson State Memorial (Ft. Jefferson);

(G) Fort St. Clair State Memorial (Eaton);

(H) Fort Hamilton Monument (Hamilton);

(I) Fort Washington (Cincinnati); and

(J) Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial (Put-in-Bay).

#### SEC. 5. MANAGEMENT ENTITY AND DUTIES

(a) IN GENERAL.—The management entity for the Heritage Area shall be the Northwest Territory of the Great Lakes National Heritage Area Authority.

(b) COMPOSITION.—The Authority shall be composed of 18 members appointed as follows:

(1) 3 members appointed by each of the following:

(A) The Governor of Illinois or the Governor's designee.

(B) The Governor of Indiana or the Governor's designee.

(C) The Governor of Michigan or the Governor's designee.

(D) The Governor of Ohio or the Governor's designee.

(2) 1 member appointed by each of the following:

(A) The Historical Society of the State of Illinois.

(B) The Historical Society of the State of Indiana.

(C) The Historical Society of the State of Michigan.

(D) The Historical Society of the State of Ohio.

(3) 2 members appointed by the Secretary of the Interior of the United States or the Secretary's designee.

(4) Of the 3 members appointed by each Governor of a State under paragraph (1)—

(A) at least 1 member shall be a member of the governing body of an Indian tribe located within the State, or a designee of such a member; and

(B) at least 1 member shall be an elected official of a unit of local government located within the State which has 1 or more historic sites significant to the Heritage Area.

(c) TERMS.—The term of office shall be 2 years. No member of the Authority shall serve more than 4 terms.

(d) COMPENSATION.—Compensation for members of the Authority shall be determined by the Authority as part of the Plan.

(e) DUTIES AND POWERS.—

(1) DUTIES.—The Authority shall—

(A) receive funds from various sources for the implementation of this Act;

(B) disburse funds in accordance with this Act;

(C) make grants to and enter into cooperative agreements with States and their political subdivisions, private organizations, or other individuals or entities as appropriate for the execution of this Act;

(D) hire and compensate staff;

(E) enter into contracts for goods and services;

(F) develop a management plan for the Heritage Area;

(G) help ensure the conservation, interpretation, and development of the historical, cultural, natural, and recreational resources related to the region historically referred to as the Northwest Territory of the Great Lakes during the period from 1785 through 1835;

(H) foster a close working relationship with all levels of government, the private sector, philanthropic and educational organizations, local communities, and regional metroparks systems through a coalition organization to both conserve the heritage of this region and utilize its resources for tourism and economic development;

(I) develop an Internet web site and other marketing programs to further the purposes of this Act; and

(J) in accordance with Federal, State, and local laws, erect signs to promote the Heritage Area.

(2) **POWERS.**—The Authority may develop visitor centers and interpretive facilities for the Heritage Area.

(f) **PLAN.**—The Plan shall—

(1) present recommendations for the Heritage Area's conservation, funding, management, and development, taking into consideration existing State and local plans and the comments of residents, public agencies, and private organizations working in the Heritage Area;

(2) not be final until it has been approved by the Governors of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio;

(3) include—

(A) an inventory of the resources contained in the Heritage Area, including a list of any property in the Heritage Area that is related to the themes of the Heritage Area and that should be preserved, restored, managed, developed, or maintained because of its natural, cultural, historical, or recreational significance; and

(B) a program for the implementation of the management plan by the Authority.

(g) **SPECIFIC PROHIBITIONS.**—The Authority—

(1) shall not take any action which jeopardizes the sovereignty of the United States; and

(2) shall not infringe upon the private property rights of individuals or other property owners.

#### SEC. 6. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—There is authorized to be appropriated to carry out this Act not more than \$1,000,000 for any fiscal year. Not more than a total of \$10,000,000 may be appropriated for the Heritage Area.

(b) **50 PERCENT MATCH.**—Federal funding provided under this Act may not exceed 50 percent of the total cost of any assistance or grant provided or authorized under this Act.

After Ohio became an independent state, the remaining portion of the Northwest Territory was renamed the Indiana Territory. The United States House of Representatives soon approved Indiana as a state as well, passing statehood on December 28, 1815, with the Senate following a few days later on January 2, 1816.

#### SOME BASIC FACTS ABOUT ILLINOIS IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY PERIOD

The rest of the Northwest Territory became the Illinois Territory in 1816 after Indiana became a state. General Anthony Wayne's Treaty of Greenville had set aside from Indian lands three sites in present day Illinois: a twelve-square mile square at the mouth of the Illinois River which was never developed; a post at Fort Massac on the Ohio River; and a six-mile square at Peoria where Fort Clark would be built. In 1800 Illinois had 2,458 residents of which 719 were in Cahokia and 467 in Kaskaskia.

The Illinois Territory was active during the War of 1812. In fact the governor, Ninian Edwards, told the Secretary of War that he expected to lose one-half the white population of the state. The most dramatic loss occurred during the Fort Dearborn (Chicago) massacre. William Wells of Fort Wayne, son-in-law of Miami Indiana War Chief Little Turtle, went to rescue the garrison there and bring them to Fort Wayne even though he felt they would be killed. While crossing the sand dunes of northwest Indiana, the garrison was in fact nearly all slaughtered, including Wells. The Indians paid tribute to Wells bravely by eating his heart.

During the War of 1812 Benjamin Howard left the governorship of the Missouri Territory to become brigadier general for the Illinois-Missouri district. His rangers rebuilt Fort Clark at Peoria. General William Clark went north and captured Prairie du Chien (now part of Wisconsin) but the small remnant left behind surrendered to the British again the following year. Two later expeditions up the Mississippi the next year ended at Rock Island, where the British had reinforced Sauk and Fox Indians. Future President of the United States commanded the second attack, which suffered heavy losses. A fort was built at present day Warsaw, across from the mouth of the Des Moines River. It was named Fort Edwards. After the fall of Fort Dearborn (and Fort Mackinac and Detroit, with Fort Wayne under siege) United States control ended at the Fort Edwards-Peoria-Vincennes line. Had Perry not controlled the Great Lakes, that could have been the southern border of Canada.

On December 3, 1818, Illinois was admitted as a state. Kaskaskia was its capitol at the time. A perspective on its population is to note that in 1821 what is now Chicago had two families outside the fort and Galena, soon to be lead-mining capitol, had one cabin by 1822. The population was concentrated in southern Illinois, with more moving into central Illinois. The capitol was moved to Vandalia by 1819. The Sacs and Fox Indians ceded northern Illinois by 1804. The Potawatomi, Kickapoo and Chippewa completed ceding central Illinois by 1817. But it wasn't until 1819 that the Kickapoo ceded the area southeast of the Illinois and Kankakee Rivers.

In 1827, the so-called Winnebago War was a skirmish in which two white men were killed by Indians who felt they had violated their hunting grounds. Chief Red Bird decided that discretion was the better part of valor, and "surrendered" six Indians. But the scare resulted in militia organizing.

The so-called Black Hawk War could have been avoided. Four thousand white regulars chasing outnumbered, fatigued and hungry Indian families into what is now Wisconsin is not a "war." In the Battle of Wisconsin Heights, west of what is now Madison, Wisconsin, Chief Black Hawk held off the army so that Indian women and children could cross the Wisconsin River. The end came at the Battle of Bad Axe, on the Mississippi River between LaCrosse and Prairie du Chien. In the heavy slaughter that almost

extinguished the Sauk tribe, the warriors, old people, women, and children were driven into the water and ambushed as they tried to reach the west bank. Black Hawk escaped but was soon captured. Only a few Indians stayed in the state thereafter, including Shabbona, a friendly Ottawa who had warned the whites when Black Hawk threatened. This also ended the fur-trading era, as now settlers poured into Illinois with the final Indian removal.

#### SOME BASIC FACTS ABOUT MICHIGAN IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY PERIOD

After Illinois became a state, the remaining area of the Northwest Territory (Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota east and north of the Mississippi) became the Michigan Territory. Lewis Cass became Governor of the Michigan Territory in 1813, and added the larger jurisdiction in late 1818. In 1819 Treaty of Saginaw, the Chippewa ceded land in the central and southeast portion of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan. Two years later, the Chippewa, Ottawa and Potawatomi ceded southwestern Michigan.

Michilimackinac controlled the Straits of Mackinac until George Rogers Clark's victories in 1779. At that time operations moved to a new fort on Mackinac Island. The Americans finally claimed this fort after the Jay Treaty of 1796.

Mackinac Island was described by Major Caleb Swan in 1796 in this way:

"On the south side of this Island, there is a small basin, of a segment of a circle, serving as an excellent harbor for vessels of any burden, and for canoes. Around this basin the village is built, having two streets of nearly a quarter of a mile in length, a Roman chapel, and containing eighty-nine houses and stores; some of them spacious and handsome, with white lime plastering in front, which shows to great advantage from the sea. At one end, in the rear of the town, is an elegant government house, of immense size, and finished with great taste. It is one story high, the rooms fifteen feet and a half in the clear. It has a spacious garden in front, laid out with taste; and extending from the house, on a gentle declivity, to the water's edge."

One of the houses that stood on the island in 1796 was later acquired by trader Edward Biddle. The "Biddle House" is probably the oldest surviving house in Michigan, if not the entire Northwest Territory of the Great Lakes.

A major threat to the British fur trade in Michigan—which was the predominant activity in Michigan during the early days of the Northwest Territory—was the formation of the American Fur Trade Company by John Jacob Astor in 1808. By 1812, Astor had made peace with the British companies, handling their trade in the United States and basing his operations at Mackinac. His business came to a standstill during the war, but with the peace of 1814 he was again active. In 1816 Congress passed a law confining the fur trade to American citizens.

Detroit was founded by Cadillac in 1701. In 1805 Detroit was burned by a fire, much like Chicago was many years later (though Detroit at this time was very small). When it was rebuilt, Augustus Woodward, a friend of Thomas Jefferson, and Territorial Governor William Hull decided Detroit needed a grander layout and visited Washington, DC. Woodward secured a copy of the plan for Washington that Pierre L'Enfant had made. He laid out a plan with circular parks with radiating streets, wider boulevards, and grand avenues. While it was launched in this manner, a judge and the next Governor, Lewis Cass, wrecked Woodward's plan by narrowing the streets. The city had to pay for this confusion for many, many years. Detroit was incorporated in 1815. In 1810 the

population of Detroit was around 800, but declined during the War of 1812. By 1818 it was up to 1100. Two events that helped promote Detroit were a surprise visit by President Monroe in 1817, and the first steamboat (Walk-in-the-Water) arrived as a symbolic opening of the Great Lakes. Interestingly, the population at Mackinac Island at times surges to 2000 during this period.

Several additional forts were built in the Michigan section of the Northwest Territory after treaties began to open some areas for settlement. Fort Gratiot was built at the site of Port Huron in 1816. Fort Saginaw, at the present site of Saginaw, and Fort Brady, at Sault Ste. Marie, were built in 1822. Michigan was slow in settling partly because of a reputation for poor land, and partly due to its weather. An Eastern rhyme was: "Don't go to Michigan, that land of ills; The word means ague, fever and chills."

In order to help combat the negative publicity, General Lewis Cass organized a grand tour that included 42 men. In this group were geologist Henry R. Schoolcraft and geographer David B. Douglass. They went to Mackinac Island, Sault Ste. Marie, the Pictured Rocks (now a national Lakeshore) on the southern shore of Lake Superior, Schoolcraft went to Ontonagon to see the copper boulder that had already been reported upon (now in the Smithsonian), sought the source of the Mississippi (later discovered at Lake Itasca in Minnesota by Schoolcraft), crossed into present-day Wisconsin, down to Fort Dearborn (Chicago) and across to Detroit. Some of the group went to present-day Green Bay and crossed on a more northerly route.

A series of events—the Walk-in-the-Water steamboat in 1818, the development of the Erie Canal in 1825, improved roads, progress in surveys, opening of land offices and better public relations all combined to make Michigan America's most popular western destination from 1830 to 1837.

#### SOME FOOTNOTES ABOUT WISCONSIN IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY PERIOD

The Wisconsin area of the Northwest Territory had few Americans for a long time. Fort Howard in the Green Bay area was garrisoned in 1816 on the Fox River. Fort Crawford was built at the mouth of the Wisconsin River at Prairie du Chien. John Jacob Astor, the fur trader, was a key player in the northern lakes area from his outposts at Mackinac during this period. Wisconsin only developed after the frontier period ended for the original Northwest Territory of the Great Lakes.

#### SOME BASIC FACTS ABOUT INDIANA IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY PERIOD

A short article in a booklet by Arville Funk entitled *A Sketchbook of Indiana History* (which includes many interesting essays on Indiana history) calls Chief Little Turtle the greatest Indian who ever lived in Indiana. He was certainly its greatest warrior: in fact, his war record exceeds Tecumseh and the famous western Indians. He won not just one significant battle, but three. And he was correct in forecasting the critical losses at Fallen Timbers and Tippecanoe.

#### LITTLE TURTLE OF THE MIAMIS

Probably the greatest Indian who ever lived in what became the Hoosier State was ME-SHE-KIN-NO-QUAH, or Little Turtle, the great chief of the Miami tribe. This great Indian was not only a famous war chief, but also the white man's best friend in Indiana after he and his tribe left the warpath.

Little Turtle was the son of AQUENACKQUE, or The Turtle, a famous Miami war chief during that tribe's many wars with the Iroquois tribe. Finally, the

Miami tribe was driven west to Indiana by the Iroquois, and settled along the Eel River and near the site of "Three Rivers," where Fort Wayne now stands. Little Turtle was born about 1752, probably at the site of his father's main village, Turtletown, about five miles east of present day Columbia City, along the KEN-A-PO-CO-MO-CO, or Eel River.

Little Turtle first came to the attention of the whiteman when he celebrated his first victory over a whiteman's army at a skirmish known as "LaBalme's Massacre" that occurred in November of 1780. LaBalme was a French "soldier of fortune," who led a small band of Creoles from Vincennes to attack the British garrison at Detroit. The Creole army stopped long enough at Kekionga (now Fort Wayne) to destroy that Indian village, and then journeyed over to nearby Eel River and captured and looted the Miami trading post there. On November 5th, the Indians, under the Leadership of Little Turtle, attacked LaBalme's group and massacred the entire force. This victory must have established the reputation of Little Turtle as a warrior, because he served as the chief of the Eel River tribe from then on.

Little Turtle was next heard from when he won two more victories over the "whites" near Eel River in October of 1790. Within a three-day period, he twice defeated the militia troops under the command of Colonel John Hardin. Hardin's force was a part of the army of General Josiah Harmar who was leading an expedition to destroy Indian towns around Kekionga. In the three days' action, Hardin lost over two hundred militia troops.

However, Little Turtle's greatest triumph over the Americans was to come the next year in western Ohio. On November 4, 1791, at a site 11 miles east of Portland, Indiana, and just across the state border in the Buckeye State, Little Turtle led his Indian army in an attack on General Arthur St. Clair's expedition. St. Clair was the governor of the Northwest Territory and commanded an army of 2700 in an expedition against the Indian tribes in northern Ohio. In a complete surprise attack and rout, Little Turtle inflicted the greatest defeat that an American army had met up to that time. In this action, which became known as "St. Clair's Massacre," the American army lost over one-third of its force.

Three years later, another American army, commanded by General Anthony Wayne, advanced into northern Ohio to engage the Miami Indian confederation. Little Turtle realized that this new army was much stronger and better trained than St. Clair's force and he refused to join forces with the other tribes to attack Wayne's army. The other tribes, led by Bluejacket, the Shawnee chief, did attack Wayne's command at Fallen Timbers and were soundly defeated by the American army.

After defeating the Indian army, Wayne invited the leading chiefs of the Northwest Territory to meet with him at Fort Greenville, Ohio, to sign a peace treaty under which the Indian tribes would be paid for their land, that would then become open to settlement by the whiteman. The eleven tribes present, including Little Turtle's tribe, sold over 25,000 square miles of land to the new government of the United States. Little Turtle signed the treaty and never again took the war-path against the whites.

Wayne had invited Little Turtle to visit the national capital and meet with the "great white father," President Washington. The great Miami chief, along with his adopted son, William Wells, travelled to Philadelphia (then the capital) and visited with the president in 1797. The president presented Little Turtle with a very expensive sword

and the national government hired the famous artist, Gilbert Stuart, to paint a portrait of the great chief.

Little Turtle returned to the nation's capital later to visit two other presidents, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. On one of his visits, the Miami chief persuaded the Society of Friends (Quakers) to help him in stopping the sale of liquor to the tribes in Indiana, and also to establish an agriculture school for the Indians to teach the whiteman's ways of farming. This historical school was established in 1804 near the little town of Andrews, just a few miles west of Huntington, but was never really successful and finally closed down when Tecumseh and the Prophet organized the tribes against the Americans in the years preceding the War of 1812.

In 1811, the Tecumseh confederation was openly planning war on the whites and was seeking to combine all of the tribes of the Northwest Territory in their confederation. Little Turtle, who was by then the whiteman's best friend in Indiana, succeeded in keeping his tribe from joining the Indian confederation and taking part in the Battle of Tippecanoe. By this time, the 60-year-old chief was in ill health, and crippled from rheumatism and gout. He was soon forced to leave his home on the Eel River and move to the house of his adopted son in Fort Wayne.

When the War of 1812 erupted, the great chief was on his death bed at the Wells' home at Fort Wayne. After several weeks of illness, the old chief died at Fort Wayne on July 14, 1812. He was given a military funeral by the American garrison at the fort and was buried in the old Indian cemetery on Spy Run, near the banks of the Wabash River. He was buried with Washington's sword and the medals and other honors that had been bestowed on him by the Americans. One hundred years later, in 1912, the grave was accidentally discovered, and the sword and other awards were put in the Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society Museum at Swinney Park.

Jacob Piatt Dunn, the famous Indiana historian, has paid the following tribute to the great chief, "he was the greatest of the Miamis, and perhaps, by the standard of achievement, which is the fairest of all standards, the greatest Indian the world has known." All Hoosiers should be proud of this great Indian chief, and he deserves to be remembered with the greatest of the historic figures in the history of our state.

The critical nature of controlling the junction at Kekionga and the pacification of the Indian nations of northwest Ohio and northern Indiana is a lesser known story of American history. Yet it is extremely important. Few have told it as well as historian John Ankenbruck of Fort Wayne. In one of his numerous books, *Five Forts*. He discusses the humiliating defeat of General Josiah Harmar at what is now Fort Wayne. Harmar destroyed the villages at Miamitown (Kekionga), and then, after two days, moved his army to Chillicothe (a Shawnee town today located about where Anthony Boulevard crosses the Maumee). Other soldiers were sent northwest toward suspected villages at Eel River. The Indians were hidden in an area near where U.S. 33 crosses Eel River. The troops were ambushed, with only 6 regulars surviving (22 regulars and 9 militia were killed). Harmar then burned the Shawnee town, and marched southeast to camp near the present-day town of Hoagland. Upon hearing that the Indians had come back to Miamitown, Harmar sent 500 troops back up to the Indian villages. Mounted riflemen crossed the St. Mary's at about where motorists today go over the Spy Run Bridge. They hoped to catch the Indians by surprise from the rear but instead Little Turtle nearly

wiped out the soldiers as they attempted to cross the river. Some 300 survivors made it back (183 had been killed).

It was clear that the United States Government wanted a permanent stronghold at Kekionga. After Harmar's failure, the Governor of the Northwest Territory—General Arthur St. Clair—decided that he, himself, would lead the army to seize this junction.

General St. Clair, with his army of 2000 men, steadily moved north toward the junction of the three rivers. At Fort Recovery he prepared to launch his final push to what is now Fort Wayne the next day. That night Miami War Chief Little Turtle led a confederacy of Indian nations—Miami, Shawnee, Delaware, Ottawa, Wyandot, Potawatomi, and Kickapoo—into the area. What followed was the most complete defeat of any sizable unit in the history of American arms. Little Turtle achieved what no one has done before or since. The surprise was so complete that a retreat was ordered. The retreat turned into a rout. 632 soldiers died that day. 1,000 died during the campaign. It was time for Anthony Wayne. John Ankenbruck here lays out the importance of selecting Anthony Wayne as commander.

Anthony Wayne then decided to make certain this did not happen again. Ankenbruck describes the building of Fort Wayne.

#### ANTHONY WAYNE BUILDS FORT WAYNE

"The President of the United States by the advice and consent of the Senate has appointed you Major General and of course commanding officer of the troops in the service of the United States."

Maj Anthony Wayne received the notice April 12, 1792, in a letter from Secretary of War Henry Knox. It may have been the most important single act leading to the defeat of the Indians of the Old Northwest and eventual construction of a permanent fortification at the headwaters of the Maumee.

Wayne was not Washington's first choice for the job. Though the President had a high regard for Wayne's Revolutionary War record and his military astuteness; he thought differently about Wayne's more personal qualities. It seems that Washington considered Wayne's ego insufferable and was annoyed with some of his habits—which included frequent night-long drinking parties and some marital infidelities.

But Washington's several favored candidates for the job were from Virginia. This made them politically unacceptable because there was already criticism due to the large number of high public officials from that state. Wayne's being from Pennsylvania was, in this instance an asset. It should be noted that Wayne was not only being named to head the campaign against the Indians, but was also commander of the entire army of the United States, such as it was.

In the notice of appointment, Knox also told Wayne, "I enclosed you the Act of Congress relative to the military establishment." That act was the result of fear which swept eastward from the frontier lands to the capital cities.

At sundown on Sept. 17, 1794, Anthony Wayne and his army of 3,500 men arrived at the source of the Maumee River—the future site of Fort Wayne.

They came along the north bank, dragging wagons along the newly-cut road through the wilderness. Scouting parties ranged the entire area, moving back and forth between the marching troops and obscure points in the forest. There was the sound of horses and the curses of men as increasing numbers made their laborious way into the clearing.

Otherwise, there was a deathly quiet about the place—for a hundred years known as Miamitown. Numerous Indian dwellings stood just north of the Maumee. on either

side of the St. Joseph River. They were all empty. Rough timber houses and storage buildings, belonging to both French traders and Indians, were here and there near the river banks. These too were empty and abandoned.

The sky was overcast and a damp chill wind blew from the west. Mad Anthony Wayne rode his horse slowly through the Kekionga village and its hundreds of Indian houses as far as the remains of old French Fort Miami which still stood on the east side of the St. Joseph.

This was the village of Le Gris, the old Miami Chief, and was usually considered the largest concentration of hostile Indians in the Northwest Territory. The chiefs of the Wabash and Lake Erie villages would tell American negotiators that they would have to go to see Le Gris if they wanted any answers as to the intentions of the Miami Confederacy.

Le Gris, at the moment of Wayne's examination of Kekionga, was some 40 miles to the north in the lake country where he had taken his entire village population. He remained, as he had for half a century, the implacable enemy of intruders into the land of the Miamis.

Wayne then crossed to the west side of the St. Joseph where another village stood empty and quiet. This was the village of Pacan, the uncle of the Miami Warchief Little Turtle. It was here that most of the traders' houses were located—some fairly large and well-fitted, considering the remoteness, and others just one-room huts of rough logs with bark and hide roofs.

Wayne decided against either of the village locations for his encampment and fort. He ordered the legion to build temporary protection on the high ground just southwest of the confluence of the rivers. The position commanded a good view of the Maumee River.

One of Wayne's officers, Capt. John Cooke of Pennsylvania, said the army marched 13 or 14 miles on that day before reaching the Miami villages. "We halted more than two hours near the ground where a part of Harmar's army was defeated and directly opposite the point by the St. Joseph and St. Mary's Rivers, until the ground was reconnoitered. It was late when the army crossed and encamped; our tents were not all pitched before dark."

The soldiers of Wayne's army continued to flow in from the east. The first night and morning of the American presence at the site of Fort Wayne was described by a Private Bryant. "The road, or trace, was in very bad condition, and we did not reach our point of destination until late in the evening. Being very tired, and having no duty to perform, I turned in as soon as possible, and slept soundly until the familiar tap of reveille called us up, just as the bright sun, the first time for weeks, was breaking over the horizon."

"After rubbing my eyes and regaining my faculties sufficiently to realize my whereabouts, I think I never saw a more beautiful spot and glorious sunrise.

"I was standing on that high point of land overlooking the valley on the opposite shore of the Maumee, where the St. Mary's, the sheen of whose waters were seen at intervals through the autumn-tinted trees, and the limpid St. Joseph quietly wending its way from the north, united themselves in one common stream that calmly flowed beneath."

The private's tranquility didn't last long. The general soon ordered breast works to be thrown up around the compound to ward off any possible attacks by the Indians. These were made of earth and required forced digging on the part of most of the men. Oth-

ers, largely Kentucky horsemen, began the systematic destruction of the villages. Fire swept across the some 500 acres of cleared area. Every building was leveled. Every crop was cut down. The decimation spread in a wider circle. The Delaware village several miles up the St. Mary's was burnt out, as were the Ottawa village some distance up the St. Joseph and any remaining Shawnee dwellings down the Maumee.

Wayne kept watch for Indian raiders, but the only people to arrive on that first morning were four deserters from the British Fort Miami on the lower Maumee.

The good feeling that Anthony Wayne had in so easily taking control of the Miamitown area didn't last long.

Wayne sent a message to the War Department complaining of the "powerful obstacles" to his completing his mission—the need for supplies and expirations of terms of service. "In the course of six weeks from this day, the First and Second Sublegions will not form more than two companies each, and between this and the middle of May, the whole Legion will be merely annihilated so that all we now possess in the Western Country must inevitably be abandoned unless some effectual and immediate measures are adopted by Congress to raise troops to garrison them."

Wayne had originally hoped to build a major fortification at Miamitown. But again, several circumstances were working against his plans.

"I shall begin a fort at this place as soon as the equinoctial storm is over which at the moment is very severe, attended with a deluge of rain—a circumstance that renders the situation of the soldiery very distressing, being upon short allowance, thinly clad and exposed to the inclemency of the weather.

"I shall at all events by under the necessity of contracting the fortification considerably from the dimensions contemplated in your instructions to me of the 25th of May, 1792, both for the want of time as well as for want to force to garrison it."

This division among the various Indian tribes was to become a permanent condition. They would never again unite as they had done in the Miami Confederacy under Chief Little Turtle. Because of this, Wayne was able to take complete control of the Old Northwest for the United States. That in turn eventually led to the expansion westward to the Pacific Coast.

As the Indian groups began to break up, some returned to their villages, others migrated to Canada. Some, particularly the Miamis and Shawnees, went after the supply trains of Wayne's army, and any stragglers they could find.

Erection of the first American fort at the three rivers was begun Sept. 24, 1794—seven days after the arrival of General Anthony Wayne.

Many in the army of 3,500 men had been toiling for several days in the mud, cutting timbers of oak and walnut for the walls of the stockade. "This day the work commenced on the garrison, which I am apprehensive will take some time to complete," reported Wayne at the time.

But there were some semblances of normal life during those first few days of the Americans at the confluence of the three rivers. Several of the men built a fish dam across part of the Maumee—presumably to supplement the meager food supplies.

The fourth day after arrival was Sunday, Sept. 21, 1794. "We attended divine service," wrote Cooke. "The sermon was delivered by Rev. David Jones, chaplain. Mr. Jones chose for his text, Romans 8:31: 'But what shall we then say to these things? If God is for us, who can be against us?'" This was the first time the army had been called together for

the purpose of attending divine service since I joined it."

Wayne continued to hold his troops under an iron rein, but that didn't prevent carping on the part of many. Lt. William Clark reported "The ground cleared for the garrison just below the confluence of the St. Joseph and St. Mary's. The situation is tolerably elevated and has a ready command of the two rivers. I think it much to be lamented that the commander-in-chief is determined to make this fort a regular fortification, as a common picketed one would be equally as difficult against the savages."

This is the same Clark who a few years later would be part of the Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific. He was the younger brother of George Rogers Clark, the Virginian who specialized in brutal sweeps across the Ohio at Indian villages Wayne had put an end to most of that sort of plundering.

The shadows of fear, death and recklessness growing out of despair stalked American soldiers during the building of the fort at Miamitown.

Col. John Hamtramck said to a friend at the time, "The old man really is mad," referring to the commander, Anthony Wayne.

Wayne was sitting on a powder keg of problems, but he was in control. He was not mad. Deep in the wilderness with an army too remote for help of any sort, sometimes at starvation levels, surrounded by hostile warriors, and with some of his own officers trying to do him in, the general became harsh and moody.

Wayne pressed harder for rapid completion of the fort. Every man in the regular army was pressed into construction work when "not actually on guard or other duty." The Kentucky militiamen were given the job of getting the supplies through.

But the difficulties still multiplied. It became common knowledge among the men that Le Gris, the old Miami chief, had moved back into the vicinity. Le Gris and his hungry warriors watched every move in and out of the fort, looking for any chance or weakness.

Wayne was not worried about Le Gris attacking the fort. The general knew from his spies that Little Turtle and most of the other chiefs and warriors were still in the Lake Erie area.

But fear gradually took hold of the militiamen whose duty it was to convoy supply trains through the wilderness. On every trip, several of their number would likely disappear. The mutilated bodies of others found along the trails were in each militiaman's nightmares.

Lieutenant Boyer reported "the volunteers appeared to be uneasy and have refused to do duty. They are ordered by the commander-in-chief to march tomorrow for Greenville to assist the packhorses, which I am told they are determined not to do."

On the next morning the volunteers refused to move out. They were threatened with punishment and loss of all their pay. They finally were coerced into one more convoy trip.

Wayne came to the conclusion at this time that it would be better to send the entire 1,500-man militia back home. He could not afford an insurrection at his remote post. Thought he needed guards for supply trains, the additional forces were a supply problem in themselves, and a danger to the mission.

He wrote to Secretary of War Henry Knox on October 17. "The mounted volunteers of Kentucky marched from this place on the morning of the 14th for Fort Washington, where they are to be mustered and discharged. The conduct of both officers and men of this corps in general has been better than any militia, I have heretofore seen in

the field for so great a length of time. But it would not do to retain them any longer, although our present situation as well as the term for which they were enrolled would have justified their being continued in service until November 14."

Wayne did not like volunteer armies. "The enclosed estimate," he said, "will demonstrate the mistaken policy and bad economy of substituting mounted volunteers in place of regular troops. Unless effectual measures are immediately adopted by both Houses of Congress for raising troops to garrison the western posts, we have fought, bled and conquered in vain."

Wayne, from his headquarters at Miamitown, warned that without added soldiers and extended service of his legion the vast wilderness would "again become a range for the hostile Indians of the West" and "a fierce and savage enemy" would sweep down on pioneers as far as the Ohio River and beyond.

Fort Wayne was dedicated on Oct. 22, 1794.

The days leading up to the event were hard and busy, but both men and whisky held out. The weather, which had been peculiarly bad for October in the vicinity, finally moderated.

Earlier, on Oct. 4, General Anthony Wayne had reported "This morning we had the hardest frost I ever saw. There was ice in our camp kettles three-fourths of an inch thick." But things were better later in the month.

Finally, on Oct. 21, Wayne ordered a halt to work on the nearly-completed stockade and surrounding buildings. He placed Col. John Hamtramck in charge of the companies which were to garrison the fort, making him in effect, commander.

On the following morning, there was more than the usual stir about the place. "Colonel Hamtramck marched the troops to the garrison at 7 a.m.," reported captain John Cooke. "After a discharge of 15 guns, he named the fort by a garrison order, 'Fort Wayne.' He then marched his command into it."

Others present reported that the "15 guns" were rounds of cannon fire which echoed across the three rivers. Though Hamtramck is usually credited with naming the fort, he actually was simply reading orders, handed to him by Anthony Wayne. The name of the stockade was previously determined during correspondence between Wayne and the War Department.

After the reading of the speech and the running up of the Stars and Stripes, there was a volley of three cheers from the assembled troops. General Wayne had stood at a reviewing place near the flag pole during most of the parade and ceremony. By 8 a.m. the deed was done.

It was four years to the day since that earlier morning when the Miami Indians under Little Turtle and Le Gris cut down the troops of General Josiah Harmar as they attempted to cross the Maumee. The place of that past disaster to the U.S. Army was in clear view of the new fort on the slight hill just southwest of the confluence of the three rivers.

Following the dedication of Fort Wayne, the general almost immediately began to prepare for his own departure and the extending of the military hold on the Northwest Territory.

This was not the only fort. The third fort, the most sturdy and what was reconstructed in Fort Wayne, was Whistler's fort. Here is Ankenbruck's description of that fort.

MAJOR JOHN WHISTLER AND THE THIRD U.S. FORT AT FORT WAYNE

"Whistler's Mother" was not born in Fort Wayne; but his father was.

The painter's family were people of accomplishment long before James A. M. Whistler

made his mark in the art world, and much of their early story is linked with Fort Wayne.

The artist's grandfather, John Whistler, was the builder of the last military stronghold at Fort Wayne. This stockade, usually called "Whistler's Fort" was started in 1815 and completed the following year. Major John Whistler was commandant here at that time, having assumed the post in 1814.

Like many of the army officers of the era, Major Whistler was a veteran of the Revolutionary War—only with one essential difference. He fought on the British side.

A native of Ulster, Northern Ireland, he first came over with the army of Burgoyne which invaded the U.S. from Canada and was defeated by forces under Benedict Arnold. Later, Whistler returned to the U.S. and joined the American army. He was an adjutant under General Arthur St. Clair when that expeditionary force met disaster at the hands of Indians under Little Turtle in 1791. Whistler was severely wounded in that battle.

Actually, Whistler had a hand in building all three forts at the three rivers, plus Fort Dearborn at the present site of Chicago. As a lieutenant, he came with Wayne to construct the first fort in 1794. Whistler, later when a captain, was a special officer at Fort Wayne for the building of the Second stockade. That was in 1800 during the commandancy of Colonel Thomas Hunt.

It was in that same year that John Whistler and his wife, Ann, had a baby boy whom they named George Washington Whistler. This boy, the father of the artist, later graduated from West Point and became one of the major railroad building engineers of the age in the U.S., and eventually headed railroad construction in Czarist Russia, dying in St. Petersburg in 1849. His son, the painter, also attended West Point before going to Paris and a life in the art world of the 19th Century.

Major Whistler's final assignment at Fort Wayne followed service at Detroit, Fort Dearborn and several Ohio posts. He and his wife, two daughters and son came up the St. Mary's River in 1814 to take up residence in the stockade. During the following year, construction was started on a new military post of rather imposing appearance. The plans for the fort are still in existence. It measured close to two football fields side by side, being about 100 yards square, and parts of the timber structure were more than 40 feet high. The approximate location was in the vicinity of the intersection of Main and Clay Sts.

The Battle of Fallen Timbers, in which General Anthony Wayne routed a confederacy of Indian nations near Toledo, Ohio and then marched back down the Maumee to secure the critical portage at the three rivers at Kekionga by building Fort Wayne, has been called one of the three pivotal battles in American history. Yorktown cinched independence for the United States, Fallen Timbers secured western expansion, and Gettysburg was the decisive battle that keep us united.

The Battle of Tippecanoe in which General William Henry Harrison defeated Indians associated with the Prophet was not as decisive (battles continued on through the War of 1812) but was important symbolically. In fact, it not only led to a series of treaties in Indian including two at Fort Wayne in which Indian nations forcibly ceded lands, but ultimately led to the slogan "Tippecanoe and Tyler" too that elected Harrison President of the United States.

In Volume I of The Hoosier State: Readings in Indiana History by Ralph Gray there are many excellent articles on Indiana history. What follows are two accounts of the Battle of Tippecanoe and one short article on Harrison, Tecumseh and the War of 1812.

TECUMSEH, HARRISON, AND THE WAR OF 1812  
(By Marshall Smelser)

From "Tecumseh, Harrison, and the War of 1812," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LXV (March 1969), 25, 28, 30-31, 33, 35, 37-39. Copyright © 1969 by the Trustees of Indiana University. Reprinted by permission.

The story is the drama of the struggle of two of our most eminent predecessors, William Henry Harrison of Grouseland, Vincennes, and Tecumseh of the Prophet's town, Tippecanoe.

It is not easy to learn about wilderness Indians. The records of the Indians are those kept by white men, who were not inclined to give themselves the worst of it. Lacking authentic documents, historians have neglected the Indians. The story of the Indian can be told but it has a higher probability of error than more conventional kinds of history. To tell the tale is like reporting the weather without scientific instruments. The reporter must be systematically, academically skeptical. He must read between the lines, looking for evidence of a copper-colored ghost in a deerskin shirt, flitting through a green and bloody world where tough people died from knives, arrows, war clubs, rifle bullets, and musket balls, and where the coming of spring was not necessarily an omen of easier living, but could make a red or white mother tremble because now the enemy could move concealed in the forest. But the reporter must proceed cautiously, letting the facts shape the story without prejudice.

... [O]ur story is a sad and somber one. It shows men at their bravest. It also shows men at their worst. We are dealing with a classic situation in which two great leaders—each a commander of the warriors of his people—move inexorably for a decade toward a confrontation which ends in the destruction of the one and the exaltation of the other. Tecumseh, a natural nobleman in a hopeless cause, and Harrison, a better soldier than he is generally credited with being, make this an Indian story, although the last two acts of their tragedy were staged in Ohio and in Upper Canada. To understand why this deadly climax was inevitable we must know the Indian policy of the United States at that time; we must know, if we can, what the Indians thought of it; and we must know something about the condition of the Indians.

The federal government's Indian policy was almost wholly dedicated to the economic and military benefit of white people. When Congress created Indiana Territory, the United States was officially committed to educate and civilize the Indians. The program worked fairly well in the South for a time. Indiana Territory's Governor Harrison gave it an honest trial in the North, but the problems were greater than could be solved with the feeble means used. The management of Indian affairs was unintelligently complicated by overlapping authorities, a confused chain of command, and a stingy treasury—stingy, that is, when compared with the treasury of the more lavish British competitors for Indian favor. More to the point, most white Americans thought the Indians should be moved to the unsettled lands in the West. President Jefferson, for awhile, advocated teaching agriculture to the Indians, and he continued the operation of federal trading posts in the Indian country which had been set up to lessen the malevolent influence of private traders. These posts were successful by the standards of cost accounting, but they did nothing to advance the civilization of the Indian. Few white people wished the Indians well, and fewer would curb their appetites for fur and land just to benefit Indians.

The conflict between whites and Indians was not simple. The Indians were neither demons nor sculptured noble savages. They were not the single people Tecumseh claimed but were broken into fragments by language differences. Technologically they were farther behind the Long Knives—as the Indians called the frontiersmen—than the Gauls who died on Caesar's swords were behind the Romans. But they had a way of life that worked in its hard, cruel fashion. In the end, however, the Indian way of life was shattered by force; and the Indians lost their streams, their corn and bean fields, their forests.

Comparatively few white residents of the United States in 1801 had ever seen an Indian. East of the Mississippi River there were perhaps seventy thousand Indians, of whom only ten thousand lived north of the Ohio River. They were bewildered pawns of international politics, governed by the French to 1763, ruled in the name of George III of England to 1783, and never consulted about the change of sovereigns. As Governor Harrison himself said, they disliked the French least, because the French were content with a congenial joint occupation of the wilds while the white Americans and British had a fierce sense of the difference between mine and thine. The governor admitted the Indians had genuine grievances. It was not likely, for example, that a jury would convict a white man charged with murdering an Indian. Indians were shot in the forest north of Vincennes for no reason at all. Indians, Harrison reported, punished Indians for crimes against Long Knives, but the frontiersmen did not reciprocate. But the worst curse visited on the Indians by the whites was alcohol. Despite official gestures at prohibition, alcohol flowed unchecked in the Indian territory. Harrison said six hundred Indian warriors on the Wabash received six thousand gallons of whiskey a year. That would seem to work out to fifth of whisky per week per family, and it did not come in a steady stream, but in alternating floods and ebbs.

Naturally Indian resentment flared. Indian rage was usually ferocious but temporary. Few took a long view. Among those who did were some great natural leaders, Massasoit's disillusioned son King Philip in the 1670s, Pontiac in the 1760s, and Tecumseh. But such leaders invariably found it hard to unite the Indians for more than a short time; regardless of motive or ability, their cause was hopeless. The Indians were a Stone Age people who depended for good weapons almost entirely on the Long Knives or the Redcoats. The rivalry of Britain and the United States made these dependent people even more dependent. Long Knives supplied whisky, salt, and tools. Redcoats supplied rum, beef, and muskets. The Indians could not defeat Iron Age men because these things became necessities to them, and they could not make them for themselves. But yielding gracefully to the impact of white men's presence and technology was no help to the Indians. The friendly Choctaw of present Mississippi, more numerous than all of the northwestern tribes together, were peaceful and cooperative. Their fate was nevertheless the same as the fate of the followers of King Philip, Pontiac, and Tecumseh.

The Indians had one asset—land. Their land, they thought, belonged to the family group so far as it was owned at all. No Indian had a more sophisticated idea of land title than that. And as for selling land, the whites had first to teach them that they owned it and then to teach them to sell it. Even then, some Indians very early developed the notion that land could only be transferred by the unanimous consent of all tribes concerned rather than through negotiations with a single tribe. Indian councils declared this policy

to the Congress of the United States in 1783 and in 1793. If we follow James Truslow Adams' rule of thumb that an Indian family needed as many square miles of wilderness as a white family needed plowed acres, one may calculate that the seventy thousands Indians east of the Mississippi needed an area equal to all of the Old Northwest plus Kentucky, if they were to live the primitive life of their fathers. Therefore, if the Indians were to live as undisturbed primitives, there would be no hunting grounds to spare. And if the rule of unanimous land cessions prevailed, there would be no land sales so long as any tribal leader objected. Some did object, notably two eminent Shawnee: Tecumseh, who believed in collective bargaining, and his brother, the Prophet, who also scorned the Long Knives' tools, his whisky, and his civilization. Harrison dismissed the Prophet's attack on land treaties as the result of British influence, but collective conveyance was an old idea before the Shawnee medicine man took it up. The result of the federal government's policy of single tribe land treaties was to degrade the village chiefs who made the treaties and to exalt the angry warrior chiefs, like Tecumseh, who denounced the village chiefs, corrupted by whisky and other gifts, for selling what was not theirs to sell.

By the time he found his life work Tecumseh was an impressive man, about five feet nine inches tall, muscular and well proportioned, with large but fine features in an oval face, light copper skin, excellent white teeth, and hazel eyes. His carriage was imperial, his manner energetic, and his temperament cheerful. His dress was less flashy than that of many of his fellow warriors. Except for a silver mounted tomahawk, quilled moccasins, and, in war, a medal of George III and a plume of ostrich feathers, he dressed simply in fringed buckskin. He knew enough English for ordinary conversation, but to assure accuracy he was careful to speak only Shawnee in diplomacy. Unlike many Indians he could count, at least as far as eighteen (as we know by his setting an appointment with Harrison eighteen days after opening the subject of a meeting). Military men later said he had a good eye for military topography and could extemporize crude tactical maps with the point of his knife. He is well remembered for his humanity to prisoners, being one of the few Indians of his day who disapproved of torturing and killing prisoners of war. This point is better documented than many other aspects of his character and career.

The Prophet rather than Tecumseh first captured the popular imagination. As late as 1810 Tecumseh was being referred to in official correspondence merely as the Prophet's brother. The Shawnee Prophet's preaching had touches of moral grandeur: respect for the aged, sharing of material goods with the needy, monogamy, chastity, and abstinence from alcohol. He urged a return to the old Indian ways and preached self-segregation from the white people. But he had an evil way with dissenters, denouncing them as witches and having several of them roasted alive.

One of the skeptics unconverted by the Prophet and unimpressed by the divinity of his mission was Indiana Territory's first governor, William Henry Harrison, a retired regular officer, the son of a signer of the Declaration of Independence, appointed governor at the age of twenty-eight. Prudent, popular with Indians and whites, industrious, and intelligent, he had no easy job. He had to contend with land hunger, Indian resentments, the excesses of Indian traders, and with his constant suspicion of a British web of conspiracy spun from Fort Malden. The growing popularity of the Prophet alarmed Harrison, and early in 1806 he sent a speech by special

messenger to the Delaware tribe to try to refute the Prophet's theology by Aristotelian formal logic. Harrison was not alone in his apprehensions. In Ohio the throngs of Indian pilgrims grew larger after the Prophet during the summer of 1806 correctly predicted an eclipse of the sun (forecast, of course, in every almanac) and took credit for it. A year later, when reports indicated the number of the Prophet's followers was increasing, the governor of Ohio alerted the militia and sent commissioners to investigate. They heard Blue Jacket deny any British influence on the Indians. At another meeting later at Chillicothe, Tecumseh denounced all land treaties but promised peace. The governor of Ohio was temporarily satisfied, although Harrison still thought the Prophet spoke like a British agent and told the Shawnee what he thought. But in the fall of 1807 there was no witness, however hostile, who could prove that either Tecumseh or the Prophet preached war. On the contrary, every reported sermon and oration apparently promised peace. An ominous portent, however—at least in Harrison's eyes—was the founding of the Prophet's town on the Tippecanoe River, in May, 1808.

The Prophet visited Harrison at Vincennes late in the summer of 1808 to explain his divine mission to the incredulous young governor. Privately, and grudgingly, Harrison admitted the Prophet had reduced drunkenness, but he persisted in his belief that the Shawnee leader was a British agitator. The Prophet went to Vincennes again in 1809 and boasted of having prevented an Indian war. Harrison did not believe him. There is good evidence that in June, 1810, Tecumseh tried unsuccessfully to persuade the Shawnee of the Maumee Basin to move west in order to clear the woods for war. When Harrison learned this he sent a message to the Prophet's town. The "Seventeen Fires," he said, were invincible. The Redcoats could not help the Indians. But if the Indians thought the New Purchase Treaty made at Fort Wayne in 1809 was fraudulent, Harrison would arrange to pay their way to visit the President, who would hear their complaint. Tecumseh privately said he wished peace but could be pushed no farther. These rumblings and tremors of 1810 produced the first meeting of our two tragic protagonists.

Tecumseh paddled to Vincennes with four hundred armed warriors in mid August, 1810. In council he denounced the New Purchase Treaty and the village chiefs who had agreed to it. He said the warrior chiefs would rule Indian affairs thereafter. Harrison flatly denied Tecumseh's theory of collective ownership and guaranteed to defend by the sword what had been acquired by treaty. This meeting of leaders was certainly not a meeting of minds. A deadlock had been reached. A cold war had been started. During the rest of 1810 Harrison received nothing but bad news. The secretary of war suggested a surprise capture of the Shawnee brothers. Indians friendly to the United States predicted war. The governor of Missouri reported to Harrison that the Prophet had invited the tribes west of the Mississippi to join in a war, which was to begin with an attack against Vincennes. The Indians around Fort Dearborn were disaffected and restless. A delegation of Sauk came all the way from Wisconsin to visit Fort Malden. Two surveyors running the New Purchase line were carried off by the Wea.

In the summer of 1811 Tecumseh and about three hundred Indians returned to Vincennes for another inconclusive council in which neither he nor the governor converted the other. Tecumseh condescendingly advised against white settlement in the New Purchase because many Indians were going to settle at the Prophet's town in the fall and

would need that area for hunting. Tecumseh said he was going south to enroll new allies. It is important to our story that Tecumseh was absent from Indiana in that autumn of crisis. Aside from this we need note only that on his southern tour he failed to rouse the Choctaw, although he had a powerful effect on the thousands of Creek who heard his eloquence.

At this point it is important to note Governor Harrison's continuing suspicion that Tecumseh and the Prophet were British agents, or at least were being stirred to hostility by the British. British official correspondence shows that Fort Malden was a free cafeteria for hungry Indians, having served them seventy-one thousand meals in the first eleven months of 1810. The correspondence also shows that Tecumseh, in 1810, told the British he planned for war in late 1811, but indicates that the British apparently promised him nothing.

The year 1811 was a hard one for the Indians because the Napoleonic wars had sharply reduced the European market for furs. The Indians were in a state that we would call a depression. And we should remember that while Tecumseh helped the British in the War of 1812 it was not because he loved them. To him the British side was merely the side to take against the Long Knives.

In June and July of 1811 Governors William Hull of Michigan Territory and Harrison of Indiana Territory sent to the secretary of war evaluations of the frontier problems. Hull's was narrowly tactical, pessimistic, and prophetic of the easy conquest of Michigan if the British navy controlled Lake Erie. Harrison's, although in fewer words, was broadly strategic and more constructive: the mere fact of an Indian confederation, friendly to the British and hostile to the Long Knives, was dangerous; the Prophet's town (hereafter called Tippecanoe) was ideally located as a base for a surprise downstream attack on Vincennes, was well placed as a headquarters for more protracted warfare, and was linked by water and short portages with all the northwestern Indians; the little known country north of Tippecanoe, full of swamps and thickets, could easily be defended by natives, but the power of the United States could be brought to bear only with the greatest difficulty. Early in August, 1811, Harrison told the War Department he did not expect hostilities before Tecumseh returned from the South, and that in the meantime he intended to try to break up Tecumseh's confederacy, without bloodshed if possible. On their side, the Indians told the British they expected some deceitful trick leading to their massacre.

The military details of the Battle of Tippecanoe need not be exhausted here. Harrison's forces moved up the Wabash and arrived at Tippecanoe on November 6, 1811. When Harrison was preparing to attack, he was met by emissaries from the Prophet. Both sides agreed to a council on the next day. The troops encamped with correctly organized interior and exterior guards. Here the story diverges into two versions. White writers have said the Indians intended to confer, to pretend falsely to agree to anything, to assassinate Harrison, and to massacre the little army. They allege the Prophet had promised to make the Indians bullet proof. A Kickapoo chief later said to British officers that a white prisoner the Indians had captured told them Harrison intended to fight, not to talk. At any rate, the shooting started at about four in the morning, an unfortunate moment for the Indians because that was the hour of "stand to" or "general quarters" in the white army. Curious Indians in the brush were fired on by sentries. The Indians then killed the sentries. It was then, and only then, the Indians said, that they decided to

fight. The battle lasted until mid morning, when the Indians ran out of arrows and bullets and fled. A detachment of Harrison's troops then burned the deserted village and the winter corn reserve of the Shawnee. Two days later the troops withdrew. The depth of the cleavage between Indians and whites is shown by the fact that the Potawatomi Chief Winnemac, Harrison's leading Indian adviser, came up the river with the troops but fought on the side of his bronze brethren. Harrison had 50 Kentucky volunteers, 250 United States infantry, and several hundred Indiana militia, who had been trained personally by him. Reports of losses vary. Indians admitted to losing 25 dead, but soldiers counted 38 dead Indians on the field. This was the first time in northwestern warfare that a force of whites of a size equal to the redmen had suffered only a number of casualties equal to those of their dusky enemies. Heretofore whites in such circumstances had lost more than the redmen had lost. Estimates of Indians in the fighting range from 100 to 1,000. Six hundred would probably be a fair estimate.

As battles go, Tippecanoe cannot be compared with *Fallen Timbers* in 1794 or *Moraviantown* in 1813, but it was politically and diplomatically decisive. Its most important effect was to divide the tribes in such a way as to make Tecumseh's dream fade like fog in the sun.

AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF TIPPECANOE  
(By Judge Isaac Naylor)

I became a volunteer of a company of riflemen and, on September 12, 1811, we commenced our march towards Vincennes, and arrived there in about six days, marching one hundred and twenty miles. We remained there about one week and took up the line of march to a point on the Wabash river, where we erected a stockade fort, which we named Fort Harrison. This was two miles above where the city of Terre Haute now stands. Col. Joseph H. Daviess, who commanded the dragoons, named the fort. The glorious defense of this fort nine months after by Capt. Zachary Taylor was the first step in his brilliant career that afterward made him President of the United States. A few days later we took up our line of march for the seat of the Indian warfare, where we arrived on the evening of November 6, 1811.

When the army arrived in view of Prophet's Town, an Indian was seen coming toward General Harrison, with a white flag suspended on a pole. Here the army halted, and a parley was had between General Harrison and an Indian delegation who assured the General that they desired peace and solemnly promised to meet him the next day in council to settle the terms of peace and friendship between them and the United States.

Having seen a number of squaws and children at the town, I thought the Indians were not disposed to fight. About ten o'clock at night, Joseph Warnock and myself retired to rest.

I awoke about four o'clock the next morning, after a sound and refreshing sleep. In a few moments I heard the crack of a rifle in the direction of the point where now stands the Battle Ground House. I had just time to think that some sentinel was alarmed and fired his rifle without a real cause, when I heard the crack of another rifle, followed by an awful Indian yell all around the encampment. In less than a minute I saw the Indians charging our line most furiously and shooting a great many rifle balls into our camp fires, throwing the live coals into the air three or four feet high.

At this moment my friend Warnock was shot by a rifle ball through his body. He ran

a few yards and fell dead on the ground. Our lines were broken and a few Indians were found on the inside of the encampment. In a few moments they were all killed. Our lines closed up and our men in their proper places. One Indian was killed in the back part of Captain Geiger's tent, while he was attempting to tomahawk the Captain.

The sentinels, closely pursued by the Indians, came to the line of the encampment in haste and confusion. My brother, William Naylor, was on guard. He was pursued so rapidly and furiously that he ran to the nearest point on the left flank, where he remained with a company of regular soldiers until the battle was near its termination. A young man, whose name was Daniel Pettit, was pursued so closely and furiously by an Indian as he was running from the guard line to our lines, that to save his life he cocked his rifle as he ran and turning suddenly around, placed the muzzle of his gun against the body of the Indian and shot an ounce ball through him. The Indian fired his gun at the same instant, but it being longer than Pettit's the muzzle passed by him and set fire to a handkerchief which he had tied around his head. The Indians made four or five most fierce charges on our lines, yelling and screaming as they advanced, shooting balls and arrows into our ranks. At each charge they were driven back in confusion, carrying off their dead and wounded as they retreated.

Colonel Owen, Shelby County, Kentucky, one of General Harrison's aides, fell early in the action by the side of the General. He was a member of the legislature at the time of his death. Colonel Daviess was mortally wounded early in the battle, gallantly charging the Indians on foot with sword and pistols according to his own request. He made this request three times before General Harrison would permit it. This charge was made by himself and eight dragoons on foot near the angle formed by the left flank and front line of the encampment. Colonel Daviess lived about thirty-six hours after he was wounded, manifesting his ruling passion in life—ambition, and a patriotism and ardent love of military glory.

Captain Spencer's company of mounted riflemen composed the right flank of the army. Captain Spencer and both of his lieutenants were killed. John Tipton was elected and commissioned captain of his company in one hour after the battle, as reward for his cool and deliberate heroism displayed during the action. He died at Logansport in 1839, having been twice elected Senator of the United States from Indiana.

The clear, calm voice of General Harrison was heard in words of heroism in every part of the encampment during the action. Colonel Boyd behaved very bravely after repeating these words: "Huzza! My sons of gold, a few more fires and victory will be ours!"

Just after daylight the Indians retreated across the prairie toward their own town, carrying off their wounded. This retreat was from the right flank of the encampment, commanded by Captains Spencer and Robb, having retreated from the other portions of the encampment a few minutes before. As their retreat became visible, an almost deafening and universal shout was raised by our men. "Huzza! Huzza! Huzza!" This shout was almost equal to that of the savages at the commencement of the battle; ours was the shout of victory, theirs was the shout of ferocious but disappointed hope.

The morning light disclosed the fact that the killed and wounded of our army, numbering between eight and nine hundred men, amounted to one hundred and eight. Thirty-six Indians were found near our lines. Many of their dead were carried off during the battle. This fact was proved by the discovery of

many Indian graves recently made near their town. Ours was a bloody victory, theirs a bloody defeat.

Soon after breakfast an Indian chief was discovered on the prairie, about eighty yards from our front line, wrapped in a piece of white cloth. He was found by a soldier by the name of Miller, a resident of Jeffersonville, Indiana. The Indian was wounded in one leg, the ball having penetrated his knee and passed down his leg, breaking the bone as it passed. Miller put his foot against him and he raised up his head and said: "Don't kill me, don't kill me." At the same time, five or six regular soldiers tried to shoot him, but their muskets snapped and missed fire. Maj. Davis Floyd came riding toward him with dragoon sword and pistols and said he would show them how to kill Indians, when a messenger came from General Harrison commanding that he should be taken prisoner. He was taken into camp, where the surgeons dressed his wounds. Here he refused to speak a word of English or tell a word of truth. Through the medium of an interpreter he said that he was coming to the camp to tell General Harrison that they were about to attack the camp. He refused to have his leg amputated, though he was told that amputation was the only means of saving his life. One dogma of Indian superstition is that all good and brave Indians, when they die, go to a delightful region, abounding with deer, and other game, and to be a successful hunter he should have his limbs, his gun and his dog. He therefore preferred death with all his limbs to life without them. In accordance with his request he was left to die, in company with an old squaw, who was found in the Indian town the next day after he was taken prisoner. They were left in one of our tents. At the time this Indian was taken prisoner, another Indian, who was wounded in the body, rose to his feet in the middle of the prairie and began to walk towards the wood on the opposite side. A number of regular soldiers shot at him but missed him. A man who was a member of the same company with me, Henry Huckleberry, ran a few steps into the prairie and shot an ounce ball through his body and he fell dead near the margin of the woods. Some Kentucky volunteers went across the prairie immediately and scalped him, dividing his scalp into four pieces, each one cutting a hole in each piece, putting the ramrod through the hole, and placing his part of the scalp just behind the first thimble of his gun, near its muzzle. Such was the fate of nearly all of the Indians found dead on the battle-ground, and such was the disposition of their scalps.

The death of Owen, and the fact that Daviess was mortally wounded with the remembrance also that a large portion of Kentucky's best blood had been shed by the Indians, must be their apology for this barbarous conduct. Such conduct will be excused by all who witnessed the treachery of the Indians and saw the bloody scenes of this battle.

Tecumseh being absent at the time of the battle, a chief called White Loon was the chief commander of the Indians. He was seen in the morning after the battle, riding a large white horse in the woods across the prairie, where he was shot at by a volunteer named Montgomery, who is now living in the southwest part of this State. At the crack of his rifle the horse jumped as if the ball had hit him. The Indian rode off toward the town and we saw him no more. During the battle The Prophet was safely located on a hill, beyond the reach of our balls, praying to the Great Spirit to give victory to the Indians, having previously assured them that the Great Spirit would change our powder into ashes and sand.

General Harrison, having learned that Tecumseh was expected to return from the

south with a number of Indians whom he had enlisted in his cause, called a council of his officers, who advised him to remain on the battlefield and fortify his camp by a breast-work of logs, about four feet high. This work was completed during the day and all the troops were placed immediately behind each line of the work when they were ordered to pass the watchword from right to left every five minutes, so that no man was permitted to sleep during the night. The watchword on the night before the battle was "Wide awake, wide awake." To me it was a long, cold, cheerless night.

On the next day the dragoons went to Prophet's Town, which they found deserted by all the Indians, except an old squaw, whom they brought into camp and left her with the wounded chief before mentioned. The dragoons set fire to the town and it was all consumed, casting up a brilliant light amid the darkness of the ensuing night. I arrived at the town when it was about half on fire. I found large quantities of corn, beans and peas. I filled my knapsack with these articles and carried them to the camp and divided them with the members of our mess, consisting of six men. Having these articles of food, we declined eating horse flesh, which was eaten by a large portion of our men.

#### CHIEF SHABONEE'S ACCOUNT OF TIPPECANOE

It was fully believed among the Indians that we should defeat General Harrison, and that we should hold the line of the Wabash and dictate terms to the whites. The great cause of our failure, was the Miamies, whose principal country was south of the river, and they wanted to treat with the whites so as to retain their land, and they played false to their red brethren and yet lost all. They are now surrounded and will be crushed. The whites will shortly have all their lands and they will be driven away.

In every talk to the Indians, General Harrison said:

"Lay down your arms. Bury the hatchet, already bloody with murdered victims, and promise to submit to your great chief at Washington, and he will be a father to you, and forget all that is past. If we take your land, we will pay for it. But you must not think that you can stop the march of white men westward."

There was truth and justice in all that talk. The Indians with me would not listen to it. It was dictating to them. They wanted to dictate to him. They had counted his soldiers, and looked at them with contempt. Our young men said:

"We are ten to their one. If they stay upon the other side, we will let them alone. If they cross the Wabash, we will take their scalps or drive them into the river. They cannot swim. Their powder will be wet. The fish will eat their bodies. The bones of the white men will lie upon every sand bar. Their flesh will fatten buzzards. These white soldiers are not warriors. Their hands are soft. Their faces are white. One half of them are calico peddlers. The other half can only shoot squirrels. They cannot stand before men. They will all run when we make a noise in the night like wild cats fighting for their young. We will fight for ours, and to keep the pale faces from our wigwams. What will they fight for? They won't fight. They will run. We will attack them in the night."

Such were the opinions and arguments of our warriors. They did not appreciate the great strength of the white men. I knew their great war chief, and some of his young men. He was a good man, very soft in his words to his red children, as he called us; and that made some of our men with hot heads mad. I listened to his soft words, but I looked into his eyes. They were full of fire.

I knew that they would be among his men like coals of fire in the dry grass. The first wind would raise a great flame. I feared for the red men that might be sleeping in this way. I, too, counted his men. I was one of the scouts that watched all their march up the river from Vincennes. I knew that we were like these bushes—very many. They were like these trees; here and there one. But I knew too, when a great tree falls, it crushes many little ones. I saw some of the men shoot squirrels, as they rode along, and I said, the Indians have no such guns. These men will kill us as far as they can see. "They cannot see in the night," said our men who were determined to fight. So I held my tongue. I saw that all of our war chiefs were hot for battle with the white men. But they told General Harrison that they only wanted peace. They wanted him to come up into their country and show their people how strong he was, and then they would all be willing to make a treaty and smoke the great pipe together. This was what he came for. He did not intend to fight the Indians. They had deceived him. Yet he was wary. He was a great war chief. Every night he picked his camping ground and set his sentinels all around, as though he expected we would attack him in the dark. We should have done so before we did, if it had not been for this precaution. Some of our people taunted him for this, and pretended to be angry that he should distrust them, for they still talked of their willingness to treat, as soon as they could get all the people. This is part of our way of making war. So the white army marched further and further into our country, unsuspecting, I think, of our treachery. In one thing we were deceived. We expected that the white warriors would come up on the south bank of the river, and then we could parley with them; but they crossed far down the river and came on this side, right up to the great Indian town that Elskatawwa had gathered at the mouth of the Tippecanoe. In the meantime he had sent three chiefs down on the south side to meet the army and stop it with a talk until he could get the warriors ready. Tecumseh had told the Indians not to fight, but when he was away, they took some scalps, and General Harrison demanded that we should give up our men as murder[er]s, to be punished.

Tecumseh had spent months in traveling all over the country around Lake Michigan, making great talks to all the warriors, to get them to join him in his great designs upon the pale faces. His enmity was the most bitter of any Indian I ever knew. He was not one of our nation, he was a Shawnee. His father was a great warrior. His mother came from the country where there is no snow, near the great water that is salt. His father was treacherously killed by a white man before Tecumseh was born, and his mother taught him, while he suckled, to hate all white men, and when he grew big enough to be ranked as a warrior she used to go with him every year to his father's grave and make him swear that he would never cease to make war upon the Americans. To this end he used all his power of strategy, skill and cunning, both with white men and red. He had very much big talk. He was not at the battle of Tippecanoe. If he had been there it would not have been fought. It was too soon. It frustrated all his plans.

Elskatawwa was Tecumseh's older brother. He was a great medicine. He talked much to the Indians and told them what had happened. He told much truth, but some things that he had told did not come to pass. He was called "The Prophet." Your people knew him only by that name. He was very cunning, but he was not so great a warrior as his brother, and he could not so well control the young warriors who were determined to fight.

Perhaps your people do not know that the battle of Tippecanoe was the work of white men who came from Canada and urged us to make war. Two of them who wore red coats were at the Prophet's Town the day that your army came. It was they who urged Elskatawwa to fight. They dressed themselves like Indians, to show us how to fight. They did not know our mode. We wanted to attack at midnight. They wanted to wait till daylight. The battle commenced before either party was ready, because one of our sentinels discovered one of our warriors, who had undertaken to creep into your camp and kill the great chief where he slept. The Prophet said if that was done we should kill all the rest or they would run away. He promised us a horseload of scalps, and a gun for every warrior, and many horses. The men that were to crawl upon their bellies into camp were seen in the grass by a white man who had eyes like an owl, and he fired and hit his mark. The Indian was not brave. He cried out. He should have lain still and died. Then the other men fired. The other Indians were fools. They jumped up out of the grass and yelled. They believed what had been told them, that a white man would run at a noise made in the night. Then many Indians who had crept very close so as to be ready to take scalps when the white men ran, all yelled like wolves, wild cats and screech owls; but it did not make the white men run.

They jumped right up from their sleep with guns in their hands and sent a shower of bullets at every spot where they heard a noise. They could not see us. We could see them, for they had fires. Whether we were ready or not we had to fight now for the battle was begun. We were still sure that we should win. The Prophet had told us that we could not be defeated. We did not rush in among your men because of the fires. Directly the men ran away from some of the fires, and a few foolish Indians went into the light and were killed. One Delaware could not make his gun go off. He ran up to a fire to fix the lock. I saw a white man whom I knew very well—he was a great hunter who could shoot a tin cup from another man's head—put up his gun to shoot the Delaware. I tried to shoot the white man but another who carried the flag just then unrolled it so that I could not see my aim. Then I heard the gun and saw the Delaware fall. I thought he was dead. The White man thought so, too, and ran to him with his knife. He wanted a Delaware scalp. Just as he got to him the Delaware jumped up and ran away. He had only lost an ear. A dozen bullets were fired at the white man while he was at the fire, but he shook them off like an old buffalo bull.

Our people were more surprised than yours. The fight had been begun too soon. They were not all ready. The plan was to creep up through the wet land where horses could not run, upon one side of the camp, and on the other through a creek and steep bank covered with bushes, so as to be ready to use the tomahawk upon the sleeping men as soon as their chief was killed. The Indians thought white men who had marched all day would sleep. They found them awake.

The Prophet had sent word to General Harrison that day that the Indians were all peaceable, that they did not want to fight, that he might lie down and sleep, and they would treat with their white brothers in the morning and bury the hatchet. But the white men did not believe.

In one minute from the time the first gun was fired I saw a great war chief mount his horse and begin to talk loud. The fires were put out and we could not tell where to shoot, except on one side of the camp, and from there the white soldiers ran, but we did not succeed as the Prophet told us that we would, in scaring the whole army so that all

the men would run and hide in the grass like young quails.

I never saw men fight with more courage than these did after it began to grow light. The battle was lost to us by an accident, or rather by two.

A hundred warriors had been picked out during the night for this desperate service, and in the great council-house the Prophet had instructed them how to crawl like snakes through the grass and strike the sentinels; and if they failed in that, then they were to rush forward boldly and kill the great war chief of the whites, and if they did not do this the Great Spirit, he said, had told him that the battle would be hopelessly lost. This the Indians all believed.

If the one that was first discovered and shot had died like a brave, without a groan, the sentinel would have thought that he was mistaken, and it would have been more favorable than before for the Indians. The alarm having been made, the others followed Elskatawwa's orders, which were, in case of discovery, so as to prevent the secret movement, they should make a great yell as a signal for the general attack. All of the warriors had been instructed to creep up to the camp through the tall grass during the night, so close that when the great signal was given, the yell would be so loud and frightful that the whole of the whites would run for the thick woods up the creek, and that side was left open for this purpose.

"You will, then," said the Prophet, "have possession of their camp and all its equipage, and you can shoot the men with their own guns from every tree. But above all else you must kill the great chief."

It was expected that this could be easily done by those who were allotted to rush into camp in the confusion of the first attack. It was a great mistake of the Prophet's redcoated advisers, to defer this attack until morning. It would have succeeded when the fires were brighter in the night. Then they could not have been put out.

I was one of the spies that had dogged the steps of the army to give the Prophet information every day. I saw all the arrangement of the camp. It was not made where the Indians wanted it. The place was very bad for the attack. But it was not that which caused the failure. It was because General Harrison changed horses. He had ridden a grey one every day on the march, and he could have been shot twenty times by scouts that were hiding along the route. That was not what was wanted, until the army got to a place where it could be all wiped out. That time had now come, and the hundred braves were to rush in and shoot the "Big chief on a white horse," and then fall back to a safer place.

This order was fully obeyed, but we soon found to our terrible dismay that the "Big chief on a white horse" that was killed was not General Harrison. He had mounted a dark horse. I know this, for I was so near that I saw him, and I knew him as well as I knew my own brother.

I think that I could then have shot him, but I could not lift my gun. The Great Spirit held it down. I knew then that the great white chief was not to be killed, and I knew that the red men were doomed.

As soon as daylight came our warriors saw that the Prophet's grand plan had failed—that the great white chief was alive riding fearlessly among his troops in spite of bullets, and their hearts melted.

After that the Indians fought to save themselves, not to crush the whites. It was a terrible defeat. Our men all scattered and tried to get away. The white horsemen chased them and cut them down with long knives. We carried off a few wounded prisoners in the first attack, but nearly all the

dead lay unscalped, and some of them lay thus till the next year when another army came to bury them.

Our women and children were in the town only a mile from the battlefield waiting for victory and its spoils. They wanted white prisoners. The Prophet had promised that every squaw of any note should have one of the white warriors to use as her slave, or to treat as she pleased.

Oh how these women were disappointed! Instead of slaves and spoils of the white men coming into town with the rising sun, their town was in flames and women and children were hunted like wolves and killed by hundreds or driven into the river and swamps to hide.

With the smoke of that town and the loss of that battle I lost all hope of the red men being able to stop the whites.

Historic Conner Prairie farm in central Indiana first purchased by William Conner in August of 1802, in the early pioneer period of Indiana and the Northwest territory. It is on a broad prairie near the White River, north of Indianapolis, just south of what is now Noblesville. His trading post became a landmark on the frontier of central Indiana and the chief market place for Indians in the region. This historic farm was preserved by the Lilly family (of the Eli Lilly Corporation) and is today operated by Earlham College.

Two United States Presidents were associated with Indiana during this pioneer period. Abraham Lincoln moved to southern Indiana in 1816 and spent his boyhood as a Hoosier. William Henry Harrison was appointed governor of the Indiana Territory on May 13, 1800 (after having fought with General Anthony Wayne at the Battle of fallen Timbers and helping construct Fort Wayne). He moved to the territorial capitol of Vincennes on January 10, 1801. Harrison remained in Indiana until September 12, 1812. In 1804 he purchased land which is now Corydon, Indiana. He built a log home and lived there for awhile. All the early settlers in the Corydon area referred to him as "Bill." When a new county was carved out of Knox County, it was thus logical that it would be called Harrison County after the General. He sold to the commissioners one acre and four perches of ground for a public square. That purchase included the square upon which the Old Capitol—Indiana's first capitol and where the first constitution was written—now stands.

#### TAPS FOR THE CAPS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. FRANK) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Madam Speaker, I am here so that a very important death should not go unmourned. Indeed, I must say that if it were not for me, I think it would go not only unmourned but unnoticed. I am talking about the demise of the caps.

Madam Speaker, in 1997, this House passed, along with the other body and it was signed by the President, a piece of legislation, and I have just gone back and read the debates, which touched off a vast orgy of self-congratulation. That bill did two things. First, of all it imposed discretionary spending caps. It said that the amounts we were spending in 1997 on discretionary programs of the Federal Government would be the same amounts

we would spend for the next 5 years. That was widely hailed as the way in which we would get to a balanced budget. We also made serious cuts in Medicare. The caps were going to balance the budget for us. The caps in Medicare were to pay for a capital gains tax cut.

Now it is 1999. With 1997 as the reference point, the wonderful, marvelous Balanced Budget Act, which was a source of such pride to so many of my colleagues especially on the Republican side, lies in complete ruin. It is time to say taps for the caps. The caps of 1997 were to put limits on discretionary spending. They have now become a severe embarrassment. They do not even get talked about. The budget resolution paid some homage to them and was promptly disregarded.

Madam Speaker, the appropriation we are about to pass, the omnibus bill that we are about to pass, absolutely repudiates those caps. Indeed, we do not even hear them talked about. The caps are gone. Many of us felt at the time that the caps were totally and completely unrealistic. We felt that they substantially undervalued government. They did not give us the resources to do important functions that the public wanted done. But we were told by our Republican colleagues that the caps were essential as methods of fiscal discipline.

In less than 2 years, I take it back, 2 years later the caps are gone. They are dead and they die unmourned. They die unnoticed with regard to the 1997 Act. 1999 is the year of Emily Litella: "Never mind." Never mind that we put these caps on. Never mind that we cut Medicare. This has been a year in which we have been undoing it.

That leads me to a problem, Madam Speaker. Certainly, it would be odd to think that thoughtful, knowledgeable, well-informed Members of this House in 1997 would have enacted public policy which 2 years later they would be repudiating and hiding from. Certainly, we could not expect thoughtful Members of this Congress to be doing things and then 2 years later thoroughly repudiating the absolutely foreseeable consequences of their own actions. So there is only one explanation.

Madam Speaker, 2 years ago this House was infiltrated by impostors. Two years ago, taking advantage of the undeveloped state of DNA evidence, people impersonating Members of this House took over the place and foisted on this country cuts in Medicare that nobody today wants to defend and caps that were unrealistic.

This calls, Madam Speaker, for serious investigative work. Where is the gentleman from Indiana and his crack investigative minions in the Committee on Government Reform when we need them? This certainly seems to me to be worthwhile shooting a couple of pumpkins to find out how we got to this situation where the United States House of Representatives was taken over by impostors, by people who pretended to be Members of this House

and passed legislation so negative in its consequences that once the rest of us were able to wrest control back from these invaders, we pretty much got rid of it.

Madam Speaker, there is obviously something lax about our security. There is something that has gone completely wrong when legislation passed in 1997 is celebrated by the people on this floor, and 2 years later the rest of us have to undo it.

So I hope, Madam Speaker, over this break we will try to find ways to prevent any recurrence, because the situation in which people, and we do not know who they were, but in which these masked men and women came in here and replaced the thoughtful Members of this House and inserted themselves into the voting machines and passed irresponsible cuts in Medicare and passed caps that have become a joke, we must not allow that to happen again.

Madam Speaker, eternal vigilance is all that stands between us and a repeat of that 1997 debacle.

#### INTRODUCTION OF LEGISLATION ADDRESSING NAZI ASSET CONFISCATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. RAMSTAD) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. RAMSTAD. Madam Speaker, over 50 years ago Nazi Germany began a systematic process of eliminating an entire race. Over 6 million men, women, and children lost their lives in this tragic chapter in human history simply because they were Jewish.

□ 1945

Others were forced to work as slaves in German factories. Some were subjected to brutal experiments, and others had their assets and belongings stolen from them and given to those of Aryan stock or used by the German government in its war effort.

Amazingly, Madam Speaker, these criminal acts of confiscation have yet to be settled. The United States Government is currently involved in negotiations between German companies and Nazi victims here in the United States which could lead to compensation for some of the victims.

I believe the companies which profited from their complicity with the Nazi regime and the Holocaust should pay for their actions. It is absolutely appalling, Madam Speaker, that to this day, German banks and businesses have failed to admit their role in the grand larceny and conspiracy of the Jewish race. Also, they have not returned the fruits of their crimes. It is absolutely inexcusable that German banks and businesses continue to deny their involvement and refuse to compensate the victims.

That is why today, Madam Speaker, I am introducing legislation to allow victims of the Nazi regime to bring suit