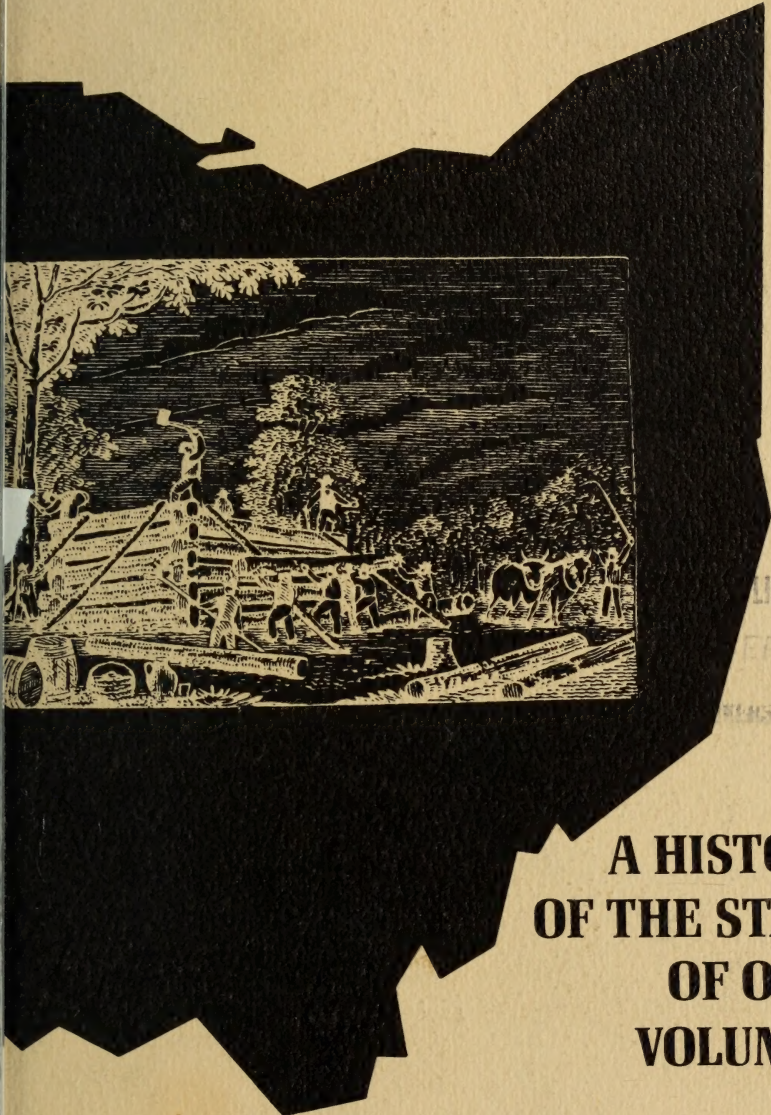


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THE FOUNDATIONS OF OHIO

by Beverley W. Bond, Jr.



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**A HISTORY
OF THE STATE
OF OHIO
VOLUME I**

THE OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE HISTORY OF
THE
STATE OF OHIO

Edited by
CARL WITTKE

Professor of History, Oberlin College

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE OHIO
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IN SIX VOLUMES

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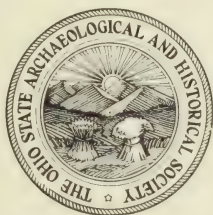
VOLUME I

THE FOUNDATIONS
OF OHIO

By

BEVERLEY W. BOND, JR.

*Professor of History, University of Cincinnati, and
Curator, Historical and Philosophical
Society of Ohio*



Ohio State Archaeological
and Historical Society

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Ohio Historical Society

Editor's Introduction

OHIO has been strangely backward in the preservation of her historical materials and in the writing of her history. Most volumes hitherto published and dealing with the history of the State either suffer from the limitations imposed by the necessity of compressing the narrative within the limits of a one-volume textbook treatment, or they deal with only part of the period, fail to meet the standards of modern scientific historical scholarship or to set the history of Ohio in its proper perspective, or exalt local pride at the sacrifice of impartial, scholarly judgment and method.

For many years the responsible officers of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, the historical guild in Ohio's colleges and universities, and various other groups interested in the cultivation and study of State history have been aware of the need for a new multiple-volume definitive *History of the State of Ohio*. Other states, notably New York and Illinois, have pointed the way by the publication of notable, cooperative histories of their states, which are not only readable but meet all the standards of sound historical scholarship and original and extensive research.

The Ohio project, long discussed, at last came to fruition when a proposal was submitted by the Board of Trustees of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society and its Committee on Publications to the legislature of Ohio for the preparation and publication of a six-volume history of the State in connection with Ohio's observance of the 150th anniversary of the organization of the Northwest Territory and the establishment of civil government within its limits under the Ordinance of 1787. A bill, embodying the Society's suggestions, was passed by the legislature and received the approval of the governor on May 11, 1937. Work in selecting the authors of the respective volumes began at once. After more than three years of preparation, the first volume appeared in 1940.

The present enterprise has as its major objective the production

of a six-volume history of the State which will be so carefully conceived and so thoroughly performed that it will not be necessary, for many years, to do the job again. The first five volumes are the work of scholars of reputation and achievement, who have already carried on research and published in the field of Ohio history, and who are thoroughly familiar with the available materials for the study of the periods assigned. Volume six is the result of the cooperation of a number of competent contributors who have written chapters on their special fields. Each volume is based upon a thorough exploration and first-hand examination of the major sources, manuscript collections, government archives, and newspaper files, found not only in leading depositories within the borders of Ohio, but also in well-known centers for Ohio materials elsewhere in this country and abroad.

Attention has been given in each volume to the more or less familiar aspects of Ohio's political history, but in addition, a real effort has been made to stress the economic, social, cultural and intellectual progress of the State. Art, architecture, religion, journalism, amusements, the theater and other phases of cultural and intellectual activities have received their fair share of emphasis in an effort to make these volumes record, in a real sense, the life and times of the people of this Commonwealth.

Finally, the history of one state cannot be written in isolation from national or regional history. Ohio has affected the affairs of the Middle West and of the Nation at many critical periods in the life of the American people, and Ohio's history has been in turn deeply affected by the broad currents of national and international events which have swept across the Mississippi Valley and the Middle West. A history of Ohio must therefore appear in its proper setting in a history of the Nation as a whole, and an attempt has been made in these volumes to develop and emphasize this relationship wherever possible and necessary.

In the preparation of these volumes, from the first sketchy outline for their contents to the final stages of seeing them through the press, the editor has had the generous and expert help of many who

were interested in the completion of this project. Special mention must be made of Dr. Harlow Lindley and Mr. Clarence Weaver of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society who have helped in countless ways with the details of planning and publishing these volumes. The editor also desires to express his deep appreciation of the fine cooperation he received at every stage of his work from the contributors and authors of the individual volumes. To them must go all the credit for at last bringing the long discussed plans for a cooperative history of Ohio to successful fruition.

CARL WITTKÉ

OBERLIN COLLEGE.

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Editor's Introduction to Volume I

IN THIS volume, Professor Beverley W. Bond, Jr., of the University of Cincinnati, has treated the evolution of the Ohio country from its earliest days as the home of the Mound-builders and aboriginal Indians, to the Enabling Act which prepared the way for Ohio's admission into the Union in 1803 as the "first fruits" of the Ordinance of 1787. "The Ohio country" has been properly defined to include a larger part of the trans-Appalachian frontier than was finally incorporated within the political boundaries of the State of Ohio. With constant references to the expanding colonial frontier, the author has treated the development of the Ohio country in its proper perspective with reference to the history of the older seaboard settlements.

The Ohio country was the battle-ground of three European nations, the English, the French, and to a lesser degree, the Spanish. Here was fought out the struggle between these European nations for possession of the hinterland in the Ohio and Mississippi and Great Lakes basins. Here the Americans struggled with the British, before and after the American Revolution, for ultimate possession of the Ohio Valley country. And here were fought out numerous Indian wars, first between the native tribes, and finally with the white man who would not be restrained, by government proclamation or parliamentary or congressional statute, from entering the vacant and inviting lands beyond the Alleghenies.

Following a chapter on the natural, physiographic features of the Ohio country, and a chapter on the aborigines, contributed by Director H. C. Shetrone of the Museum of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, and a recognized authority in this field of archaeology and anthropology, Dr. Bond has written the history of the Ohio country to 1803, with new detail and with

abundant materials culled by prodigious research from both European and American archives. His chapters include detailed descriptions of Indian relations and foreign plans and intrigues for the western country, the development of settlement, the evolution of transportation from buffalo and Indian trails to the pioneer highways of the post-revolutionary years, the primitive legal codes of frontier communities, the land policies of the new Federal Government, the beginnings of self-government in the Northwest Territory, and the final struggle for statehood. Throughout the narrative, Dr. Bond has not lost sight of such topics as religion, education, manners and customs, and other aspects of frontier life which are essential to an understanding of the social history of that early period.

Professor Bond was the logical choice for the first volume of *The History of the State of Ohio*. His earlier publications, especially those dealing with *The Quit-rent System in the Colonies*, *The Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes*, and *The Civilization of the Old Northwest*, won recognition for the author as an expert in this period. In the preparation of this volume, Professor Bond supplemented his earlier researches with extensive investigations in fresh and hitherto unused materials, much of it unpublished. His volume is a significant contribution to a more detailed knowledge and a more accurate interpretation of the main current of events in the Ohio country before statehood.

CARL WITTKE

OBERLIN COLLEGE.

Preface

IN THE writing of a volume which attempts to cover so extensive a period, from the prehistoric era down to 1803 when Ohio became a state, the task of gathering material has necessarily been an arduous one. The problem has been greatly complicated by the entanglement of the early Ohio country in French and British policies in America, with a bewildering mass of material as a result, from which it has been possible to select only what is most important and at the same time available. Thus, much material of intrinsic interest has been passed over, and considerable reliance has been necessarily placed upon secondary authorities.

For sources the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress has been of immense value, notably the extensive transcripts and photostats of the vast collections in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the French Archives. In addition to the Clairambault MSS. the more important series consulted in this collection, together with their usual abbreviations, are: *Archives, Service Hydrographique* (ASH.); *Archives des Colonies* (AC. B and AC. C); *Archives des Affaires Étrangères* (AE.), *Angleterre, États Unis, Mémoires et Documents Américaine*. In the Division of Manuscripts are also many transcripts from the British Public Records Office and the British Museum which have been used, but to prevent confusion the ones consulted have not been distinguished from originals in the same series which were seen in London. Other important MSS. in the Library of Congress which have been found useful for this work include: the Papers of the Continental Congress, the many photostats of the Gage MSS. in the William L. Clements Library, and various collections, such as the Thomas Worthington Papers, which cannot be listed here specifically.

In London extensive use has been made of the Public Records Office, the chief series used, together with the usual abbreviations, being as follows: Audit Office Accounts (A. O.); Colonial Office

Papers (C. O.); Foreign Office Records (F. O.); Treasury Papers (T. 1); and War Office Papers (W. O.). In the British Museum the Additional MSS. have been helpful. Elsewhere, the Henry E. Huntington Library collections have been a very important source of information and especially the Loudoun Papers. Besides these MSS. many printed sources have been used, for which detailed references have been given in the footnotes. But so numerous are the references to sources, both MS. and printed, that, except in a few instances, a detailed citation of each particular document has not been given. In justification for such departure from orthodox historical canons, the author can only plead limitations of space, and a desire to appeal to a somewhat wider circle than the members of historical seminaries.

For secondary authorities the footnotes give ample references, and the author is deeply indebted to the increasing number of historical workers who are shedding so much light upon many obscure features of early western history. Of such a type is Randolph C. Downes' *Frontier Ohio, 1788-1803*, while the volumes on the Northwest Territory, in the *Territorial Papers* edited by Clarence E. Carter have also been a great aid. In addition much information has been secured from articles, altogether too numerous to mention in detail, in the publications of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, and the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

For the original maps, the author is greatly indebted to the accurate skill and artistic ability of Mrs. Kenneth Caster of Cincinnati. Other maps have been secured through the kind cooperation of the Henry E. Huntington Library, the Map Division of the Library of Congress and the Western Reserve Historical Society. Still other maps as well as many illustrations have been reproduced through the courtesy of different libraries, authors and publishers, and in each instance due acknowledgment has been made. Throughout the preparation of this volume the author's main dependence has been the library of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, with its unique collection of manuscripts, books,

newspapers and pamphlets relating to early western history. This invaluable material has been thrown open without stint, and the constant and capable assistance of the librarian, Miss Eleanor S. Wilby, and her assistants, has lightened, and even made possible what must in any case have been a tedious and laborious task. The author is also greatly indebted to Henry Clyde Shetrone, director of the Museum of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society for his chapter, "The Ohio Aborigines," a subject upon which he is the acknowledged authority. Wilber C. Stout, state geologist of Ohio, Harry B. Mackoy, Esq., of Covington, Kentucky, and many other friends have also given effective aid in many ways. To the editor of *The History of the State of Ohio*, Carl F. Wittke of Oberlin College, especially, the author is indebted for invaluable aid, while Harlow Lindley, secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, has given unflagging encouragement and many helpful suggestions. Also Mr. Clarence L. Weaver, assistant editor of the same Society, has gone through the manuscript with painstaking care and has prepared the Index. To all of these coworkers, and other friends whom it is impossible to mention by name, the author acknowledges his deep obligation for the effective aid and pertinent suggestions without which this account of *The Foundations of Ohio* could not have been written.

BEVERLEY W. BOND, JR.

CINCINNATI, July 1, 1940.

THE FOUNDATIONS
OF OHIO



1. EARLY WESTERN FLATBOAT

The characteristic water-craft of the pioneers: Reproduced from *The Pageant of America* (New Haven, Conn., 1927), vol. IV, p. 74, by the courtesy of the Yale University Press.

CHAPTER I

The Ohio Country

AMONG the many colorful episodes that marked the westward sweep of civilization across the American continent, one of the most dramatic and significant was the exploration and settlement of the Ohio country. The term, Ohio country, may be defined as approximately that area, bounded by the Ohio and Allegheny rivers on the east and the south, by Lake Erie and the Maumee Valley on the north, and by the Miami and Auglaize valleys on the west. With certain minor adjustments of these boundaries, the Ohio country developed from a primitive wilderness into the State of Ohio with its 40,740 square miles. In the course of this notable transformation many important influences were at work which determined the future of the Ohio country itself, and had a profound effect as well upon the progress of the American nation. Indeed, aside from the particular advantages it held out to the would-be settler, the Ohio region was a veritable gateway between the expanding population east of the Appalachians, and the vast stretches of vacant land in Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and across the Mississippi.

In the stupendous cavalcade of the Ohio country, first came the aboriginal inhabitants, the all but mythical Mound-builders, and then the Indians. Not until the seventeenth century did Europeans find their way here in the persons of the French fur traders and missionaries, who had pushed westward from their settlements in Canada along the St. Lawrence. Exploring the southern shore of Lake Erie, and the Ohio Valley, probably as far as the Falls at Louisville, they marked out first the bare outlines of the Ohio region. Meanwhile the English were absorbed in their far-flung task of occupying and developing the Atlantic Coast, and only a few exceptionally hardy adventurers penetrated the Appalachian

barrier, and fewer still, if any, crossed over the Ohio River into the fertile lands beyond. To the English colonists of the seventeenth century, therefore, the Ohio country with the great river that bordered it, remained a shadowy region regarding which they had picked up a few scraps of information from the Indians, and in roundabout fashion from the French in Canada.

In the eighteenth century the situation changed completely, and the English, as well as the French, developed an increasing appreciation of the Ohio country which finally brought about a life and death struggle for its possession. The French, extending their explorations and incidentally their fur trade, built up a considerable commerce on Lake Erie, and penetrated the Ohio country itself from the north. From the east and the south, the English explorers and fur traders, grown bolder, were now crossing the Appalachians, and entering this same region in increasing numbers. Both English and French endeavored to gain the friendship of the sparse Indian population, in order to control the fur trade. Finally the struggle between the two nations broke out in open conflict, and the English gained a complete victory, ousting the French in 1763. Then came the two-fold British problem of controlling the Indians, and at the same time holding back the American colonists who were impatient to press onto the rich lands that lay beyond the Ohio. Finally came the American Revolution, and the English, in turn, were supposedly ousted. But for a while the question of ultimate control hung in the balance, until the American Government worked out a colonial policy which attracted a sturdy population, and thus held the Ohio lands in spite of British intrigues. Of equal significance, the American civilization which these pioneers developed became a pattern for succeeding frontier areas, as the United States spread westward. Finally, upon the foundations which had been laid in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the State of Ohio was established in 1803. The progress of this epic development of the Ohio country, from the primitive wilderness until the State of Ohio emerged, will form the central theme of this present volume.

Geographically the most outstanding feature of the Ohio country was the Ohio River, which has appropriately given this region its name. The origin of the word, "Ohio," has been the subject of considerable controversy. The most plausible explanation is, that it is merely the English form of an Iroquoian word which in the Mohawk and Cayugan dialects became, *O-hē-yo*, meaning "Great River." This name, it has been asserted, the Iroquois gave to the stream which, according to the tradition among the Five Nations, originated in their country in the present-day Allegheny, and from there flowed down on its long course to the Mississippi.¹ The French, however, from the earliest discovery dubbed this same stream *La Belle Rivière*, "The Beautiful River." Hence arose the explanation which was commonly accepted for so many years, that "Ohio" signifies "Beautiful River." There is a possibility that the French made a mistake in translating the Iroquoian word, but it is much more probable that, with their keen sense of beauty, it was on their own initiative that they gave the stream so fitting a name as *La Belle Rivière*. This theory is strikingly supported by Franquelin's *Map of North America*, published in 1681, which labels the river west of the Appalachians, which the French had only lately explored, *La Belle Rivière ou Oü-i-o*.² These alternative names appeared frequently in later maps, and doubtless the English, instead of literally translating the French as the rather prosaic "Beautiful River," preferred the far more poetic Iroquoian name, which they translated, "Ohio."

Like most American states, the one which developed from the Ohio country was in its origin a political product rather than a geographically distinct section. In the north the shore-line of Lake Erie was a natural boundary for two-thirds of the distance, and the Ohio River for about half of the eastern and all of the southern

¹ W. E. Connelley, "Origin of Indian Names of Certain States and Rivers," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* (Columbus), XXIX (1920), 452-3; C. A. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail* (New York, 1911), I, 293-4; A. B. Hulbert, *Historic Highways* (Cleveland, 1902-5), IX, 17-9. (Hereafter the *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is cited *O.S.A.H. Quar.*)

² J. B.-L. Franquelin, *Map of North America* (1681), (in Map Division, Library of Congress, hereafter cited Map Div., Lib. Cong.)

line. But the eastern and the western, and the remaining third of the boundaries were artificial lines, the outcome of political controversies. This unnatural situation was accented by the division of the State into two distinct physical sections: the Great Lakes region to the northward, and the Ohio Valley to the southward, with the two roughly marked off by a low ridge that runs east and west through the approximate center of the State. The northern section, the Great Lakes region, extends east and west of the Ohio boundaries in its cultural and economic characteristics, while the southern, the Ohio Valley, in a similarly broader sense, includes, beside the river valley proper, the extensive territory adjacent to its tributaries, ignoring any really innate contrast between the lands north and those south of the main stream.³ The failure to recognize these natural features, together with its extensive artificial boundaries, and its geographical position in the main lane of east and west traffic, doubtless accounts in large measure for the development of the Ohio country as an essentially cosmopolitan area, which lacks markedly distinctive characteristics.

However lacking in natural boundaries, the Ohio country was well adapted to become the setting for an advanced civilization.⁴ In general physical characteristics it was strikingly similar to the Middle States of the Atlantic Coast, so that the transition for settlers coming from that region was an exceedingly easy one. To immigrants from New England it offered a more genial climate, and a far greater abundance of fertile soil, while to those from the Southern States it presented a more bracing environment which meant a more energetic existence. Consequently once the occupation of the land started, settlers flocked in from these three main sections of the Atlantic Coast, and mingling together, they fused their long established sectional characteristics in what was essentially an American rather than a sectional civilization.

The moderation that was to be so typical of the Ohio country

³ F. J. Turner, *Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), 157-76.

⁴ Roderick Peattie, *Geography of Ohio*, Geological Survey of Ohio, Fourth Series, *Bulletin* 27 (Columbus, 1923).

and its inhabitants extended even to the climate, which is comparatively mild, with a mean annual temperature of 50°. At times, however, there are considerable variations between the excessive heat of the summer season, and the subzero weather of the winter, but such extremes are the exception rather than the rule. In rainfall, too, there is a moderate sufficiency, with an annual average that varies between 31 and 24 inches, although here, too, there are occasional extremes, in the form of seasons of prolonged drought and those of exceptional rainfall. It is especially fortunate that the rainfall is heaviest in the most opportune season, in the spring and early summer, when the crops are making their most important growth. Still another noticeable feature of the Ohio climate is the moderating influence of Lake Erie, which has made possible the widespread cultivation of grapes and other small fruits along its southern shore.

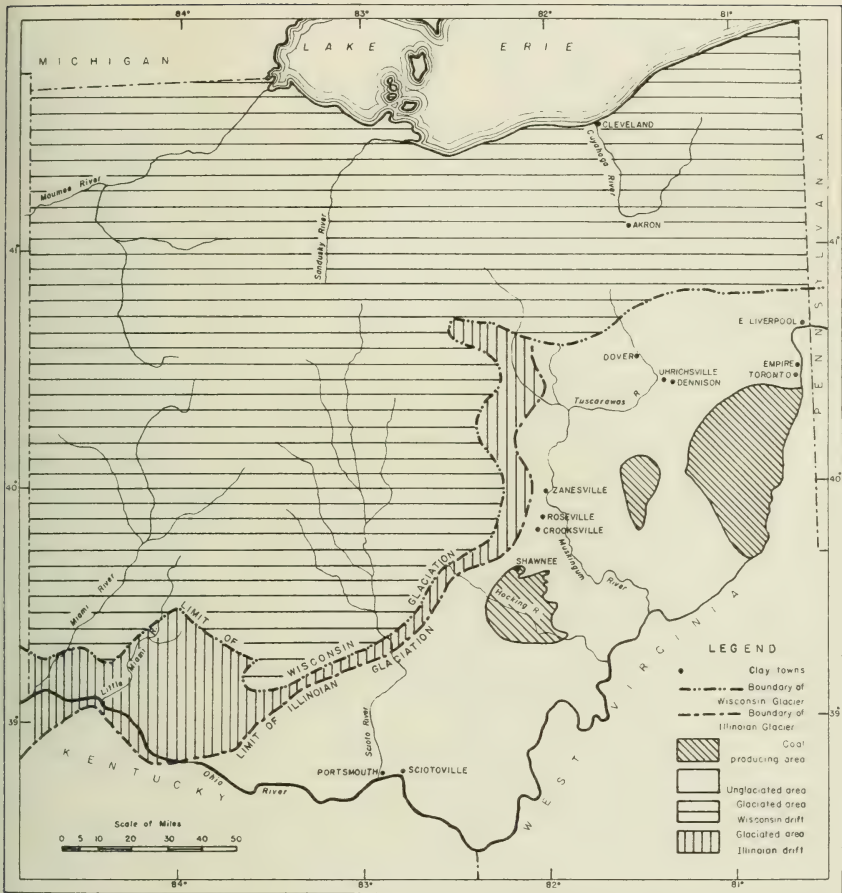
For the agricultural life usual in pioneer settlements, the soil and topography of the Ohio country were exceptionally well adapted. Primarily this was due to the great ice sheets, coming down from the Canadian country, which had spread over approximately three-fourths of the State of Ohio, to be exact 29,719 square miles, during the great "Ice Age."⁵ Over this glaciated area two great glaciers had carried on their work, depositing great drifts of fertile soil, and smoothing down the sharp outlines of the many ridges. The earlier one, the Illinoian glacier, spread over approximately 22,975 square miles in the western half of Ohio. East of Ashland County the Illinoian drift has not been definitely identified, but to the north its border probably extended through eastern Huron County and eastern Erie County to Lake Erie at Vermilion. Southward from Ashland County the glacial border ran past Brinkhaven, Knox County; New Guilford, Coshocton County; Hanover and Gratiot, Licking County; to Fultonham, Muskingum County. From Fultonham the Illinoian glacial border turned southwestward, through Junction City, Perry County; Sugar Grove, Fairfield

⁵ For the material upon which the account of the Ohio glaciers and their effects is based, the author is indebted to Dr. Wilber Stout, the state geologist of Ohio.

County; Haynes, Hocking County; Chillicothe and Bainbridge, Ross County; Cynthiana, Pike County; Belfast, Highland County; and Seaman, Adams County; to the Ohio River at Ripley, Brown County, where it crossed into Kentucky.

The second great ice drift, the Wisconsin glacier, crept southward after the Illinoian had receded, and spread over the same area, except for 3,247 square miles, chiefly on the southern border. This area between the Wisconsin drift border and the Illinoian was especially well marked in southwestern Ohio, where the former was an irregular line which ran from 15 to 40 miles north of the Ohio, and the latter crossed the river. Through central Ohio the Wisconsin glacier lagged only slightly behind the Illinoian, and in the eastern section it had spread beyond it, covering some 6,744 square miles to the Pennsylvania line. The glacial border line entered Ohio at the Pennsylvania boundary near Clarkson, Columbiana County. From there it ran in a southwesterly direction through North Industry, Stark County; Wilmot, Tuscarawas County; to Millersburg, Holmes County, its farthest southern point. At Millersburg the border of the Wisconsin drift turned in a northwesterly direction to Loudonville, Ashland County, then near Lexington, Richland County, and so to the eastern border of the Illinoian glacier. Thus, nearly half the State of Ohio has been subject to double glaciation. First the Illinoian glacier, and after it had receded the Wisconsin has rounded out the contour of the land, and deposited great beds of glacial drift to form a fertile soil. Also, over a fourth of Ohio this same process has taken place, but to a lessened extent, as it has been covered by a single glacier only. Altogether, fifty-four counties were included in the glaciated area.

The remaining fourth of the State, the unglaciated area, included a belt of sixteen counties in the southeastern section in the upper Ohio Valley: Jefferson, Carroll, Harrison, Belmont, Guernsey, Monroe, Noble, Morgan, Washington, Athens, Meigs, Vinton, Gallia, Jackson, Lawrence and Scioto. Back of them was another tier of seventeen counties which were only partly glaciated: Colum-



MAP 1. GLACIATED AND UNGLACIATED AREAS, AND COAL-PRODUCING AREAS IN OHIO, ALSO CENTERS OF CLAY MANUFACTURES

Based upon material furnished by Wilber C. Stout, state geologist of Ohio, and the maps in R. Peattie, *Geography of Ohio*, in Ohio Geological Survey, Fourth Series, *Bulletin 27* (Columbus, 1923), pp. 3, 66.

biana, Stark, Tuscarawas, Holmes, Ashland, Knox, Coshocton, Licking, Muskingum, Perry, Fairfield, Hocking, Ross, Pike, Highland, Adams, and Brown. The deep valleys and the comparatively limited amount of fertile soil in this unglaciated area bore eloquent testimony to the effect of the glaciers upon the greater part

of Ohio. An extension of the Allegheny Plateau, this unglaciated region has a moderate elevation, but it has been dissected by streams to such an extent that, in contrast to the rounded hills and wide plains of the glaciated area, its contour is marked by narrow ridges with steep valleys in between. Often the valleys are wild, and densely wooded with outcrops of bed-rock, including coal in the cliffs. This general topography has been a main factor in the retarded agricultural development of this area. On the steep hill-sides much of the land cannot be cultivated, and the really good land is confined chiefly to the narrow valleys, with moderately fertile soil on the plateaus.

In the glaciated area, certain distinctive features of glacial action have been of outstanding influence upon agricultural development. Apparently the Wisconsin ice sheet was somewhat thicker than the older Illinoian, and it has left more surface indications in the form of moraines and other glacial evidences. One of its most distinctive features was a tendency to push out lobes along the main axes of flow, where the ice was thicker and moved at a faster rate, advancing in fan-shape fashion. In the Ohio country there were three of these lobes which the Wisconsin glacier pushed along stream valleys, the Grand, the Scioto and the Miami. The Grand River glacial lobe covered Ashtabula, Trumbull and Mahoning counties, northern Columbiana, eastern Lake, eastern Geauga, eastern Portage and eastern Stark counties. In this particular area the ice sheet seems to have gone through several oscillations, so that a number of moraines were deposited, while the glacier also smoothed out the rough contour of this region, originally a part of the Allegheny Plateau. In addition to the morainic hills this glacial action caused the formation of level till plains, knolls, marshes and lakes, thus laying the basis for intensive agricultural development.

The Scioto glacial lobe, by far the most extensive tongue of ice in the Ohio country, covered the north central part of the State, including the upper basin of the Scioto River, and parts of the valleys of the Hocking, the Licking, and the Tuscarawas rivers, and

Killbuck Creek. The eastern boundary was a line from Canton northward through Kent, where the Scioto merged with the Grand River lobe. The southern border of the Scioto lobe was the terminal moraine of the Wisconsin glacier, extending all the way from Canton in Stark County to Harveysburg in Warren County. The western boundary of the Scioto lobe was a line from Xenia to Bellefontaine, which marked its junction with the Miami, the third great ice lobe of the Wisconsin glacier in the Ohio country. The Illinoian glacier had already smoothed over the wide area covered by the Scioto lobe, and the Wisconsin glacier continued this leveling of the surface in some sections. In others, to the existing relief features it added ridges, hills, and knobs of glacial drift.

The remaining lobe of the Wisconsin ice sheet, the Miami, covered the main Miami Valley north of Hamilton, and a small section of the Little Miami Valley north of Waynesville. Here the ice sheet, as it advanced in fan-shape fashion and then retreated, left ground moraines and other masses of drift that gave definite contour to the landscape. This Miami lobe extended eastward, approximately to the line of the Scioto lobe from Xenia to Bellefontaine, and westward into Indiana some twenty miles.

In general, the glaciers rounded the hills of the Ohio country over which they passed, choked the valleys with drifts, and left moraines, hilly knobs and other evidences of their work scattered around. The glacial drift which they brought down from Canada was thoroughly mixed, chemically and physically, so that the soil of the glaciated area is fairly uniform in quality, although in the flood plains of the rivers, erosion from the hills has made it especially good. Also, by damming up the streams the glaciers created temporary lakes, which were especially numerous in northern Ohio. These lakes, retreating, left sandy beaches, sand-spits, and lagoons which have remained as swamps. Once they are drained, these lands with their rich, bottom soil, notably the swamp areas of northwestern Ohio, become unusually fine agricultural land. The long parallel sand beaches left by the glacial lakes are natural

highways, over which the Indian trails ran in the effort to avoid high water and the other obstacles of the valleys. Later they were the sites of the pioneer "ridge roads."⁶ Still another important effect of the ice sheet throughout Ohio, and notably south of the glacial border, was the diversion of the original streams from great, preglacial valleys, leaving them with merely local drainage systems. These distinctive valleys present wide stretches of rich agricultural land, and also form natural locations for highways. A noteworthy example is the rich valley, with only local streams, which stretches southwestward from Waverly to Wheelersburg, and others of special note extend eastward from Lancaster to Bremen, and from Newark to Trinway.⁷ Even in the unglaciated area, the glaciers did effective work, pushing out great quantities of silt, sand, gravel and boulders into the streams which ran beyond the glacial borders. As a result, these valleys were filled to a great depth with an outwash, which, even though it was cut away by erosion, left fine broad terraces for farming in the upper Ohio, the lower Scioto, the Hocking and the Muskingum valleys.

With its usually rich soil the glaciated area of the primitive Ohio wilderness was clothed with an abundant vegetation.⁸ For the most part deciduous forests of hardwood trees covered the land, with a few small, grassy stretches, chiefly in western Ohio, where the vegetation gradually merged into that of the prairie area. In the eastern section, which was a continuation of the Allegheny Plateau, evergreens were mixed with the deciduous trees, among them scrub, pitch and short leaf pine, and in the northeast white pine, red cedar, arbor vitae, yew and hemlock. The more important deciduous trees in this eastern section included red and white oak, chestnut, hickory, birch, beech, and sugar maple. All along the Lake Erie shore stretched great beech woods. To the south and in the old lake beds of northwestern Ohio red maple

⁶ Peattie, *Geography of Ohio*, 10-3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 10-1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 27-8; Ecological Society of America, Committee on the Preservation of Natural Conditions, *Naturalist's Guide to the Americas* (Baltimore, 1926), 355-8.

mingled with the beech, and there were open oak forests. Elsewhere in the glaciated region the white oak was the most characteristic tree, with much maple, hickory, walnut, beech and elm. On the occasional small prairies there was an abundant growth of bush grass. In the valleys of the Ohio country there were tangles of great sycamores, and wild grape-vines, and throughout the State the buckeye tree was widely distributed.

There was also an abundant animal life in the thick forests and on the broad meadows of the Ohio country. The larger animals included the timber wolf, the cougar, bobcats, red and gray foxes, black bear, deer, elk, beaver and buffalo. There were numerous smaller animals, and about 300 species of bird life. The great abundance of fish in the streams rounded out the wild life of a region which was a veritable hunter's paradise in its primitive state.

Many early explorers and travelers have left detailed accounts of the Ohio wilderness, among them the Abbé Galinée, who started from Montreal with La Salle, but parted with him in order to lead a party of Sulpicians through Lake Erie to the Detroit River. The good father has left a most enthusiastic description of the south shore of Lake Erie, where he established winter headquarters at the mouth of a small river, probably the Chagrin, a three days' journey west of the Grand River. There the abbé and his fellow Sulpicians found a plentiful supply of food, deer in such numbers that they salted a supply of meat for the winter, and bear so fat they tasted better than the famous boars of France. Also, the Frenchmen gathered large supplies of walnuts and chestnuts, beside apples, plums and grapes. According to Galinée, the vines which grew wild on the lake shore and on the river banks, produced a great abundance of red grapes as "large and sweet" as the finest ones of France. From them the Sulpicians made a dark, heavy wine which they used all winter at celebrations of the mass. In the woods, which were interspersed with beautiful prairies, they found numerous streams filled with fish and beaver. In this "*paradis terrestre*" they passed the winter much more comfortably,

Galinée recorded, than would have been possible in Montreal.⁹

Later travelers have left similarly glowing accounts of the primitive Ohio country. Thus, Christopher Gist was enthusiastic in his praise of the land across which he passed in February, 1751, on his trip from the mouth of the Scioto to the site of West Union, Logan County, and then to the Indian town of Pickawillany on the Miami. With the exception of the first twenty miles or so, which incidentally was in the unglaciated area, the land, he noted, was rich, and level, and well timbered with large walnut, ash, sugar maple and cherry trees. There were, also, a great number of streams and many beautiful, natural meadows, full of wild rye, blue grass and clover. Game, too, was abundant, and Gist saw turkey, deer, elk, and thirty or forty buffaloes feeding in a single meadow. He heard, too, that the Ohio and its branches were full of fish, with catfish of a prodigious size. The Miami Valley, in the very heart of the glacial Miami lobe, Gist described as level, very rich, and well timbered. In many meadows in the neighborhood of Pickawillany he found grass which had grown to an amazing height, and the bottoms were full of clover, wild rye and blue grass. On his return from Pickawillany, Gist followed the Little Miami, probably as far as Warren County, and here, too, he found rich land and beautiful meadows. One fine meadow about a mile long, Gist described as clear of trees or bushes like an old field, and here he could see buffalo feeding fully two miles away.¹⁰

Another interesting account of the early Ohio country was left by Charles Stuart, who was made prisoner during an Indian raid upon the Pennsylvania border in October, 1755. From Logstown Stuart was taken by his captors to the Tuscarawas near modern Coshocton, and then to Sandusky. Between Logstown and the Tuscarawas he noted the occasional rich, level land which was well covered with timber similar to that of the Pennsylvania woods. Elsewhere there were thickets of scrub oak, and the soil did not

⁹ Pierre Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements Français* (Paris, 1879-88), I, 149-50.

¹⁰ W. M. Darlington, ed., *Christopher Gist's Journals* (Pittsburgh, 1893), 47, 55-6.

appear to be very fertile. Between the Tuscarawas and Sandusky, Stuart found far richer land. The thick timber, red oak, white oak, black walnut, locust, sugar maple, other maples, hickory, chestnut and ash, with many extraordinarily large trees, bore witness to the fertile soil of this doubly glaciated region. Stuart passed many savannas, too, which were really prairies. The largest one, a few miles beyond the Tuscarawas, he estimated, was about four or five miles broad, and perhaps 50 miles long. It was closely covered with tall wild grass which Stuart thought would make excellent hay. Rising above the sea of grass were several small islands, of some three to six acres apiece, which were usually well timbered with red and white oak, with the ground covered with pigeon dung, and many of the larger tree limbs broken down by the great flocks of pigeons that had roosted upon them. Not far from this savanna was a buffalo lick, where Stuart saw the meat of a small buffalo which was as fat as cattle which had been made ready for the market. Meat in fact, usually without salt, was the usual food which the Indians gave their prisoners on this journey, and they secured it at the different hunting camps along the route.¹¹

Late in 1760, after receiving the surrender of Detroit from the French, Major Robert Rogers traveled cross-country from Sandusky to the Muskingum Valley, and he, too, was impressed with the many resources of this fertile region. On the way he and his men killed a large number of deer and turkey, and they passed several of the temporary Indian hunting camps. From Sandusky Bay on, he found fine, level land, with no pine trees of any type, but many forests of deciduous trees, especially oak, walnut, chestnut and locust. By land from Detroit to Sandusky, Rogers was impressed with the fertility of the soil, as evidenced by the heavy timber, chiefly white and black oak, hickory, locust and maple. Along the western end of Lake Erie he found wild apple trees, and rich treeless savannas extending for several miles, and covered with grass that rotted every year, and thus increased the fertility of the

¹¹ B. W. Bond, Jr., ed., "Captivity of Charles Stuart, 1755-1757," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa), XIII (1926/7), 67-71. (Hereafter this periodical is cited *Miss. Val. Hist. Rev.*)

land, creating a very desirable area, even with the bad trails.¹²

Colonel Henry Bouquet, who marched through the dense forests of eastern Ohio on his memorable campaign against the Delawares and the Shawnees in October, 1764, was especially enthusiastic over the river bottom near the junction of the Muskingum and the Tuscarawas, where he established his headquarters. On each side of the Muskingum there were wide stretches of exceedingly rich land, and to the northwest Bouquet noted a level plain which was upwards of five miles in circumference. Farther down the river he found a fine, level country at some distance from the bank, with grass which furnished an abundance of food for cattle, and with occasional stately timber.¹³

Six years later George Washington, on his famous journey down the Ohio from Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Kanawha, recorded in his Diary his impressions of the Ohio Valley.¹⁴ The surrounding hills he described as steep and broken, and even though some of them had tolerably rich soil, he considered them fit only to furnish the settlements in the bottoms with wood and timber. This broken contour with no considerable amount of rich, level land continued, so far as Washington could ascertain, up to the heads of the smaller streams which flowed into the Ohio. The river bottoms varied greatly in quality, with the richest bottoms covered with a thick growth of walnut, locust, cherry and other trees, grown snarly and overgrown with wild grape-vines. Sugar maple, ash and walnut were found in the less rich bottoms, and beech, poplar and oak in the poorest, although even there the soil was fair. The task of clearing the many beech bottoms, in Washington's opinion, would be an exceptionally difficult one, since the tree roots, spreading over a wide surface, were difficult to kill. Also, Washington testified to the extraordinarily large catfish in the Ohio, and to the numbers of buffalo and deer. In the bottoms near the

¹² F. B. Hough, ed., *Journals of Major Robert Rogers* (Albany, 1883), 197-201.

¹³ [William Smith] *Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition, in Ohio Valley Historical Series, I* (Cincinnati, 1868), 49, 51.

¹⁴ J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799* (Boston and New York, 1925), I, 419, 427, 441-2.

mouth of the Kanawha he found all kinds of game, as well as many wild fowls, swans, geese and ducks.

Other travelers, beside Washington, were impressed by the rich river bottoms with their enormous trees. The sycamore especially flourished in these valleys, and one enthusiastic pioneer boasted of a giant sycamore in Scioto County which measured more than 60 feet in circumference at its base, with a cavity that sheltered thirteen horseback riders during a rainstorm, with room for two additional persons.¹⁵ François André Michaux, on his journey through the Ohio Valley in 1802, described the soil in the river bottoms as a true vegetable humus which had been produced originally by the many leaves which fell each year, and had been greatly increased by the quick decay of the large tree trunks which were constantly falling. Nowhere in his travels, Michaux declared, had he seen trees equal in size to those on the banks of the Ohio. A little above Marietta he himself had seen a sycamore, of which the trunk, four feet above the ground, measured 47 feet in circumference. This great girth ran up to a height of 15 or 20 feet, when the tree began to branch. Michaux was told there were other sycamores that were fully as large, in the woods back of the river.¹⁶

These heavy forests in the river bottoms where the first settlements were made, added greatly to the pioneer's task. Once he had established a shelter he must clear away the thick woods near-by for an agricultural plot, and equally important, as a measure of safety to prevent prowling Indians from coming too close. On the other hand, without the abundant forests these early settlers in the Ohio country would have faced even greater hardships. The timber furnished excellent building material and firewood, while from the many wood ashes the pioneers distilled potash, which became an important export. Beside such obvious uses, with the omnipresent ax they shaped many articles for household use. Puncheons split from ash and walnut trunks served as

¹⁵ Richmond *Virginia Argus*, October 16, 1810.

¹⁶ R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-5), III, 175-6.

floors, clapboards formed roofs, and the earliest chimneys were built from sticks plastered with mud. Tables and benches were made from boards, brooms from young hickory, and shovel tongs from clapboards. The buckeye tree, especially, furnished an easily worked wood which was made into trays, plates, bowls and tubs of various types for the pioneer housewife.¹⁷

The great forests of the river bottoms and of the wide-spread glaciated areas in the Ohio country eventually gave way to the farm. Even before American settlement began, however, the aboriginal inhabitants had carried on a primitive type of agriculture. A later chapter will recount the many evidences that the Mound-builders raised beans, squash, tobacco and corn. The historic Indians cultivated the fertile Ohio lands on an even larger scale, planting extensive cornfields in the fertile valleys, as well as tobacco and vegetables. In northern Ohio the Wyandots had extensive cornfields, but by the middle of the eighteenth century the Indians dwelling in the Muskingum, the Scioto and the Miami valleys had in reality become a semiagricultural people. The Delawares alone were reported to have cleared fully 3,000 acres in the neighborhood of their main town at the junction of the Muskingum and the Tuscarawas, in the region which Bouquet had so greatly admired.¹⁸ The Christian Delawares, too, had made great advances under the tutelage of the Moravian missionaries. At their principal settlement, Schoenbrunn in the Tuscarawas Valley, there were upwards of sixty dwelling houses, and agriculture was their chief occupation. Their large fields were inclosed by good rail fences, their gardens with palings, and on their rich meadows, cattle, horses and hogs fed.¹⁹

The Shawnees, too, cultivated wide stretches of corn land, as did the Miamis. Thus in August, 1780, when George Rogers

¹⁷ B. W. Bond, Jr., ed., "Dr. Daniel Drake's Memoir of the Miami Country, 1779-1791," Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, *Quarterly Publication* (Cincinnati), XVIII (1923), 78-9. (Hereafter this series is cited H. & P. S. of O., *Quar. Pub.*)

¹⁸ Hough, ed., *Journals of Major Robert Rogers*, 197-201.

¹⁹ J. G. E. Heckewelder, *Narrative* (Philadelphia, 1820), 157.

Clark made his expedition up the Little Miami and the Mad River valleys into the very heart of the Shawnee country, he finally reached one of their main settlements known as Piqua. Stretching along Mad River for more than three miles near modern Springfield, this Shawnee town was surrounded by more than 200 acres set in corn and vegetables. Clark and his men burned over these fields, destroying the crops. On their way back to Kentucky, they burned over an additional 300 acres of cornfields at another important Shawnee settlement, Chillicothe on the Little Miami.²⁰

The crops raised by the primitive Indian methods, were of course negligible in comparison with those produced after the American settlers began to spread over the Ohio country. Among the many instances of pioneer agricultural prosperity, one early settler on the glaciated Pickaway Plains in the Scioto Valley, was said to have raised 11,000 bushels of wheat upon a tract of 230 acres which he had inclosed in a single field, free from either stumps or stones. In the Miami Valley, also, the land was quite fertile, with an average crop per acre of 45 bushels of corn and 22 bushels of wheat, and two tons of hay from meadow land. Indeed, all through western Ohio the native grasses and plants of the many small prairies gave a luxuriant pasturage. Soon, too, the pioneers supplemented the native small fruits with apple, peach and other fruit-trees which flourished in the Ohio Valley especially. In their gardens they planted the familiar vegetables of their old homes east of the Appalachians. Altogether, the fertile Ohio soil quickly and abundantly responded to pioneer cultivation, furnishing the basis for a prosperous agricultural community. Only in the southeastern, the unglaciated section, where the soil was comparatively scanty, were the agricultural returns comparatively meager.²¹

The abundant mineral resources of the unglaciated southeastern

²⁰ B. F. Prince, *Standard History of Springfield and Clark County, Ohio* (Chicago and New York, 1922), I, 301-5.

²¹ Marietta *Ohio Gazette*, September 7, 1802; *Pittsburgh Almanac for 1811*, 51-2; Daniel Drake, *Natural and Statistical View; or, Picture of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1815), 54-7.

section of Ohio compensated in large measure for its agricultural deficiencies.²² Of greatest importance were the extensive bituminous coal beds which extended from Columbiana County to Lawrence County. While not as a rule of the finest quality, these coal beds are exceptionally accessible, being comparatively close to the surface of the hills, with many outcrops on the steep slopes of the valleys. At times even strip mining is possible, and drainage seldom presents a difficult problem. In northern Ohio, there are extensive beds of peat which is really coal in the making. Where they have been drained, these peat bogs have become exceedingly fertile, but so far little use has been made of the peat itself. Usually in close association with the coal beds, there are insignificant iron mines, which the pioneers used. But the few deposits of iron ore in the Ohio country have long been superseded by the more abundant and profitable mines of the Lake Superior region.

Next to coal Ohio's natural resources of oil and natural gas have played an exceedingly important part in industrial development. While oil wells have been drilled in every county of the State, the two most important fields were in northwest Ohio, and a second one that extended from Wayne County to Vinton County. At first these wells brought great wealth and industrial advance, but gradually they became exhausted, until oil is no longer an important natural resource. Natural gas is also found widely distributed in Ohio, with an especially important field stretching south from Cleveland. A considerable amount has also been found in southeastern Ohio. At first this natural gas was used in true, prodigal American fashion, as a cheap fuel for industrial enterprises as well as for household purposes. Yet the Ohio gas wells still supply a large amount of fuel.

Another very important natural resource has been found in the great beds of clay and shale which have made Ohio the center of ceramic industries for the entire United States. Clay of course is

²² This account of the mineral resources of Ohio is based chiefly upon Peattie, *Geography of Ohio*, Chapter 4.

merely fine unconsolidated earth which has either been leached by weathering, or has been made up from different types of rocks, thoroughly mixed by grinding as the glaciers moved forward. Shale is made up of clay which was deposited in still waters, then sorted out by the waves and currents, and finally hardened into rock. The glacial drift clays, so common in the western half of Ohio, burn red, and are used by many small kilns which make rather low-grade bricks and tiles. The shale found in central and eastern Ohio, also, is red burning, and is used extensively for paving brick, building block, vitrified building brick, drain tile and sewer pipe. Portsmouth, Canton, Akron and Cleveland are important centers of this industry. The most valuable of the Ohio clays are derived from the mud of swamps in which coal-making plants once grew. Thus, along with the coal beds, they are found chiefly in the unglaciated section in a belt extending in general from Columbiana to Lawrence County. These coal-making clays burn to a buff color shading into gray, and are used in the manufacture of the finer ceramics, stoneware, pottery, fire brick, yellow ware, terra cotta, fire proofing, finer building brick, sewer pipe and the like. Zanesville and near-by Perry County now form one of the chief ceramic districts in the United States. Indeed, from the days of the Mound-builders and the Indians, as the many remains of aboriginal pottery testify, the vast Ohio beds of clays and shales have been in use.

Limestone, which is widely distributed through the Ohio country, is another important natural resource which has been used for many purposes. As a flux it is in demand for blast furnaces in Ohio and western Pennsylvania, as well as in glass factories. Mixed with clay the Ohio limestone is used for Portland cement. It is also used as a building stone, for white lime, for road work and as a fertilizer. Sandstone, also, is found in large quantities, notably the Berea sandstone, quarried chiefly in Cuyahoga and Lorain counties, although there are outcroppings from Trumbull to Erie County, and then south through central Ohio. Another type of Ohio sandstone is used in the manufacture of the bulk of

the grindstones made in the United States. The principal quarries are in Cuyahoga and Lorain counties, with less important ones in Morgan and Washington counties. In southeastern Ohio, pulp stones to grind wood are cut from sandstone. Charles Stuart reported some very good stones on the Huron River which were suitable for grindstones, including one which the Indians delivered to the French at Detroit, about three feet in diameter and four and one-half inches thick.²³ Extensive beds of sand and gravel were also put to a variety of uses, and the salt beds and springs of the Ohio country have been known from the period of the Mound-builders down.

Flint beds, too, have constituted an important natural resource, especially to the aborigines of the Ohio country. The most important bed in Ohio is the famous Flint Ridge, about eight miles long, between Newark and Zanesville, with the most extensive vestiges of the aboriginal quarries at "the Ridge Cross-road," about three miles north of Brownsville.²⁴ Here, over an area of about a mile square is found the debris from aboriginal workshops, and from pits in which the hard soil has been removed to uncover the flint beds. Much of the flint is milk-white, some of it striped jasper, and other masses are dull black, gray or brown. Still another type of this flint, nearly a pure chalcedony, assumes a brilliancy of tint when exposed to the weather that is strikingly distinctive. Weapons fashioned from this particular flint have been found in New York, Illinois and eastern Virginia, constituting an important evidence of aboriginal commerce upon a fairly wide-spread scale. The Ohio aborigines also used important flint deposits in Coshocton County near Warsaw, with a fine grain which made it possible to polish an exceptionally sharp edge. These beds, together with those of Flint Ridge, afforded an abundance of material from which the Ohio aborigines fashioned arrows, spears, knives and other weapons and utensils, and even orna-

²³ Bond, ed., "Captivity of Charles Stuart," 71.

²⁴ W. K. Moorehead, *Primitive Man in Ohio* (New York and London, 1892), 30-46; W. C. Mills, "Flint Ridge," *O.S.A.H. Quar.*, XXX (1921), 91-161.

ments. In conjunction with the clays available for pottery, the flint beds made possible the rather advanced state of primitive culture which the white man dispossessed when he established his civilization in the Ohio country. Then, the many mineral and other natural resources gradually came into use to create an industrial development which was ultimately to forge ahead even of agriculture.

Another important natural feature of the Ohio country which was an important factor in the quick growth of civilization, was the ready accessibility of the interior. In contrast to the comparatively rugged western Virginia and Kentucky regions, the topography of the greater part of Ohio offered few obstacles to internal communication. The highest elevation, Campbell's Hill east of Bellefontaine, is only 1550 feet and the average altitude is between 500 and 1000 feet above sea-level.²⁵ Three-fourths of Ohio, as a result of glacial action, is a gently rolling region, with river valleys which are usually characterized by gradually sloping sides. In striking contrast, in the unglaciated section in southeastern Ohio there are narrow valleys with steep sides, and here difficulties of transportation have undoubtedly played a part in the comparative backwardness of this region. Throughout the Ohio country the numerous waterways gave the earliest pioneers an easy means of transportation. Along the northern border Lake Erie and the Maumee River formed a ready avenue of communication, and the Ohio River did a similar service for part of the eastern and all of the southern border. From the interior, numerous streams flowed into the Ohio and into Lake Erie, with a low ridge between the two watersheds which ran across the State somewhat to the north of the center line. As a result the streams running into Lake Erie, in length were about a third of those into the Ohio.

With the short portages between their headwaters, the two Ohio drainage systems afforded excellent north and south lines of communication. Especially was this true in pioneer days before the forests were felled and the swamps drained. There was then a

²⁵ Peattie, *Geography of Ohio*, 4.

much more uniform flow in the streams and as a result, during the greater part of the year, the Indians and the fur traders could paddle their canoes upstream to the headwaters of the Scioto, for example, cross the portage, and continue down the Sandusky River to Lake Erie. These north and south valleys, with the portages between, gave four principal routes through the Ohio country which were used from aboriginal times: the Grand-Mahoning, the Cuyahoga-Tuscarawas-Muskingum, the Sandusky-Scioto, and the Miami-Maumee. Later these water highways became the sites of canals.

As population increased, the waterways, often choked with ice in the winter or flooded in the spring and fall, were not sufficiently dependable, and overland highways became necessary. Already the buffalo, on their way to salt licks, had marked out trails which the Indians also had followed. Usually these "ridge roads" were located on plateaus between the mountain valleys, in order to avoid the floods and the thick vegetation of the valleys. When they were forced to dip down to cross an intervening valley, these primitive trails often became quite circuitous in the attempt to pass around fallen logs and swampy places, and to use the easiest fords across the streams.²⁶ Ultimately these Indian trails were of tremendous importance in opening up the interior of the Ohio country to the explorers and the fur traders, both French and English. At first they were mere runways, over which the Indians traveled, single file, through the forest. Gradually they became wider, as the pack-horses of the fur traders broke off the twigs on either side. Then, with still further increases in the population, these "traces," as they were appropriately called, were widened and cleared until they became the bases of modern highways.²⁷

In the early days the chief trade routes of the Ohio country ran

²⁶ Hulbert, *Historic Highways*, II, 13-4; A. B. Hulbert, "The Indian Thoroughfares of Ohio," *O.S.A.H. Quar.*, VIII (1899/1900), 263-95; F. N. Wilcox, *Ohio Indian Trails* (Cleveland, 1933).

²⁷ W. F. Gephart, *Transportation and Industrial Development in the Middle West* (New York, 1909), 24-7.

the Mahoning Trail, which was virtually a cut-off of the Great Trail. From Logstown at the mouth of the Beaver, this important trail went across to the watershed between the Cuyahoga and the Sandusky, and rejoined the Great Trail near the headwaters of the Sandusky River. The Mahoning Trail, as the shortest route, was especially popular with couriers on foot between Detroit and the Pennsylvania frontier.

Of the remaining east and west pathways in the Ohio country the one next in importance to the Great Trail was the Scioto-Beaver Trail, the main land route from Logstown to the Delaware and Shawnee headquarters. Leaving the Great Trail at Painted Post, west of Logstown, this trail followed the watershed between the Tuscarawas and the Ohio to the Delaware country, and then crossed from the Muskingum Valley to the Scioto, terminating at the Shawnee town of Maguck, an important junction for Indian trails near modern Circleville.²⁹ The Miami Trail, really an extension of the Scioto-Beaver Trail, ran westward from Maguck to the Little Miami and the Miami valleys, affording a connecting link between the country of the Shawnees and that of the Miamis, so that, in connection with the Scioto-Beaver Trail, it gave an east and west highway through central Ohio. Another important east and west trail, the Lake Trail along the south shore of Lake Erie, did not come into general use until just before the close of the eighteenth century.

Of the north and south trails in the Ohio country, the Scioto Trail was by far the most important. Starting at Fort Sandusky, this great highway of the Shawnees ran up the Sandusky Valley, crossed over to the Scioto, and continued down, through the important Indian junction town of Maguck, to the Ohio. Thus, extending southward from the fishing grounds of Sandusky Bay, the Scioto Trail was a link across Ohio to the hunting fields of Kentucky, and there it became the famous Warriors' Path, the outlet from the Wilderness Trail. An important branch from the main Scioto Trail ran from Maguck along the watershed between the

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 105-6, map; Wilcox, *Ohio Indian Trails*, 137, 192, 197.

Scioto and the Hocking rivers, then to the mouth of the Kanawha where it met the Greenbrier Trail into Virginia. Another important trail from Maguck passed over the watershed to the Muskingum Valley, and ran down that stream, crossing the Ohio to connect with the Monongahela Trail to Fort Cumberland. In the opposite direction, to the northwest, the trail to the trading post at the head of the Maumee added to the importance of Maguck as a center of Indian trails. There were numerous other minor Indian trails in the Ohio country, probably the most important ones running down the Little Miami and the Miami. Coming together opposite the mouth of the Licking, these trails crossed over into Kentucky, after having taken their place in the network of Indian paths which gave access to the Ohio country, first to the explorer and the trader, and later on to the settler. With the spread of population, these trails into the interior of Ohio usually became the foundations for roads, and still later, the approximate routes of railroads.

Following the trend of the principal trails, the more important railroads cross Ohio from east to west. Thus, the main line of the Baltimore and Ohio follows the Great Trail, the Pennsylvania, the Mahoning Trail, and the New York Central, the Lake Trail. North and south, the Norfolk and Western follows the Scioto Trail to Columbus, the former Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton runs northward along the Miami Trail, and the Hocking Valley is built approximately along that branch of the Scioto Trail which connected with the Greenbrier Trail into Virginia. Thus, the primitive buffalo paths, transformed into the Indian trails, at first supplemented, and gradually overshadowed the waterways as the routes of the fur trader and the settler into the interior of the Ohio country. With greater demands from an advancing civilization these "traces" gave way to the highways and the railways that now transport the inhabitants and the products of a prosperous agricultural and industrial State.

From the early European settlements the most feasible route to the Ohio country was up the St. Lawrence, through Lake Ontario,

and past Niagara to Lake Erie. Yet while this was a direct route from the French settlements in Canada, it entailed a long and dangerous canoe trip with a difficult portage at Niagara. Moreover, the hostile Iroquois were in the way. These same Indians blocked the path of Dutch and English adventurers, who would otherwise have taken the comparatively easy route up the Hudson and the Mohawk, then by portage to Lake Ontario or Niagara. For the English, there were much shorter routes to the Ohio country from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, but they required the crossing of the Appalachians, with all the tedium and the many hazards of the primitive trails over the mountain passes. Consequently, the discovery and exploration of the Ohio country was left to the French fur traders and missionaries from Canada.

For a time the many hazards of the long water route turned the French aside from the Ohio region. Samuel de Champlain, after he founded Quebec in the summer of 1608, gradually extended his explorations up the St. Lawrence, until by 1615 he had worked out the northern and more direct route to Lake Huron, through the Ottawa River, Lake Nipissing and Georgian Bay. Following his lead, many French fur traders and missionaries now carried on further explorations on Lake Superior and Lake Michigan, founding trading posts and missions at such strategic points as Mackinaw, Sault Ste. Marie, and Green Bay. But for fifty years they virtually ignored the more southerly route westward, through Lake Erie and the Detroit River to Lake Huron, which passed along the northern border of the Ohio country.³⁰

From Champlain's map of New France, it is evident that the French were aware of the existence of Lake Erie as early as 1632. But its very inaccurate location and contour on this map show that Champlain had probably secured his data from Indian reports, rather than actual explorations.³¹ By the middle of the seventeenth century, however, there had apparently been con-

³⁰ G. M. Wrong, *Rise and Fall of New France* (New York, 1928), I, 421-9; Francis Parkman, *Discovery of the Great West* (Boston, 1874), 19-23.

³¹ Samuel de Champlain, *Map of New France* (1632), (in Map Div., Lib. Cong.)

siderable exploration of Lake Erie, and incidentally of the Ohio shore-line. In his map of 1656, Nicolas Sanson, the French royal geographer, gave the contour of Lake Erie in fairly accurate fashion, locating the Detroit River, the Maumee, and several tributaries from the south. But still there had been little if any exploration of the interior, for Sanson's map showed a large river, rising in a lake immediately west of the Appalachians, which flowed into Lake Erie from the south.³² This last detail was a proof that the French had at least heard through Indian reports of the Ohio River, but lacked the exact knowledge of its location which could only be secured by actual exploration. Sanson's map of 1669 showed little change, giving a river that rose west of the Appalachians, and flowed northward into Lake Erie.³³

The French did not long continue uncertain as to the Ohio River and its location. In 1670, Sanson, this same official map maker, designed a map which, reversing the course of the river beyond the mountains, made it flow southward into a small lake, but gave no further outlet.³⁴ From this map it may be inferred that at least definite reports had come to Sanson through official sources of the great river that flowed to the westward, or possibly even the news had come to France of La Salle's discovery of the Ohio River. Certainly the route up the St. Lawrence to Lake Erie and the Ohio country was soon known, and French fur traders and missionaries took it in increasing numbers.

The English fur traders, lacking the superb system of waterways which formed a natural avenue of communication between the French settlements in Canada and the Ohio country, came later over the Indian trails which wound through the Appalachian passes.³⁵ Their shortest route was directly across the mountains

³² Nicolas Sanson, *Canada ou Nouvelle France* (1756), *ibid.*; Franciscus Creuxius, S. J., *Tabula Novae Franciae, anno 1660*, reproduced in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland, 1896-1901), XLVI, front.

³³ Sanson, *Amérique Septentrionale* (1669), (in Map Div., Lib. Cong.).

³⁴ *A New Map of America Septentrionale*, designed by Monsieur Sanson, Geographer to the French King, and rendered into English, and Illustrated by Richard Blome, by His Majesties Especiale Command (London, 1670), *ibid.*

³⁵ Hulbert, *Historic Highways*, II, 66-100.

from the Pennsylvania settlements to the Ohio River, and already there were Indian trails in this general direction. The oldest of them, the Kittanning Path, followed the valley of the Juniata, crossed the mountain ridge, and then, passing through Kittanning Gorge, came to the Allegheny River, and then the Ohio. Early in the eighteenth century the Pennsylvania fur traders were leading their pack-horses over this trail to the Ohio country in constantly increasing numbers. A little to the south was the Ligonier Trail, passing through present-day Lancaster, Carlisle and Bedford, which was destined to become the most popular route from the English settlements on the Atlantic Coast to the Ohio country. The third important early trail in this region was only partly in Pennsylvania. Originally known as Nemacolin's Path, from a Delaware chieftain, it started at the junction of Will's Creek and the Potomac, where it connected with the trails from Maryland and Virginia up the Potomac Valley. This third trail, soon commonly known as the Cumberland Road, crossed the mountains to the Youghiogheny, then to the Monongahela and the Ohio. These three trails, then, the Kittanning Path, and the Ligonier Trail across Pennsylvania, and the Cumberland Road from Maryland and Virginia, became the chief routes from the English settlements into the Ohio country. First the fur traders, then a few hardy pioneers, and at length an ever increasing horde of emigrants from the more populous Atlantic Coast area followed these trails across the Appalachians into the Ohio Valley.

Foremost among the other trails from the English settlements to the Ohio country was the Wilderness Road, or the Warriors' Path as it was called west of the mountains. Running up the Cumberland Valley and the Valley of Virginia, between the Blue Ridge and the main range of the Appalachians, this old Indian trail crossed over to the New River, and passed through the Wilderness to Cumberland Gap where it turned northward into the Blue Grass section of Kentucky. In contrast to the trails across Pennsylvania, the Wilderness Trail was comparatively free from Indian attacks, and it was especially popular with the early English ex-

plorers who crossed the Appalachians, and went into the Kentucky Blue Grass. Later the settlers in this same Kentucky region, also, followed this trail, some of them ultimately finding their way into the Ohio country.

The Mohawk Trail, or the Iroquois Trail as it was often called, was the last of the important trails from the English colonies to come into general use. This highway, the only one westward from the English settlements which did not cross a mountain range, passed through central New York along the Mohawk Valley, and across to Oswego on Lake Ontario, or to Niagara. In spite of its easy grades this trail was not commonly used by white men until late in the eighteenth century, for across it stretched the habitat of the fierce Iroquois warriors of the Long House, who would not permit even the English, their allies, to pass freely through their lands. Not until after the Revolution and the complete subjugation of the Iroquois did the Mohawk Trail become a practical road to Lake Erie, then over the Lake, or else along the south shore by the Lake Trail into the Ohio country. There were a number of other trails of minor importance from the Atlantic Coast across the Appalachians, among them the Monongahela Trail from the junction of Will's Creek and the Potomac, which crossed Cheat Mountain and finally reached the Ohio at the mouth of the Little Kanawha. The Greenbrier Trail crossed the portage between the headwaters of the James and the Greenbrier rivers, then followed the valleys of the Greenbrier, the New and the Kanawha to the Ohio. Much farther to the south the Rutherfordton Trail through the Appalachian passes between North Carolina and Tennessee, presented a long and difficult route from the Carolinas through Kentucky to the Ohio country.

Toward the close of the eighteenth century, when actual settlement began, these trails gathered up the emigrants from the long-established communities on the Atlantic Coast, and directed them into the lands across the Ohio. Over the trails across Pennsylvania came settlers from the Middle States and many from New England. The Cumberland Road brought emigrants from Mary-

land and Virginia, and the Wilderness Trail was the chief route for those from the western section of Virginia, and from the Carolinas. The minor trails played their part in similar fashion, bringing settlers from different sections of the Atlantic Coast into the Ohio country. In the last decade of the eighteenth century the Mohawk Trail began to be used by New England emigrants westward bound.

With the spread of settlement in the Ohio country and to the westward, the trails of the Indian, the fur trader and the pioneer, were still the chief routes from the Atlantic Coast, and soon they became the objectives of plans to cheapen and improve transportation between the East and the West. The most outstanding achievement of all this agitation was the construction of the Erie Canal alongside the Mohawk Trail, and a few years later the New York Central Railroad followed this same natural route. Across Pennsylvania the Kittanning Path was the chosen site of the elaborate system of canals, through which the merchants of Philadelphia hoped to overcome the advantages for the western trade which the Erie Canal had won for New York. At a later period it became the approximate route of the Pennsylvania Railroad. In like fashion the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad followed the Greenbrier Trail, and the Southern Railroad the Rutherfordton Trail. Particularly interesting was the evolution of the Cumberland Road. At first, probably a buffalo trail, as Nemaquin's Path, an Indian trail, it was the way representatives of the Ohio Company took when they marked off a road across the mountains from Fort Cumberland to the Youghiogeny. As Braddock's Road this trail across the mountains was intimately connected with the tragic defeat of the English in the French and Indian War. Then it became the approximate route of Washington's proposed canal over the mountains from the Potomac to the Youghiogeny, and at a later date it was followed by the more practical National Road. Finally as the approximate route of the main line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from Cumberland to Pittsburgh, it represented still another stage in the evolution of an Indian

trail into a modern highway between the Atlantic Coast and the Ohio country.

The chief routes westward across the Appalachians necessarily converged upon the gently rolling Ohio country between Lake Erie and the Ohio River, in preference to the longer route through the Kentucky hills. As a result, the Ohio manufacturer, accessible to the great highroads of commerce between East and West, enjoyed all the benefits of an exceptional strategic position. Lake Erie, too, afforded cheap transportation, especially for the ore from the Lake Superior mines which is now brought to Cleveland and Youngstown. In combination with the coal of the Allegheny Plateau, which is hauled over the easy grades of the Ohio country, this iron ore has become the basis of a great steel industry.³⁶ To the south the Ohio River served in pioneer days as an outlet for the agricultural surplus of Ohio, and now with the deep Pittsburgh to Cairo channel it is a route which affords cheap transportation for industrial products as well.

Thus, with its moderate climate, its abundant agricultural and industrial resources, and its exceptionally favorable location for cheap and convenient transportation, internally and externally, the primitive Ohio wilderness was an exceedingly favorable environment for the development of modern civilization. But actual occupation was destined to be a long drawn-out process, and first would come the conflict between the French from Canada, and the English from the settlements beyond the Appalachians.

³⁶ Peattie, *Geography of Ohio*, 111-2.

CHAPTER II

The Ohio Aborigines

By HENRY CLYDE SHETRONE

WHILE it is accepted as a matter of course that there were human beings residing in what is now the State of Ohio prior to exploration and settlement by whites, far too little of their romantic story is known to the average individual. The popular conception is that white settlers, when they came into the Ohio wilderness, found the Indian in possession of the soil, and that they gradually displaced him; that prior to the Indian, somewhere back through the mists of antiquity, there was the so-called Mound-builder, a mysterious race of people known only from the ancient mounds and minor relics which they left behind them.

Since the area with which we are concerned is but a fraction of the continent as a whole, it must be obvious that its prehistory is but one chapter of a book of many chapters, and that an attempt must be made to retrace the age-old trail over which these aboriginal Ohioans found their way into the Ohio Valley. The attempt to trace the pre-Columbian "Ohioans" to their original source, and to tell their story subsequent to their arrival in the Ohio country, lacks the advantage of historic records and even of traditions and myths, since they neither possessed the means of leaving intentional records nor realized the need of doing so. What may be learned of them must be through the methods of archaeology: through discovery, interpretation and recording of unintentional evidences which they left scattered along the trail of centuries of alternating migrations and settlements.

In western Europe, northern Africa, and throughout most of Asia, scientists have shown that humans have lived for a very long time. Archaeologists, delving into ancient soil and gravel deposits, and into innermost recesses of dark caves and caverns, have found,

not only the implements and weapons of ancient man, but his skeletal remains as well. From these evidences it is apparent that several distinct types of man, ranging from very primitive and long extinct species to the present highly developed type, have lived and run their courses through the ages. Geologists, passing on the antiquity of deposits in which these are found, place the age of the earliest as upwards of 1,000,000 years. From this fact a corresponding antiquity for man in the Americas might be assumed. Strangely enough, this is not so. The great western continents, replete with their wealth of land and water, flora and fauna, were, until comparatively recent times, desert lands awaiting their human inhabitants. One-half the habitable globe remained without human occupancy, while the other half already was venerable in the process of human development.

In the Old World, successive strata of human occupancy, with both relics and skeletons recording gradual transition from simpler to more complex forms, are found freely in geologically ancient deposits and caves, while in the Americas no such evidences have been disclosed. Against the million years of man's existence in Europe, we must be content for the present with a scant 25,000 years, more or less, for the Americas. While in the Old World, human occupancy extends backward through and beyond several great glacial invasions, in America, man's advent appears to have been subsequent to the recession of the latest of several such invasions. Geologists are not in complete agreement as to the time of this recession, their estimates ranging from 10,000 to 30,000 years. The above figure, 25,000 years, represents a near maximum calculation, although at the present time, certain flint relics of the so-called "Folsom" type, scattered sparingly over the western plateau and eastward toward the Atlantic, are believed by some authorities to signify the existence of humans somewhat more ancient than has previously been supposed.

At the time of arrival of these "first Americans," human beings throughout the world had not advanced much beyond extremely primitive ways of life. The great civilizations of the Old World

were as yet undreamed of. There were white men in Europe, black men in Africa, and yellow men in Asia, all as yet in a state of what popularly is known as savagery. It is with the yellow-skinned peoples of Asia, the so-called Mongoloid human stock, that the present chapter is concerned, for these were the peoples who were destined to populate the great Western World.

These Asiatic Mongoloids, possessed of the curiosity and the instinct to migrate which characterize all peoples, eventually found their way across the narrow Bering Straits, perhaps over the frozen waters, perhaps by means of rude boats. Following the first venturesome individual or group, others continued through the years to seek abodes in this strange new land. Through the centuries they continued southward, following the friendly Pacific coast, with the coastal range on their left flank serving as a barrier to the eastward. Some of them nevertheless found their way through the mountain passes, spreading eastward across plateau and plains toward the Atlantic seaboard, to become known centuries later as the American Indian. More significant from the standpoint of ultimate achievement were those migrants who continued along the Pacific into Mexico, Middle and South America. Those in Mexico were to develop agriculture, based on maize, and the attendant arts of weaving and pottery-making, and to transform themselves from nomads into sedentary peoples. The admirable civilizations of the Toltec, Aztec, Inca and Maya with their art, science, astronomy and mathematics followed in due course of time.

A primitive people such as the Mongoloid migrants, finding themselves in a new and strange land of unlimited area, would continue their migrations through time and space, but would not develop a homogeneous culture. Dispersing gradually over so vast a space as the New World, they would become segregated into numerous bands, tribes and nations, and their cultural development would be determined by many modifying considerations, such as quality of leadership, climate, topography, rainfall and

other environmental factors. Authorities are agreed that all pre-Columbian peoples of America, with some minor exceptions, are descended from a common ancestry, the yellow-skinned Mongoloid stock of Asia. Thus it becomes evident that the names Toltec, Aztec, Maya, Inca, Pueblo, Mound-builder, and Indian, all pertain to a single great race of mankind, falling under the common appellation of American Indian. The term race is, of course, confined solely to common ancestry, or original blood relationship, and not to the great diversity of cultural development which the Mongoloid stock in America has undergone.

Even in so limited an area as the Ohio country, there occurred a surprising degree of cultural diversity. Of the several kinds, or "cultures," of tribes and nations represented, three or four are important, numerically or culturally, while others merit little more than casual mention. Certain cultures possessed a high development of the interesting trait of erecting mounds over the remains of their dead, while others constructed intricate earthen enclosures, for defensive, social, ceremonial and religious purposes. All had one thing in common, however; whether or not they built mounds, or whether their cultural attainments were simple or complex, they shared a common ancestry.

In discussing the aborigines of the Ohio country, it will be obvious that they can be designated or distinguished only by names given them by the archaeologist as a matter of convenience, since no one knows the names by which they originally were known. The difficulty is met by using the term "culture" as indicative of social and material attainments, or of what usually is termed civilization, with an appropriate place-name to identify the particular kind or type of culture. Thus the name "Hopewell Mounds" refers specifically to the group of mounds located on the Hopewell farm in Ross County, and, since the Hopewell group is the type site for the culture, the term "Hopewell culture" includes all mounds, wherever found, constructed by the builders of the specific Hopewell group.

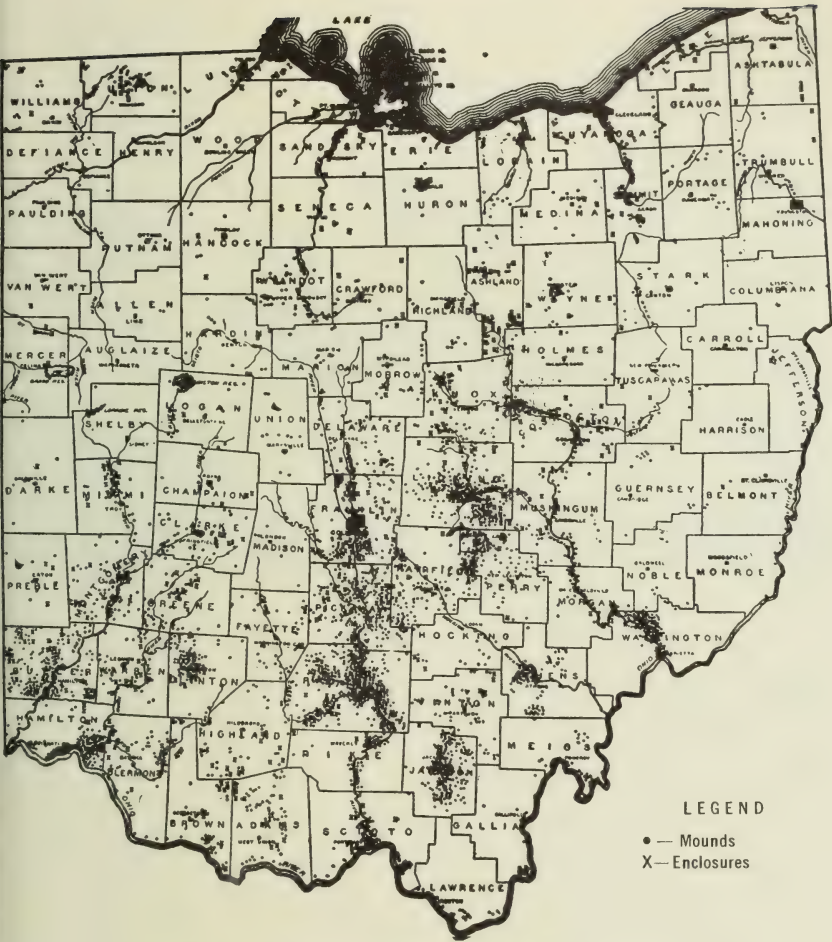
The accompanying archaeological map of Ohio will serve to

focus attention on the area under discussion. It will be noted that for obvious reasons, the rich river valleys tributary to Lake Erie and the Ohio River were, as now, regions of dense populations, while the lowlands to the northwest and the broken terrain to the southeast show less evidence of occupancy.

Archaeology has not been able to determine the relative antiquity of the several prehistoric cultures on Ohio soil. Certain cultures probably existed in Ohio as remotely as several thousand years ago, and one, at least, persisted almost or quite to the time of arrival of the early white explorers.

The term, "Mound-builders," is definitely associated with prehistoric Ohio. In a sense, the erection of tumuli, or mounds, as monuments to the dead, and of earthworks for defensive and social usage, is not confined to any one race or people, but is of almost world-wide extent. However, in the area extending eastward from the Mississippi River, primitive man had developed this trait to a striking degree, and since the Ohio region, originally with some 6,000 or 8,000 such earthen structures, appears as the center or nucleus of this trait, Ohio is sometimes referred to as the "Mound-builder State."

Perhaps the earliest of the several culture groups in the Ohio country was an extensive people apparently related to the historic Algonquian Indian stock or family. The Algonquians were widespread throughout the Ohio Valley and lower Great Lakes region and included the Miamis, the Shawnees, the Delawares and numerous other Indian nations which figured prominently in Indian history. They are known prehistorically mainly from the innumerable minor relics of flint and stone scattered over the surface of the land, as stone axes, pestles, pipes, bannerstones and flint arrow and spear points. The many private collections of "Indian relics" throughout the area pertain almost in their entirety to this early and widely scattered people. While very few village and camp sites directly attributable to them are known, it is believed that they constructed some of the smaller anomalous burial mounds not identified with other known culture groups. They



MAP 3. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MAP OF OHIO
Locations of known prehistoric mounds and earthworks.

probably were a more or less nomadic people, perhaps without agriculture.

Three quite distinctive culture groups in Ohio, the Fort Ancient, the Adena, and the Hopewell, are outstanding from the fact that they were populous and wide-spread, and because they

left behind them numerous major evidences of their presence. These three peoples were mound-builders in a very definite sense, and it is from archaeological exploration of their ancient burial mounds, village sites, cemeteries and earthworks that the story of aboriginal Ohio has been told.

The Fort Ancient people were a populous group, less advanced culturally than the remaining two, but equally practical and representative. The group takes its name from the noted prehistoric defensive earthwork, Fort Ancient, in Warren County, where, in the 1890's the late Professor Warren K. Moorehead first called attention to their remains. Moorehead's explorations, however, were mostly in the valley of the Little Miami River, adjacent to the fort, and latterly there has arisen some question as to whether the valley residents actually constructed Fort Ancient. This doubt is further accentuated by later findings of evidences of the Hopewell culture peoples within and adjacent to the fort. The question is important, since it not only involves the identity of Fort Ancient, the greatest of the defensive earthworks, but that of other similar prehistoric fortifications, such as Fort Hill, in Highland County; Spruce Hill, near Bourneville, Ross County; a similar fortification at the mouth of the Miami in Hamilton County, and numerous lesser ones.

The Fort Ancient culture is characterized by numerous old village sites and burial grounds, scattered throughout the valleys of the Scioto and the two Miamis, in southern Ohio, and in northern Kentucky and southern Indiana. While their more important village sites are accompanied by one or more burial mounds, they had not developed this trait to the degree that the Adena and the Hopewell had done.

The numerous habitation sites of Fort Ancient culture indicate that they were a sedentary people, and because of the innumerable relics of their intimate every-day life which these sites yield to the pick and shovel of the archaeologist, more is known of their material culture than is true of any other within the State. While their art development was weak, contrasted with the Adena and



2. EAST WALL OF FORT ANCIENT, WARREN COUNTY

The wall at this point is 12 to 18 feet in height.

Hopewell cultures, they were superior potters, and excelled in the utilization of bone and antler for implements, ornaments and utensils. From these materials they wrought awls, perforators, scrapers, chisels, fish-hooks, bodkins and other implements used in their domestic activities; beads, hairpins, pendants and other articles of personal adornment; from the carapace of the turtle, dishes and containers were fashioned; while flint and stone served for making axes, chisels, mortars, and arrow and spear points.

The fact that the Fort Ancient group were more or less sedentary indicates that they were not altogether dependent on the bounties of nature for their livelihood. While natural products and the fruits of the chase contributed to their larders, exploration reveals that they had developed agriculture to the point where maize (Indian corn), beans, squash and tobacco were cultivated. The American aborigines were the first users of tobacco, as the numerous tobacco pipes of stone, occasionally embellished with

ornamentation, testify. The Old World was ignorant of its existence, together with maize and numerous other useful plant products, prior to the discovery of the Americas.

The mounds and habitation sites of the Fort Ancient culture are not spectacular and offer little to interest the casual sightseer, but the numerous relics in museums which have conducted explorations offer a fine example of the reconstruction of a human culture through archaeological methods.

The principal sites of the culture so far examined by the archaeological staff of the Ohio State Museum which is operated by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, are: the Baum village site, near Bourneville, Ross County, which is adjacent to and perhaps identified with the imposing defensive earthwork known as Spruce Hill Fort; the Gartner Mound and village site, north of Chillicothe; and the Feurt site, five miles up the Scioto River from Portsmouth. The most extensive of the Fort Ancient sites known is the Madisonville site, at the mouth of the Little Miami, which was explored by Harvard University at the close of the past century. So extensive is this site that it fully merits designation as a "city site." Madisonville furnishes the only evidence of contact with white men so far found in any Ohio prehistoric site. With a burial in the latest portion of the site were found a few glass beads of European manufacture, probably acquired from an early white trader. Despite this evidence, it is probable that the Fort Ancient culture had its beginning at least several centuries prior to the arrival of Europeans.

The Adena culture is most in evidence throughout the southern half of the State, particularly in the valleys of the Scioto and the two Miamis. Their mounds also are found south of the Ohio River in northern Kentucky and West Virginia, and in southeastern Indiana. Burial mounds, singly or in small groups, often of three in triangular arrangement, constitute the major evidences of Adena occupancy. No earthworks and no very obvious village-sites occur, thus indicating that in contrast to the Fort Ancient, the Adena peoples lived in isolated small groups and families, with

their burial mounds serving the purpose of the church and burial ground of rural communities in historic times. Adena mounds are noted for their symmetry of form and careful construction, and they often are of great size.

The Adena culture takes its name from historic "Adena," near Chillicothe, Ohio, the pretentious estate of Thomas Worthington, early governor of Ohio. Here was located what long had been known as the Adena Mound, which was explored for the Ohio State Museum in 1901 by its then curator, the late Dr. William C. Mills. The Adena Mound was the first of its class to be scientifically examined and reported, and thus became the type mound of the culture bearing its name.

In the Adena Mound were found uncremated burials enclosed in log cists, bracelets and finger rings of copper, objects of mica, and the tobacco pipe, shown on this page. This pipe, fashioned in the image of a full-length human figure, is recognized as one of the best examples of aboriginal art in the entire mound area. Apparently intended to portray Adena physical characteristics, it not only fur-



3. STONE TOBACCO PIPE.

Image of a human being, from the Adena Mound, Chillicothe; Adena culture (two-thirds actual size).



4. THE MIAMISBURG MOUND, MONTGOMERY COUNTY

The tallest conical burial mound in Ohio; height 70 feet; Adena culture.

nishes information as to the appearance of the builders of the mound, but also illustrates the elaborate head-dress, the spool-shaped ear ornaments, and the ingenious though abbreviated loin cloth.

The most impressive burial mound of the Adena culture within the State and also the highest of the entire mound area, is the Miamisburg Mound, near the town of that name in Montgomery County. It is a trifle less than 70 feet in height, and covers approximately three acres of land. The noted Grave Creek Mound in Marshall County, West Virginia, belonging to the same culture, while slightly less in elevation is somewhat larger in diameter at the base.

From the examination of the Adena Mound, the Westenhaver Mound, a few miles southwest of Circleville, the Florence Mound, to the northwest of Circleville, and others, the Adena culture is

known to have the following characteristics: shapely, conical mounds, occurring singly or in groups; sparsity of habitation sites and earthworks; uncremated burial, in log cists, placed either above, below or on the original surface; use of copper, mainly for ornaments; use of mica; admirable artistic ability in sculpturing small objects in the round; and use of tubular tobacco pipes of stone.

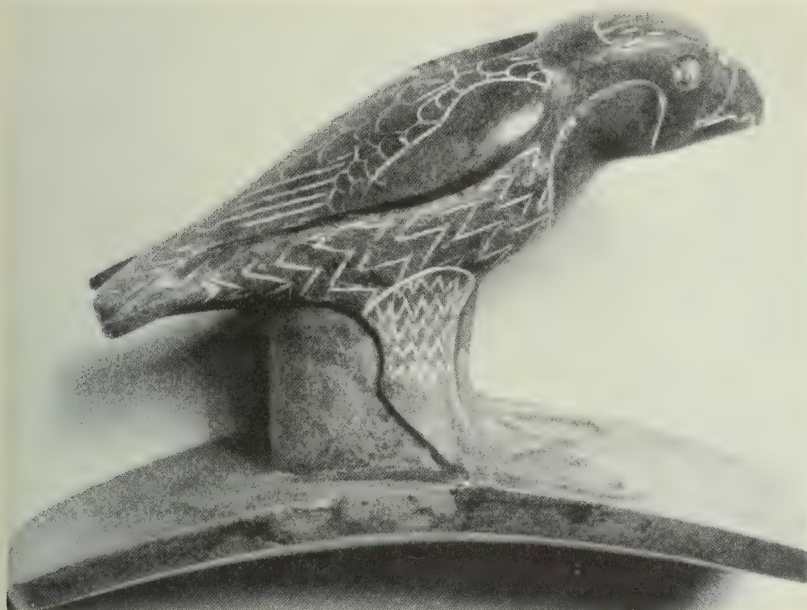
It would be difficult indeed to exaggerate the importance in American prehistory of the Hopewell group of Ohio aborigines, and almost equally difficult to discuss them adequately in this brief chapter. Generally accepted as the outstanding pre-Columbian people north of Mexico with respect to artistic ability, they likewise are recognized the world over for the size and number of their burial mounds, and the impressiveness of their so-called geometric earthworks. In the latter respect they stand unique, and might with propriety be termed, as they have been by one authority at least, the "great earthwork builders." Another distinction, made obvious only by recent explorations, is the wide distribution of the culture. While its highest development centers in the southern half of the State of Ohio, what appears to be a somewhat earlier although almost equally impressive occupancy is to be found in northern Alabama and throughout much of the lower Mississippi Valley. Definite traces of the same culture, or of its influence at least, extend southward into the Florida peninsula. Presumably as offshoots from the main body in Ohio, the culture is definitely in evidence from western New York, across northern Ohio, southern Michigan and northern Indiana, with important subnuclei in western Illinois, eastern Iowa and southern Wisconsin. Archaeologists are inclined to believe that the carriers of the culture made their appearance in the lower Mississippi Valley not later than the eleventh or twelfth century; that shortly thereafter they found their way northward into the Ohio Valley and southern Ohio, with outposts to the north and west resulting from subsequent migrations.

While in general the Indian tribesmen encountered in the Ohio

country at the time of white exploration probably had come directly overland, through the mountain passes and across the plains, the writer believes, with some others, that the authors of the Hopewell culture may have sojourned for a time in Mexico. This theory, although not definitely substantiated, presupposes that the Hopewellians originally were identified with those Mongoloid migrants who proceeded southward into Mexico, there to lay the foundations for the remarkable civilizations of the Toltec, the Aztec and others; that eventually, obeying the migratory impulse, they broke away from this nuclear area, but not before they had learned the rudiments of agriculture, and the textile and fictile arts; that, bringing with them these accomplishments, they later found themselves in the lower Mississippi Valley. The embryo which in Mexico was to find its development in impressive pyramids, may have found expression in the numerous mounds and earthworks of the Hopewell peoples in Ohio. A number of concepts common to the art of the two widely separated regions, as the plumed serpent, the swastika and certain conventional designs, add to the plausibility of this theory.

The major remains of the Hopewellians consist of a score or more of impressive geometric earthworks and accompanying burial mounds. These occur mainly adjacent to the Ohio River and its tributaries—the Muskingum, the Scioto and the two Miamis. The ceremonial earthworks or enclosures are so termed because they are constructed in the form of circles, crescents, squares and octagons, singly or in combination. These earthen walls vary in height from almost imperceptible embankments to elevations of 20 feet in height, and enclose areas varying from one to more than one hundred acres. They usually are accompanied by burial mounds.

The Marietta group, in the city of that name, comprises two extensive rectangular truncated pyramids and a huge burial mound, the latter within the historic old cemetery where rest the remains of many Revolutionary soldiers. The Newark group, one of the largest and most impressive, with its two principal figures, a huge circle and a shapely octagon, is in a fine state of preserva-

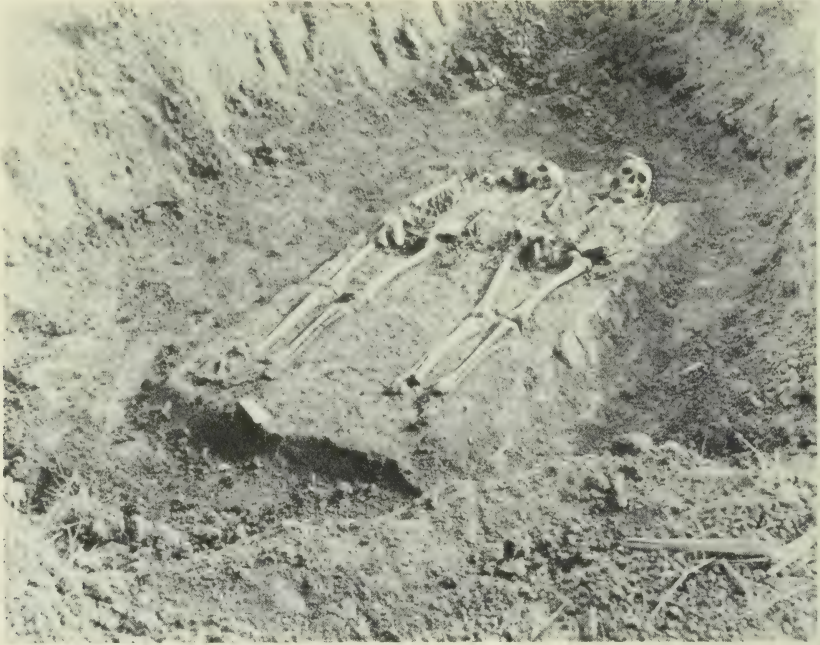


5. STONE TOBACCO PIPE

Image of a hawk, from the Tremper Mound, Scioto County; Hopewell culture.

tion. The Mound City group at the north edge of Chillicothe, includes 23 burial mounds within a rectangular enclosure of 13 acres. The Seip group, in the beautiful Paint Creek Valley near Bourneville, consists of two circles and a square in conjunction, and contains several important burial tumuli. The great prehistoric circular enclosure, now obliterated, gave the city of Circleville its name, and there was an intricate group on the site of Portsmouth. Also, a large group formerly existed on the site of Cincinnati. The Hopewell group proper, from which the culture takes its name, is located a few miles northwest of Chillicothe, near the village of Anderson.

Exploration discloses that sites of burial mounds of the Hopewell culture originally were wooden structures, erected by planting tall posts to form walls and, in some instances at least, with

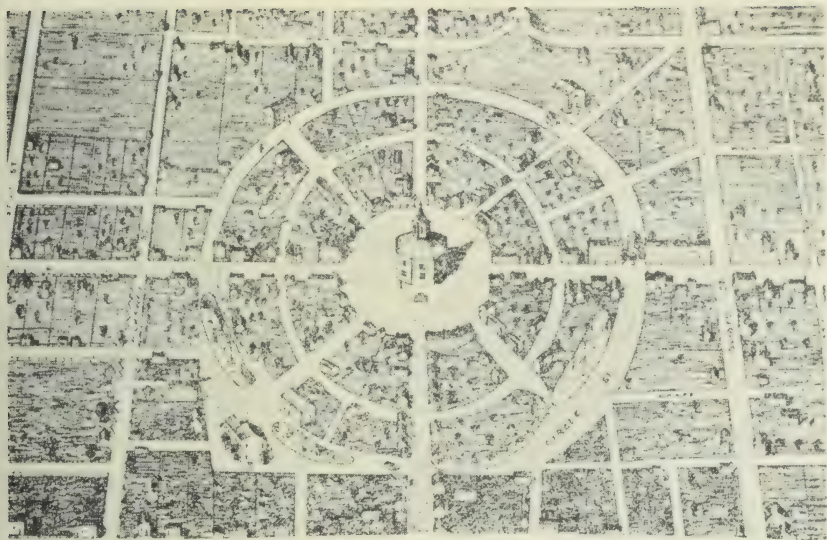


6. A DOUBLE BURIAL, MALE AND FEMALE

From a mound of the Hopewell Group, Ross County, Hopewell culture.

thatched roofs. These sacred structures served as "community centers" for social and ceremonial gatherings, and as places of interment of the dead. These structures eventually were intentionally burned, as a ceremonial rite, and the mounds then erected over the sites as monuments to the dead.

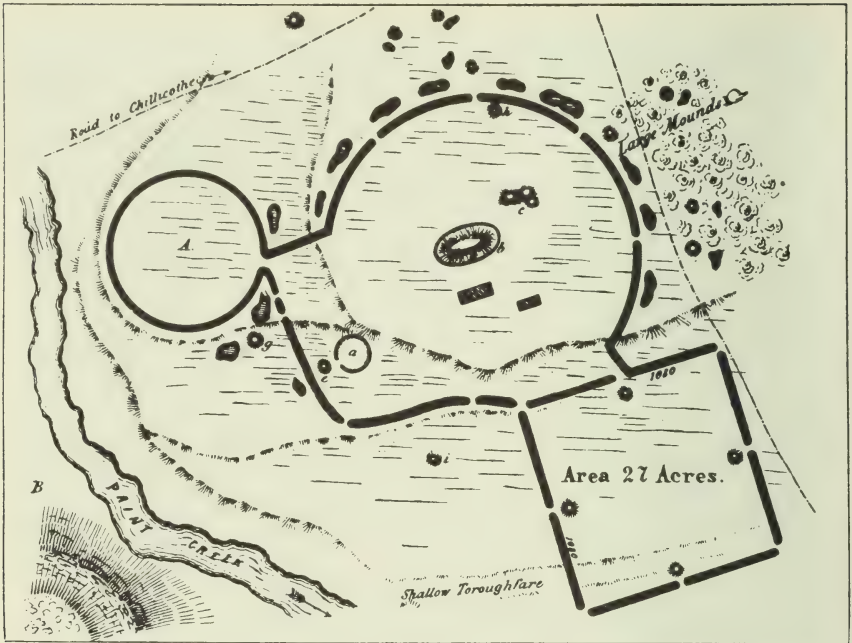
Skeletons exhumed from Hopewell mounds show that their builders were of the American Indian race, while accompanying relics make it possible to reconstruct much of their material culture. There occur the usual types of primitive flint and stone implements and ornaments and, in addition, fresh-water pearls, many admirable objects fashioned from nugget copper (never melted, but simply pounded and abraded into form), meteoric iron, obsidian (volcanic glass), and other materials.



MAP 4. EARLY MAP OF CIRCLEVILLE, OHIO

Erected on the site of an important Hopewell circular earthwork, the town was laid out to conform to the earthen enclosure, with an octagonal court-house at its center.

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society has explored several Hopewell tumuli, and consequently has the most complete collection of Hopewell cultural material in existence. The Tremper Mound, located five miles north of Portsmouth, yielded a large number of stone tobacco pipes, carved in the images of native animals and birds, and representing an amazing artistic skill. The Mound City and the Hopewell groups produced necklaces of fresh-water pearls, artistic pottery vessels, great ceremonial spear points of obsidian; ear-ornaments, breast-plates, bracelets and head-dresses of copper; conventional designs, as the swastika, trefoil, quatrefoil and other figures, of copper, in scroll, repoussé and relief; intricate conventionalized carvings of birds and animals incised on human bones; and human masks and problematical forms cut from sheet mica. The Turner group, in northeastern Hamilton County, explored by the late Professor



MAP 5. MAP OF THE SEIP GROUP OF MOUNDS AND EARTHWORKS, ROSS COUNTY

A typical geometric earthwork of the Hopewell culture.

Frederick W. Putnam for Harvard University, yielded a number of terra cotta figurines portraying human beings, both male and female, arrayed in the costumes of their time and wearing their accustomed ornaments. From this fortunate discovery is derived much that is known of the Hopewell peoples.

Many of the ancient mounds and earthworks have been obliterated or greatly modified by agriculture and industrial construction. Among them are the Cincinnati group, the Portsmouth works, the Circleville works and the Turner group. The Newark, Mound City and Seip groups, however, are in a fine state of preservation, and are maintained as State memorials. The same is true of Fort Ancient, Fort Hill, and the Miamisburg Mound. The Marietta works are carefully preserved by the city of Marietta.

The cultural identity of the noted Serpent Mound has not been determined. This impressive structure falls within the classification of effigy mounds, so-called because they are constructed in the effigy or image of some life form or other, as serpents, birds, animals and human forms. The effigy mounds occur in great abundance throughout southern Wisconsin and adjacent territory, with only three or four known for Ohio. Ohio is fortunate in having, however, in the great Serpent Mound, the most impressive of the effigy tumuli on the continent; the tallest of the conical burial mounds in the Miamisburg Mound; and the most striking defensive earthwork in the noted Fort Ancient.

The great Serpent Mound is located in northern Adams County, overlooking a branch of Brush Creek. As one writer has said, "It occupies a high ridge, or rocky cliff, which thrusts itself into the peaceful valley like a promontory into a calm sea and extends back into a smiling land suggestive of prosperity." The head of the Serpent impinges upon a sheer precipice of rock, 100 feet high, overlooking the stream below, while the undulating body terminates in triple coils at the tail. The length of the Serpent, following its sinuous coils, is 1330 feet. A second serpent mound formerly existed a few miles to the south of Fort Ancient, in Warren County. Additional effigy tumuli are the so-called Opossum Mound near Granville; an image of a bird, within the great circle of the Newark works; and the Tarlton Cross, near the village of that name in Fairfield County. Effigy mounds, as such, are believed to have served as adjuncts of religious, ceremonial and ritualistic observances. They also may have had a totemic significance.

As in the instance of the Serpent Mound, identity of the authors of Fort Ancient has not been definitely established. As mentioned previously, the evidence favors the Fort Ancient culture group, with a possibility that the Hopewell peoples may have been responsible for this and numerous other somewhat less important defensive works. Fort Ancient is situated on the east bank of the Little Miami River, in Warren County, a few miles east of



7. THE GREAT SERPENT MOUND, ADAMS COUNTY

Aerial photograph of the most impressive effigy mound in America. It measures more than 1,300 feet, following the coils from head to tail; culture of builders unknown.

Lebanon. This most impressive of all defensive earthworks somewhat resembles in form the continents of North and South America. Some idea of its great size and extent may be had from the fact that its earthen walls, following the sinuous margin of the terrain on which it is located, measure three and one-half miles in length, and vary in height from six feet to more than 20 feet. Several small burial mounds within and adjacent to the fort yielded relics suggesting the culture of the adjacent valley. Whether these mounds pertain to the actual builders of the fort must be determined, if at all, by future explorations. Fort Ancient is one of 40 archaeological and historical sites which are pre-

served as State memorials in custody of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

The minor cultures of the State are of detailed interest only to the archaeologist and the special student. In the northeastern district, particularly in the Cuyahoga drainage area, there are numerous small defensive earthen enclosures, usually atop eminences, occasional small burial mounds, and frequent village and camp sites, which have been identified as of Iroquoian culture. Many of these pertain to the Erie Nation, of the great Iroquoian linguistic family, to which the Six Nations of the present state of New York belong. The Ohio State Museum has explored, among others, the Reeve village site, near Willoughby; the Tuttle Hill and South Park sites, near Independence; and a site at Fairport Harbor.

Not infrequently burials pertaining to the "Gravel Kame culture" are found in the gravel knolls and ridges of northwestern Ohio which, from the relics accompanying them, pertain to a distinct but not particularly important culture. These relics comprise sole-shaped and saucer-shaped ornaments of shell, heavy copper beads, and conventionalized images of birds, carved from hard slate.

An "intrusive" culture, probably from north of the Lakes, frequently occurs superimposed in Hopewell and Adena tumuli. The carriers of this culture appear to have entered Ohio at the north and to have proceeded down the Scioto Valley to the Ohio. Recognizing the existing mounds as burial places, they simply dug graves therein for their dead. Their culture is characterized by barbed bone harpoons, tools made by setting beaver teeth transversely through sections of deer antler, straight-based platform tobacco pipes, and some others.

Along the Ohio River on the adjacent hills, occur "stone grave" burials, apparently representing an offshoot from the stone grave peoples of Tennessee. Very few relics are buried with their dead.

While archaeologists of the Ohio State Museum have succeeded, through exploration, in recreating the material culture of the

Ohio aborigines, and in determining much as to their physical appearance, the question most frequently asked, "How old are they?" can be answered only approximately. As has been seen, the Fort Ancient culture at one point shows contact with white men, perhaps the earliest of the white traders. This does not detract from the probability that this culture came into the Ohio country comparatively early, nor from the fact that primitive Ohio cultures as a whole are prehistoric, without evidence of white contact. Since they left no intentional record of their identity nor of their antiquity, the archaeologist must be content with approximations based on apparent age of the mounds, burials and relics, and of the earthen deposits in which burial occurs. As in astronomy so in prehistory, it is necessary that age calculations should be in terms of indefinite time, rather than in specific years as in recorded human history.

The question as to the disappearance of the Ohio aborigines is another which cannot be specifically answered. When it is recalled that of all the early historic and protohistoric nations of the world, only one or two survive, it will be realized that racial and national identities are unstable phenomena. If the cause of their disappearance is sought, usually it is found that conquest, absorption, or extermination by enemy peoples, and famine, pestilence and social decadence are contributing factors. It may be concluded that some one or more of these contributed to the apparent extinction of these early Ohio cultures. We have seen, however, that the Ohio aborigines were but a part of a wide-spread racial strain, peopling two great continents, and more or less nomadic in their tendencies. It is logical, then, to assume that some at least of the historic tribesmen were descendants from these prehistoric strains, with corresponding modifications of culture. The trait of building mounds, for example, while some scattered evidence of its survival into early historic times exists, virtually had been lost or abandoned for reasons unknown. A single event of historic record which may have contributed to its final disappearance, was the Iroquoian invasion, to be referred to presently.

Further, this spectacular invasion serves not only as a specific link between the prehistoric and the historic periods in Ohio, but at once transfers the telling of the tale from the archaeologist with his spade to the pen of the historian.

The dawn of Ohio history reveals the only native Ohio Indian tribe to have been the Eries, which name was given them by members of their own race. The Erie Nation, a people of Iroquoian stock, resided as of earliest record along the south shore of the lake which bears their name, in western Pennsylvania and northern Ohio. Archaeological explorations by the Ohio State Museum have disclosed that they were a fairly numerous people, and that at one time or another they had lived along the lower courses of the streams tributary to Lake Erie, particularly in the Cuyahoga Valley.

Much that is known of the Eries is to be found in the voluminous records of the French Jesuits, entitled the *Jesuit Relations*, in which also is recorded the story of the invasion of their territory by the Iroquoian confederacy of the present New York State.¹ In the year 1655, as recorded in the *Relations*, the powerful Iroquoian confederacy swept westward through the Erie country, killing, capturing or driving before them all resident tribesmen as far west as the Mississippi River. The account of the struggle as told in the *Relations* is detailed and realistic. The Eries, although noted for bravery and ferocity, were equipped only with bows and spears. The Iroquois, on the other hand, with firearms secured from English and Dutch colonists, held an irresistible advantage over the simple peoples toward the setting sun. The principal motives of the Iroquois, in their invasion of the western country, appear to have been the acquisition of additional territory and control of the fur trade south of Lake Erie.

Following the Iroquoian conquest, the Ohio country remained for a half-century or more a virtual "no man's land." But the land of the erstwhile Eries and their neighbors to the southward, with its rich valleys, its unsurpassed waterways and its abundant supply

¹ R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland, 1896-1901), XLI ff.

of wild game, was destined once again to come into its own. Principally because of the unsettlement of Indian life to the east and south attendant upon colonization by Europeans, the native tribesmen shortly began to find their way into this land of promise where, they hoped, they might be free from the dominating Iroquois. Then, too, the once rich supply of furs, which served them most readily as a medium of exchange for the coveted firearms and trinkets of the white man, was becoming increasingly scarce in the more densely peopled regions, but remained abundant in the Ohio wilderness.

Probably the earliest of the historic tribesmen to occupy Ohio soil were the Miamis who, as early as 1660, resided along the west and south shores of Lake Michigan, with an important settlement near the site of Chicago. By the close of the century they were occupying the Wabash country of eastern Indiana and the Miami Valley in Ohio. Their most important town in Ohio was Pickawillany, near the present city of Piqua. They comprised originally six distinct tribes, of which the Wea and the Piankashaw were the most important.

According to early explorers, the Miamis were physically above the average for their race, and were courteous and affable. Miami County, and the two Miami rivers, serve to perpetuate the memory of this important and picturesque people. Their principal chieftain was Little Turtle, who led his tribesmen in the conflicts with white settlers for possession of western Ohio.

The Shawnees, whose tribal territory lay principally in the lower Scioto Valley, were the most warlike, persistent and consistently hostile of the Ohio tribes. These "aboriginal Arabs of America," as they have been termed, because of their restless shifting from place to place, appear to have found their way into southern Ohio not later than 1730. They consisted originally of two separate bands—one residing in the present South Carolina, and the other in the Cumberland basin of Tennessee, from whence a part migrated to Pennsylvania. From the time of the arrival of white settlers, through the French and Indian War, the Revolu-

tionary War and the War of 1812, the Shawnees were to constitute themselves a source of grave concern in the contest for the Ohio country. Their principal chiefs were Black Hoof, Cornstalk, Blue Jacket and Tecumseh. The last named, with his twin brother, the noted "Prophet," were to write their names large in the annals of the succeeding years.

The Delaware Indians, as of earliest record, resided adjacent to the river and bay of that name and, like most others of the early tribes and nations, suffered persecution by the Iroquois and pressure from white settlers. About 1750 they began to cross the Ohio River, and soon found themselves in the upper Muskingum Valley, where they were scarcely less hostile and troublesome than the Shawnees, with whom they were on exceptionally friendly terms. Later in their career they tarried for a time on the Sandusky River in the present Wyandot County. In a subsequent chapter, the reader will learn of the tragic story of the Moravian missions to the Delawares, and of the barbaric massacre of Indian converts at the Gnadenhutten settlement. Among the outstanding chieftains of the Delawares were Killbuck, for whom Killbuck Creek was named, White Eyes, Wingenund, Hopacan and Buckongahelas.

The Wyandots were composed of remnants of the Hurons and others from north of the Great Lakes who had survived the Iroquoian conquest, and who eventually found their way to the south shore of Lake Erie, settling mainly in the region of Sandusky Bay and the lower Maumee Valley. Here they appeared, in 1745, under Chief Nicholas, conspiring unsuccessfully with the Miamis, the Shawnees and other tribes to drive the French from their territory.

From their humble beginnings of settlement on the Sandusky and the Maumee, the Wyandots gradually extended their influence and territory to become the dominant people in the region between Lake Erie and the Ohio River. Their domain extended well down the Valley of the Scioto to the Hocking, and it was only through Wyandot sufferance that the Shawnees and the Dela-

wares were permitted to dwell in their chosen districts. One of the greatest of Ohio Indian chieftains was the Wyandot, Tarhe, known to the white man as "The Crane."

The Mingoës were detached bands of Iroquois, mainly Senecas, who just prior to the Revolutionary War sojourned for a time near the present city of Steubenville, in eastern Ohio, at what was known as Mingo Town. It was here that an unfortunate brawl with whites resulted in the killing of several Indians, among them a sister and a brother of the Mingo chief, Logan. An erstwhile friend of the white man, but embittered by the loss of his relatives, Logan sought vengeance, with what success was voiced in his noted speech at the now historic Logan Elm, in 1774. In that year, as a part of the campaign of John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, against the Shawnees and the Mingoës, three towns of the latter located on the Scioto within the present city of Columbus, were destroyed.

Chief interest in the Ottawa tribe, which came from north of Lake Erie and settled on the Auglaize in what now is Ottawa County, rests in the noted chief, Pontiac, and his conspiracy against the English in 1763.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the Indian migrations into the Ohio country were practically at an end. Numbering probably about 15,000 by 1750,² these Indian tribes had a profound influence upon the long drawn-out struggle between the

² E. H. Roseboom and F. P. Weisenburger, *History of Ohio* (New York, 1934), 20. For the origin and antiquity of man, see Fay-Cooper Cole, *Coming of Man* (Chicago, 1928); G. G. MacCurdy, *Human Origins* (New York, 1926). A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology* (New York, 1923) and Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture* (New York, 1923) are valuable for cultural anthropology. For the archaeology of Ohio and the Eastern States, consult H. C. Shetrone, *Mound Builders* (New York, 1930), and W. C. Mills and H. C. Shetrone, official reports of explorations, in *O.S.A.H. Quar.*, X (1901/2) ff. For the historic Ohio Indians, see E. O. Randall and D. J. Ryan, *History of Ohio* (New York, 1912); H. C. Shetrone, "The Indian in Ohio," *O.S.A.H. Quar.*, XXVII (1918), 274-510, and C. A. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail* (New York, 1911). Detailed bibliographies on American anthropology and archaeology may be consulted in *American Antiquarian* (Chicago), IX (1887), 239-42, under "Early Books Which Treat of Mounds"; Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston and New York, 1884-9), I; and, particularly, the *Handbook of American Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 30 (Washington, 1907-10), through references appended to alphabetical titles.

French and the English for the possession of these lands west of the Appalachians. The principal tribes, notably the Miamis, the Shawnees, the Delawares and the Wyandots, having felt the weight of the Iroquoian power, were inclined to oppose the English, the allies of the dreaded Five Nations, and to lend a favorable ear to the French. The French officials in Canada quickly grasped this situation, and labored persistently to form a confederacy which would oppose the Iroquois claims of lordship over the Ohio country, and, incidentally, would hold in check English aggression. This goal the French failed to reach during the period that preceded the French and Indian War, but constantly the Indians of the Ohio country were subject to French and English intrigue, with the fur trade of this region in the background as the real bone of contention.

CHAPTER III

The Coming of the French

IN VIEW of the accessibility of the Ohio country from Canada, it was to be expected that French explorers would be the first known Europeans to set foot in this fertile land. Primarily fur traders, some of them were men of intelligence and vision, and usually they were accompanied by missionaries who were learned men. These two, the fur trader and the missionary, have left abundant records of their journeys, which give an authentic picture of the progress of French exploration. Soon Lake Erie and the Ohio country, with the region to the westward, assumed a position of great strategic importance. The posts that were originally established as centers of the fur trade became links in the French chain to unite Canada and Louisiana. These early French explorations of Lake Erie and the Ohio country, and the efforts to control this important gateway and fur-trading area, down to the open clash with the English adventurers across the Appalachians, will form the central theme of this chapter.

It was due to the initiative and energy of Jean Talon, the masterful young intendant who landed in Quebec in 1665, that the first known attempt was made to explore Lake Erie. Taking advantage of a temporary peace with the Iroquois, in 1669 Talon sent out an exploring party under Louis Jolliet which seems to have gone as far as Lake Erie. On his way back to Montreal Jolliet fell in with a band of Sulpicians led by Dollier de Casson. From Jolliet Father Dollier doubtless heard of the great lake beyond Niagara, and with the enterprising zeal of a French missionary he made up his mind to see this region for himself, even though he would part company with the young Sieur de La Salle who had lately arrived in Canada.¹ René Robert Cavalier, Sieur

¹ G. M. Wrong, *Rise and Fall of New France* (New York, 1928), I, 422-4.

de La Salle, commonly known as La Salle,² was born at Rouen in 1643 of a wealthy family, and received an excellent education. Following his older brother, the Abbé Jean Cavalier, in 1666 La Salle went to Canada, the land of opportunity for the young Frenchman of that period. There he took up a large tract above the Lachine Rapids, which was admirably situated for trading with the Indians who came down the St. Lawrence with their furs. But La Salle's active mind and adventurous spirit looked beyond the mere profits of a fur trader. For him the mysterious upper reaches of the great river which flowed by his door exercised an irresistible fascination. One discovery led to another, until finally he had penetrated to the Ohio country, and even to the Gulf of Mexico. Nor did he fail to appreciate the tremendous possibilities of this western region as an essential part of a great French inland empire.

Reports of the great river west of the Appalachians came to La Salle at his trading post above the Lachine Rapids. From the Indians, including several Senecas who spent the winter of 1668–1669 at his post, he learned that the Iroquois called it the Ohio, and that it flowed westward through a country inhabited by many tribes, among them the *Chiouanons* (Shawnees). After passing the lands of this tribe, La Salle was told, the river plunged over a great waterfall, doubtless a reference to the rapids at Louisville. Finally he became convinced that by this river he could reach the "Vermilion Sea," *i.e.*, the Gulf of California, perhaps Mexico, and possibly even China. La Salle now sought the support of Rémy de Courcelle, the new governor of Canada, for the expedition he proposed to explore the mysterious river.³ This encouragement Courcelle doubtless gave all the more readily, since La Salle assumed all the necessary expense, and the intendant, Jean Talon, also, lent his support. Apparently it was Courcelle who induced Dollier to accompany La Salle, in order "to turn his great zeal

² Francis Parkman, *Discovery of the Great West* (Boston, 1874), 1-11; Wrong, *New France*, I, 424-5.

³ Pierre Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements Français* (Paris, 1879-88), I, 87, 112-6; II, 285.

toward the inhabitants on the Ohio River." The Abbé René de Bréhant de Galinée, also a Sulpician, was another member of the expedition, and was the chronicler of at least a part of the journey.

Beside the zest of exploration, La Salle had a very practical purpose in going westward, for Courcelle had issued to him letters of patent which gave him the right to hunt in all the woods, and on the rivers and lakes of Canada, including, of course, the regions he should explore. An interesting sidelight upon the geographical knowledge of the period was afforded by the letters Courcelle gave La Salle to the governors of the provinces to which he might go, notably to those of Florida and Virginia. To defray the cost of the expedition, from which of course he expected a profit in furs and trade, La Salle transferred to the seminary of Saint Sulpice all rights in his seigniorly above the Lachine Rapids, together with the improvements he had made. There is considerable other evidence that La Salle fully understood that his proposed expedition might lead him into far-distant lands, and would require at least a year.⁴

La Salle left Montreal July 6, 1669, accompanied by Dollier and Galinée, the entire party occupying seven canoes. They were escorted by the band of Senecas whose accounts of the great river that flowed westward, had been so largely responsible for the expedition. Galinée has left a fascinating account of the expedition.⁵ Going up the St. Lawrence, and along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, the little party finally reached *Sonnontouan*, the chief town of the Senecas, near the Genesee River. When they made inquiries regarding the road to the Ohio River, the Seneca chiefs were far from encouraging. The journey, they pointed out, would take fully six days, and it would be impossible to carry sufficient baggage and provisions along with them. The Indians warned them of the savage tribes on the way: the *Toaguenha*, who would murder them with arrows as they slept, and the *Antastaez*,

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 103-4, 106, 114.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 116-46.

who would cut off their heads. With these and other perils on the road, the Senecas were unwilling to accompany the Frenchmen and show them the way, for if they were killed, they feared the great French father, "Onontio," would blame the Indians, and would avenge their destruction.

From some more friendly Senecas, La Salle and the Sulpicians learned they could go by canoe to Lake Erie, and then a portage of only three days would bring them to the Ohio. Greatly thrilled, now that they had discovered a direct path to the uncharted river, the Frenchmen determined to push on. Under the guidance of a friendly Indian they came to a "broad and extremely rapid" river upon which, they were told, was one of the most beautiful cataracts in the world. But the Frenchmen hurried on by a portage to a Seneca town near the eastern end of Lake Erie, and here the Indians gave them a Shawnee slave who served henceforth as a guide. Striking inland, September 24, two and a half months after they left Montreal, they reached an Iroquois village toward the head of the Grand River Valley, and in the extreme northeastern section of Ohio. There it was they met Jolliet, who was returning from a trading expedition to the Ottawa country, north of Lake Erie. Jolliet aroused the religious zeal of the Sulpicians, when he told them of a strong and numerous tribe of Ottawas whom so far the French missionaries had passed by, and Dollier and Galinée resolved to seek these lost souls. But La Salle still held before him a vision of the great river which flowed past the Shawnee country, and perhaps even into the Southern Sea. Unwilling to accompany the Sulpicians, he prepared to separate his party from theirs, upon the pretext that he feared his men might starve, and his own health suffer, if he spent the winter in the northern country.

Parting from La Salle and his men after a solemn religious ceremony, Dollier and Galinée with a few men established their headquarters on Lake Erie, probably at the mouth of the Chagrin River. In his *Relation* Galinée recorded the abundance of game there and other food.⁶ About a quarter of a mile from the lake

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 149-59.

shore he and his men built a cabin in the woods, with an altar at one end. For three months the little party did not encounter any human beings. Then while hunting one day, some of them met a few Iroquois. These Indians, after viewing the white man's cabin with intense admiration, passed around word by mysterious forest whisperings, and many others came to see. Finally, March 23 after the weather had moderated, the two Sulpicians planted a cross in memory of their stay, and embarked with their party three days later to journey westward on Lake Erie.

The spring winds seriously interfered with the progress of the little missionary party, and after they had lost one of their three canoes, five of them were obliged to march along the shore, while the remaining four managed the two canoes with the baggage. The journey presented many difficulties, through thick woods crowded with fallen trees, and across numerous streams. Sometimes in the depths of the woods the little party was able to cross the streams on fallen logs, at other times they constructed rude rafts. The many swamps presented another serious peril, and often the scarcity of food made it necessary to supply their needs by hunting along the way. Their hardships reached a climax when one of their two canoes was lost in a sudden storm, with the main supply of arms and ammunition. There was only a small store of provisions in the remaining canoe, and Dollier and Galinée decided to give up their proposed mission and return to Montreal by Sault Ste. Marie and the Lake Nipissing-Ottawa route. But their journey to the mouth of the Detroit River had opened up a route to the far western country, which was gradually to displace the more northerly one through Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa River. Moreover, it had revealed to Frenchmen the many resources and the importance of the northern Ohio country which bordered Lake Erie.

While Dollier and Gallinée with their party wintered on the shore of Lake Erie, La Salle and his men were exploring to the southward, after they parted from the Sulpicians at the little Iroquois village near the head of Grand River. Unfortunately La

Salle had no such careful chronicler as Galinée in his party, and there is no known detailed account of his journey. But from the scanty records that are available, it may safely be concluded that in the fall of 1669, La Salle worked his way from the Grand River to the Allegheny, going down the latter to the Ohio, and continuing on, certainly to the Falls at Louisville, and possibly into the rather marshy country beyond. Then one night his men, worn out by the hardships of this journey into an unknown country, deserted him and fled, some of them to New York, others to New England. La Salle, unable to continue down the Ohio as he had planned, returned to Canada approximately by the route he had come. It has been claimed that he made a second journey down the Ohio a short time later, but the available evidence does not support this view.⁷

The conclusion that La Salle went down the Ohio as far as the Falls in 1669-1670, is supported by the alterations that soon appeared in the contemporary maps of this western country. Thus, Father Jacques Marquette in 1674, on his map of his voyage down the Mississippi, showed the mouth of a river, the "Ouabouskiaou," apparently the Ohio, but made no attempt to trace its course into the interior.⁸ On copies of Jolliet's map printed in the same year, the course of the Ohio is shown from the southeastern end of Lake Erie to the Mississippi, with the general description, "the river which flows into the Gulf of Mexico." An even more significant legend inserted on this map describes the Ohio as the "Route of the Sieur de La Salle in order to go to Mexico."⁹ After La Salle's journey to France in the fall of 1674, his voyage down

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 377-8; Abbé Bernou, *Memoir*, 1677, Clairambault MSS. (in *Bibliothèque Nationale*; hereafter cited *Bibl. Natl.*), 1016, 49; Parkman, *Great West*, 16-22; Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston and New York, 1884-9), IV, 200-7; *O.S.A.H. Quar.*, XII (1903), 107-13; XIV (1905), 380-91; XIX (1910), 382-92.

⁸ Father Jacques Marquette, *Autograph Map of the Mississippi or Concepcion River, 1673-1674* (in Map Div., Lib. Cong.); J. G. Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (New York, 1853), Appendix.

⁹ Louis Jolliet, *Map of Discoveries* (1674), *Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique*, B 4044, 37; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, IV, 209-15. (Hereafter *Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique* is cited BSH.)

the Ohio undoubtedly received more general attention, as is evident from a map issued only a few years later. The Ohio was now shown in fairly accurate location, as far as the rapids, the "petit sault." Of especial significance was the legend which described the course of the Ohio as, "Voyage to be made, and more easy in order to find the Mississippi, in coming from the lake to the City of the Senecas and beyond."¹⁰

The evidence supporting the claims of La Salle as the discoverer of the Ohio was supported even more strongly by the maps of Jean Baptiste-Louis Franquelin, the young engineer who came to Quebec in 1683. Even in a map published two years before he arrived in Canada, Franquelin located the course of the Ohio, although in rather distorted fashion, from the region of Lake Erie to the Mississippi.¹¹ But most important of all the Franquelin maps was the one that he published in 1684 after he came to Quebec, and after he doubtless had gathered all available information for his work. This map, which avowedly was prepared to show the explorations by La Salle from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, gave the entire course of the Ohio, from the Iroquois country to its union with another river, the *Azoa*, to form the *St. Louis*. This last named river, according to the map, flowed into the Mississippi, or *Colbert*, after it had received the Wabash, called the *Ouabache* on the map, from the north, and at least two important rivers, doubtless the Cumberland and the Tennessee, from the south. From this map, then, it is evident that by 1684 the course of the Ohio as well as that of the Wabash was generally known in Canada, and the available evidence all points to La Salle as the first discoverer of the former.¹² On later maps the Ohio was inserted as a matter of course, although many cartographers called it the Wabash after its junction with that river.¹³

¹⁰ *Parties les plus Occidentales du Canada* (168-), map (in *Bibl. Natl.*), Ge. D 8047.

¹¹ J. B.-L. Franquelin, *Mer de Norte* (1681), map, BSH., B 4040-5.

¹² J. B.-L. Franquelin, *Carte de la Louisiane ou des Voyages du Sr. de la Salle et des Pays qu'il a découverts depuis la Nouvelle France jusqu'au Golfe Mexique, les Années 1679, 80, 81, & 82* (Paris, 1684), (in *Map Div., Lib. Cong.*).

¹³ Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, IV, 229-39.



MAP 6. FRANQUELIN MAP, 1684

a facsimile in the Map Division, Library of Congress, of the MS. copy, made in Paris by Francis Parkman, and now in the Library of Harvard University. Cf. R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Midwest Relations* (Cleveland, O.), vol. LXIII (1900), frontispiece.

The testimony of the maps in favor of La Salle as the first explorer of the Ohio, was supported by the accounts of his contemporaries as well as his own. Thus, the Abbé Bernou, probably in 1677, stated that the Ohio, or *La Belle Rivière*, flowed into the River Colbert, between twenty and twenty-one leagues below the mouth of the Illinois River, and that it rose near Lake Erie, from which there was a short portage.¹⁴ La Salle himself, in a memorial to Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, about the same time, specifically stated that he had explored the region to the south

¹⁴ Bernou, Note on the Ohio, 1677 [?], Clairambault MSS., 1016, 642.

of the Great Lakes, and "among others, the great river Ohio," which he followed to a place where it fell from above into vast swamps, after having been swollen by another very large river, evidently the Scioto or the Miami, which came from the north. According to all indications, in La Salle's opinion all these waters were ultimately discharged into the Gulf of Mexico. Several years later, upon the eve of his momentous voyage down the Mississippi to the Gulf, La Salle mentioned the Ohio as a branch of that river which received two considerable rivers, the *Agoussaké* (the Wabash) on the north, and the River of the Shawnees (the Tennessee) on the south, and in the account of his voyage down the Mississippi, he mentioned the river *St. Louis*, or *Ouabache*, on the left, which had its origin in the Iroquois country.¹⁵ From such bits of information, and from the general acceptance by cartographers of La Salle's statements regarding the course of the Ohio, the only possible conclusion is that he descended *La Belle Rivière* to the Falls. From there the river's course was soon worked out, either by explorers who apparently have not left any records, or else by information from the Indians.

La Salle had undertaken the exploration of the Ohio River with much enthusiasm, believing that it was a waterway of great importance. This conviction was strongly confirmed, as increasing geographical knowledge made it clear that both the Ohio and the Mississippi, or the *Colbert*, as the French then called the latter, must be connected with the great river of Hernando de Soto to the south. After his journey to the Illinois country in the fall and winter of 1679-1680, La Salle pointed out that the most convenient route for furs and other commodities coming from this region was by the river which the Iroquois called the Ohio, the Ottawas had named the "Olighiu-ci-pou," and La Salle himself on this particular occasion dubbed the "Baudrane." This river, he pointed out, rose behind "Oneiout," and after a westward course of about 450 leagues, during which it became even wider than the Seine at Rouen, it flowed into the *Colbert*, between

¹⁵ Margry, *Découvertes*, I, 551; II, 196-203; Parkman, *Great West*, 22-3.

twenty and twenty-five leagues below the mouth of the Illinois. It was possible, La Salle asserted, for a vessel to ascend this river almost to the town of the Senecas, and from there it was not more than twenty to twenty-five leagues to Lake Ontario. To protect this route, he considered only two posts necessary, one at the mouth of the river of the Senecas, the other on the *Baudrane*, or Ohio River.

According to La Salle, the Jesuits preferred the Illinois-Chicago route, and thence by the Lakes from the Illinois country, chiefly because of their jealousy of himself. Jolliet, too, he asserted, favored this same route. But to him it presented many problems, as compared with the one through the Ohio River. Especially would more posts be necessary on the Illinois-Chicago route, one at the mouth of the Niagara, and another one at the eastern entrance to Lake Erie. Posts would be needed, too, on the "Checagou," and Illinois rivers. Moreover, the exigencies of navigation on the lakes would require the use of large vessels, of which the upkeep would be far greater than that of the canoes which were customarily used on the Ohio River. This, in La Salle's opinion, was the shorter and better route, and it would avoid the necessity of a harbor on the Lake of the Illinois (Lake Michigan), together with a portage and the establishment of navigable communication as far as Fort Crevecour on the Illinois.¹⁶

La Salle's enthusiasm for the Ohio River route soon faded away, although he still opposed the one from the Illinois country by way of the Illinois and Chicago rivers and the Lakes. In preference, he recommended a route in 1682 which led westward along the southern shore of Lake Erie almost to its extreme western end. There the trail took up an important river, the *Ouabanchi*, or the *Aramoni*, which connected with the *Colbert*. Although his geographical knowledge was somewhat inaccurate, as he did not even mention the Maumee, in the general importance he ascribed to the Maumee-Wabash route as the "shortest" of them all, La Salle displayed keen insight, for this was very shortly destined to become

¹⁶ Margry, *Découvertes*, II, 80-2, 96.

the chief means of communication between the French possessions in Canada and those in Louisiana. While it is quite evident that La Salle knew of this route, partly only by hearsay, he had probably explored at least the more northerly section of the Wabash Valley, for he spoke with an enthusiasm born of personal knowledge of the abundance of buffalo and deer, and of the great crops of tobacco and corn that were raised in this region.¹⁷

The explanation of La Salle's sudden switch from the Ohio to the Maumee-Wabash route, was doubtless the realization that if he expected to carry out his plans in this region he must either pacify or overawe the Iroquois. But such a move was not easy. By the mid-seventeenth century the Iroquois had built up a thriving trade in beaver fur with the Dutch traders of Fort Orange (Albany), which they continued to carry on with the English after the latter had conquered New Netherlands. Equipped with fire-arms secured from the fur traders, the Iroquois were easily able to overwhelm other Indian tribes. In this fashion they extended their hunting and fur trade into the western country, in their quest for the beaver which was becoming scarce in their own land. First the Hurons, north and east of Lake Huron, then the Eries, south of Lake Erie, met their fate at the hands of the ruthless Iroquois. Apparently it was during La Salle's trip into the Illinois country in 1679-1680 that he first came in contact with the Iroquois power over the western tribes. The Miamis, indeed, had fled west of the Mississippi, and only lately had they been persuaded to come back. The turn of the Illinois confederacy came in the fall of 1680, a few months after La Salle arrived in this western country, when the Iroquois made the ruthless attack which shattered their power.

The most sinister feature of the entire situation was the obvious fact that by their wars and their imperious attitude toward other Indian tribes, the Iroquois were rapidly monopolizing the fur trade. North of Lake Erie the beaver were diminishing, but to the south the practical annihilation of the Erie tribe had left large

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 243-5.

uninhabited areas, in which beaver and other game flourished. There the Iroquois either hunted themselves, or else compelled the Indians who did so, as well as those to the westward, to trade with them. As a result, La Salle testified, the beaver trade which the Iroquois carried on in the Ohio country was in such a flourishing condition that where they had been accustomed to load only 40 skins in one canoe, they now carried from 600 to 700. Nor was the outlook promising for the French, in view of the higher prices that the English gave for furs. Indeed, La Salle was convinced that the Iroquois were virtual agents of the English, and that the latter were constantly scheming against him through their Indian allies.¹⁸

To add to his many difficulties, La Salle found that the Iroquois, too, had recognized the strategic importance of the Ohio River, and were customarily using it as the route from their own country to the tribes as far west as the Mississippi. According to Bernou, the Iroquois, in their attack upon the Illinois in 1680, descended rivers which were "at the south of Lake Erie," an allusion either to the Ohio, or to the Maumee-Wabash route. Regarding the return journey, Bernou is more exact, stating that the Iroquois returned "by the River Ohio, which, taking its origin at thirty or forty leagues to the south of Niagara, runs toward the West for more than two hundred leagues," and empties into the River *Colbert*.¹⁹ This Iroquois control of the Ohio River, added to their monopoly of the fur trade, made it clear that La Salle faced well-nigh insuperable obstacles in carrying out his plans for French control of the Ohio country.

Always practical, La Salle did not waste time in useless dreaming. News of the overthrow of the Illinois Indians by the Iroquois came to him at the fort on St. Joseph's River, Michigan, where he spent the winter of 1680-1681 in the midst of the Miamis. He now attempted to carry out a policy of uniting all the western

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 212-62.

¹⁹ Bernou, *Relation des Voyages et Découvertes du Sieur de La Salle*, 1673-1681, Clairambault MSS., 1016, 51.

tribes against the Iroquois, warning the Miamis and the Illinois that they must present a united front against their common foe. The immediate results were far from satisfactory. The Miamis were badly cowed, and the remnant of the Illinois had too vivid a memory of the terrible vengeance of the Iroquois to permit any active war measures against their fierce conquerors. Yet La Salle utilized every possible opportunity to win Indian favor for the French, and he treated with marked consideration a delegation of Shawnees who came to him during the winter, asking for protection. To a number of Indians who had come all the way from New England because of their fear of the English, La Salle pointed out the fertility and the abundant resources of the country of the Miamis and the Illinois.²⁰ Actually these attempts to stir up the Indians against the Iroquois and the English failed, and La Salle in disgust, abandoned temporarily his grandiloquent plans for the Ohio River route.

Already La Salle had been laying the foundations for an alternative route westward through Lake Erie and the Maumee-Wabash waterway. In this, as well as his other undertakings, he received the strong support of Frontenac who came to Canada in 1672 as governor-general. Adventurous and energetic, with a remarkably broad vision, Frontenac instinctively favored plans for exploration and for the extension of French power. His first significant step was the establishment of Fort Frontenac in 1675 at the eastern end of Lake Ontario at modern Kingston, as a check upon the Iroquois. Next he looked around for a subordinate who could be trusted to hold the gains already made, and to extend French power still further. La Salle was the logical choice, and Frontenac soon secured for him a royal patent as commandant at Fort Frontenac with a monopoly of the Indian trade there.²¹ With characteristic energy La Salle speedily went to work, replacing the hastily built earthworks with a more substantial structure of which the bastions were faced with stone. Soon a substantial

²⁰ Margry, *Découvertes*, II, 212-62.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 195-244, 273-4, 277.

colony of thirteen or fourteen families was established at Fort Frontenac, in addition to the garrison, with a Recollect mission to minister to spiritual needs.²²

The next necessary step, La Salle clearly saw, would be to found posts farther west, if he was to realize his principal aims, to continue his explorations and to control the fur trade from the Ohio country and beyond. Late in 1677 he went to France to urge the measures he considered so necessary to carry out his imperial schemes for the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. In a memorial to the king he called especial attention to his explorations south of the Great Lakes, and especially the one down the Ohio River which he had followed, "up to a place where it falls from a considerable height into great marshes." So far as he could see, this was the road to the Gulf of Mexico, and through it he hoped to find a "new avenue of communication from which New France would some day be able to derive very great advantages." La Salle believed that in the fertile lands south of the Great Lakes there were abundant prospects for flourishing French colonies. Here, in a comparatively mild climate in contrast to the rigorous cold of Canada, it was possible to winter cattle in the open, and the earth produced "everything that is cultivated in France." Colonies in this region would undoubtedly become prosperous, and would attract many savages from the West who had not come in contact with other Europeans, and could easily accommodate themselves to the French. Thus, in a few years these lands might give a "great number of new subjects to the King and to the Church." On the other hand, La Salle pointed out, there were serious obstacles in the way of these far-reaching plans. In addition to the problem of supplying such distant colonies, there would be the constant menace of the Iroquois and of the English settlers in New York who were already making inroads upon the French fur trade. To meet these dangers La Salle asked for permission to establish two additional colonies, one at the entrance of Lake Erie, the other at

²² *Ibid.*, I, 278-88, 291-2, 437.

the mouth of the Illinois River, with a monopoly of trading rights at each post such as he enjoyed at Fort Frontenac.²³

Having secured his patent, La Salle left France in July, 1678, and with his usual energy he set to work to carry out his projects. His first important step was to strengthen Fort Frontenac as a trading post, and to prepare for his own proposed explorations. Early in 1679, he despatched a party of men to build a fort at Niagara, and to construct a sailing vessel above the Falls, near the entrance to Lake Erie. The fort, to be located at the head of the Niagara River, would, La Salle hoped, hold in check the Iroquois, and especially the near-by Senecas, and would also put an end to the fur trade between these Indians and the English. The Iroquois, always suspicious, took such great offense at these plans that La Salle was obliged to content himself with a mere trading house fortified with palisades.²⁴

In his plans to establish navigation upon Lake Erie on a considerable scale La Salle was more successful. The first vessel he had constructed was wrecked on the Lake Erie shore, only a few leagues from the Niagara River, with the loss of much merchandise which was to have been used for trading. Undaunted, La Salle undertook to construct a new vessel. In the process he encountered much opposition from the Iroquois, who continually visited the boatyard above the Falls with very evident hostility. One of them, pretending to be drunk, even attempted to kill the blacksmith who was so necessary for this work. Indeed, but for a close watch the Iroquois would probably have burned the vessel while it was still on the stocks. To add to La Salle's difficulties, provisions became exceedingly scarce, and it was only by the utmost exertion that he was able to keep up the morale of his men. As a result they launched the vessel in remarkably brief time, and in a few more days they had completed it. La Salle now encountered conditions that would have conquered a man less courageous and determined. Certain envious persons, predicting that he would

²³ *Ibid.*, I, 329-38, 438; Bernou, *Memoir*, 1677, Clairambault MSS., 1016, 49.

²⁴ Margry, *Découvertes*, I, 435-42.

never return from his explorations, made trouble for him in Montreal and Quebec. His workmen told him it would be impossible to get the vessel into Lake Erie in face of the rapid current in the Niagara River. But La Salle persisted, and finally his 45-ton vessel, the *Griffin*, was brought safely into Lake Erie. He set sail August 7, 1679, and three days later he entered the Detroit River, on his way to Mackinaw.²⁵

This memorable voyage of La Salle, opening up navigation through Lake Erie to the upper lakes, made the northern Ohio region easily accessible to the French. But the southern section, and especially the Ohio River, was still under the control of the Iroquois, the allies of the English. If La Salle should be successful in carrying out his plans at Niagara as he had been at Fort Frontenac, in all probability a large share, if not the bulk of the fur trade from the Ohio country would be diverted to the French at Montreal. Moreover, if the French advance were made in the substantial fashion which La Salle advocated, the chances were that the Iroquois power would be broken, and the Ohio River would be available as an easy and cheap avenue of transportation from the Mississippi Valley to Canada. Unfortunately the responsible officers, not grasping the significance of La Salle's plan, did not give him adequate support. His quarrels with the Jesuits and the constant strife in Canada had their effect. In 1681 the king himself wrote that he saw few substantial gains from La Salle's explorations, and complained that he had exceeded his powers. La Salle, whom Frontenac strongly supported, became involved in the quarrels between the governor and the new intendant, Jacques Duchesneau. The latter accused La Salle of having taken sides in the war between the Iroquois and the Illinois, when the proper role of the French should have been to act as mediators, and especially to keep the peace with the Iroquois.²⁶

La Salle was defended in a memoir to Jean Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Seignelay, then minister in charge of colonial af-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 443-5.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 13-4, 81-2; II, 266-74.

fairs, which showed a broad-minded and accurate grasp of the situation. This "friend" of La Salle, in pointing out the abundant resources of the country south of the Great Lakes, declared the French could easily hold it if they set up colonies at the entrance of Lake Erie and at the mouth of the Mississippi. These colonies, the memorialist pointed out, were necessary to checkmate the English who had now established themselves in New York, Virginia and the Carolinas. They were needed, too, to control the fur trade. At present, the memorialist showed, the New York traders secured between 80,000 and 100,000 beaver skins annually, almost as many as the total amount taken from Canada. These skins the English obtained chiefly from the Iroquois who, by overawing the different Indian tribes, had managed to establish a monopoly of the fur trade throughout the region south of the Great Lakes. As an illustration of this situation, the writer cited a recent expedition on which the Iroquois traders had collected 3,000 beaver skins from the Miamis alone. French colonies in this region would help break the Iroquois power by supplying their enemies with the arms and ammunition that would enable them to fight upon equal terms. To meet the objection that the proposed colonies would be too isolated, this memorialist cited New Mexico, which was so far from the center of Spanish power in Mexico. As for La Salle himself, this good friend called attention to his honesty, his ability, his courage and perseverance, and his extensive knowledge of the Indian languages and customs. Altogether, he was the one man who was qualified to carry out French expansion in the region south of the Great Lakes.²⁷

Eventually La Salle's enemies prevailed. His friend, Frontenac, was recalled in 1682, and the new governor, Lefèbvre de La Barre, failed to grasp the tremendous potentialities in his plans for possible colonization, and certainly for the assertion of French control over the Ohio country and the region to the westward. Nor did La Barre grasp the importance of the Ohio as a vital highway of commerce. Indeed he accused La Salle of stirring up

²⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 277-88.

trouble among the Indians and of antagonizing the Iroquois especially. This attitude toward La Salle was the more unfortunate as the governor, too, soon realized that unless the Iroquois were overawed, the English would completely control the region south and west of Lake Erie, together with the Ohio River. Like La Salle he was convinced that the only possible course was to establish a strong post on Lake Erie, if the French expected to humble the Iroquois, and thus to checkmate English designs.²⁸ But by his unfortunate attitude toward La Salle, La Barre failed to support the one man who could have successfully carried these plans through, and French prestige suffered accordingly among the Iroquois and in the Ohio country.

Jacques René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, who succeeded La Barre as governor of Canada in 1683, soon grasped the situation in the Ohio country, with its keynote the necessity of humbling the Iroquois if the French were to make any real progress. As an important feature of his policy, in 1687 he restored the post at Niagara which seems to have been given up during La Salle's difficulties, but a year later he gave orders it should be abandoned. Again, in 1706 Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, proposed to restore the important post at Niagara as a means of holding back the Iroquois and checking the English advance. Moreover, Vaudreuil was convinced that a large part of the fur trade which was going to the English could be diverted to the French, provided the latter offered better prices. The king approved the project, and about 1725-1726 the French erected a strong fort at Niagara.²⁹ But the golden opportunity had been lost, and the failure to support La Salle had left the door open for the English to extend their trade and influence. By the time the French had decided to establish the fort at Niagara, the English traders had penetrated into the Ohio country, and its fur trade was going to Philadelphia rather than Montreal, or even New York.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 302-4, 329-38; V, 7, 10-1.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 11-3, 28-30, 38-41; E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York* (Albany, 1853-87), IX, 773-5, 812. (Hereafter the New York colonial documents are cited *N. Y. Col. Docs.*)

The virtual withdrawal of the French from the Ohio country now forced them to fall back upon the Lake Erie-Maumee-Wabash route, in place of the Ohio River, as a line of communication between Canada and the Mississippi Valley. Moreover, the posts established along this route served as centers from which to carry on trade and intrigues among the increasing Indian population of the Ohio country. The precise date of the first French exploration of the Wabash Valley is uncertain, although the existence of the river was known by 1682. Thus, the chronicler of La Salle's voyage down the Mississippi mentioned the "River St. Louis or Ouabache, or indeed Chicagoua," which flowed from the country of the Iroquois, and at one time was supposed to afford a passage to China. About the same time, La Salle himself alluded to the *Ouabanchi* or *Aramoni*, confusing it apparently with the Maumee, and describing it as a river which was without rapids for more than a hundred leagues, and was discharged into the Illinois River, and thence reached the *Colbert*. The *Ouabanchi*, La Salle added, was decidedly the shortest route and the one by which he had determined to establish communication between Fort Frontenac and the Illinois country.³⁰

Just as in the case of the Ohio, contemporary maps gave the course of the Wabash with increasing accuracy, as further explorations marked it out. Thus, a Franquelin map in 1684 showed the Wabash in fairly accurate position, rising southwest of Lake Erie, and flowing into the *St. Louis* River otherwise the Ohio, then into the Mississippi.³¹ Frequently these early cartographers confused the Ohio with the Wabash or *St. Jerome*, calling the stream, after the junction of the two rivers, indiscriminately by either name. Thus, in 1702 Claude de L'Isle, a well-known French geographer and historian, declared that the Wabash flowed into the Mississippi, and had branches which penetrated to the neighborhood of the English colonies of Maryland, Virginia and Caro-

³⁰ Margry, *Découvertes*, I, 551; II, 243-5.

³¹ Franquelin, *Carte de la Louisiane* (1684), in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland 1896-1901), LXIII, frontispiece.

lina. De L'Isle was enthusiastic over the wealth of good land along the course of the Wabash, and he considered that a post should be established upon its banks.³² A year later Vaudreuil wrote of a journey that five of "our French" had made, traveling to Carolina by the Wabash and the first of its forks, and returning with "English merchandise and great promises."³³ As late as 1726 the lower Ohio was occasionally called the Wabash, and in French official circles there was a strong opinion that there should be French posts along its course. It was considered equally important that the English should be driven away from its three principal branches, the Ohio which came from the Iroquois country, the River of the Shawnees, and a third, evidently the Cumberland.³⁴

The French soon found that the expulsion of the English from the Ohio country was a difficult, if not an impossible undertaking, and they wisely decided to make an effective stand on the Maumee-Wabash route. Reversing La Salle's plans to unite the western Indians against the Iroquois, they now sought to establish peaceful relations with them, not openly antagonizing these fierce warriors in their asserted lordship over the Ohio country. With the ground thus prepared, the next French move was the establishment of a strong post at the western end of Lake Erie, to balance Niagara at the eastern entrance. Every consideration pointed to a site on the Detroit River, and in 1686 Denonville ordered Daniel Greysolon, Sieur Duluth, to go with fifty men, in order to establish a post there, in "a place advantageous to protect our savages who go there to hunt, and to serve as an asylum for them against the expeditions of their enemies and ours."³⁵ But the struggle between Canada and the English colonies in New England and New York interfered. Finally in 1701, after the French had made a definite peace with many Indian tribes including the Iroquois, the time seemed ripe to establish a post on the Detroit

³² Claude De l'Isle, Memoir on the Mississippi Country, 1702, *Archives, Service Hydrographique*, 115-10: no. 17. (Hereafter this collection is cited ASH.)

³³ Margry, *Découvertes*, III, 353-5.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, 658-60.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 23-5.

River, which, it was hoped, would control the Indian trade of the surrounding region, and also counteract English advances in the Ohio Valley.³⁶

A fur trader of considerable ability, Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, was put in charge of the new post of Detroit, which commercially was highly successful. By 1730 it was estimated that between 18 and 20 boats went there annually to trade, and from licenses alone, there was an annual revenue of 8,000 to 10,000 livres. A considerable part of these furs came, too, from the Ohio country.³⁷ But the attempt to counteract English influence among the Indians was not so successful. Cadillac held a number of councils, but he made little progress with the Miamis especially, in spite of large expenditures for presents.³⁸ The Iroquois had not been permanently alienated from the English, and the Indians of the Ohio country were still under their influence. The failure to conciliate the Miamis was a serious matter, for these Indians had gradually been moving eastward into the Wabash Valley, and even onto the Miami, to which the French had given the picturesque name of *Rivière à La Roche*. In their new homes they were peculiarly susceptible to the influence of the Iroquois, as well as that of the English, who were beginning to appear in considerable numbers in the Ohio country. The realistic French therefore adopted the very practical policy of a chain of forts from the head of the Maumee down the Wabash, in order to protect this increasingly vital line of communication between Canada and Louisiana, and equally important, to counteract English influence in the Ohio country.³⁹

The first post in this French chain, Fort Miami, later Fort Wayne, was in a strong strategic position at the head of the Maumee, with a short portage to the Wabash. Established in 1706, it speedily became an important military post with a peace-

³⁶ Michigan Historical Commission, *Historical Collections* (Lansing), XXXIII (1904), 42. (Hereafter this series is cited *Mich. Hist. Col.*)

³⁷ *Ibid.*, XXXIV (1905), 77-9.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 296-9; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IX, 766-7.

³⁹ J. P. Dunn, *Indiana* (Boston and New York, 1888), Chapters I-II.

time garrison of 20 to 30 men.⁴⁰ But its greatest importance was as a center of French activity among the Indians. A significant item of 1,894 livres in the accounts of the post represented presents bought for the Indians at "the Miamies," in the seven months, December 25, 1747 to July 25, 1748. Other items in these accounts show the wide-spread French intrigues from Fort Miami as a center among the neighboring Indians. From here important chiefs were sent to conferences in Detroit and Montreal, with interpreters and guides, and with all their expenses paid. The items for messengers from the Miamis were specially numerous in the years, 1748-1749. One item of much significance was for 32 livres paid in beaver skins to an Indian chief, as a reward for his loyalty in putting an end to a hostile movement. Actually, the total annual expenditure at Fort Miami, which compared favorably with that at Detroit, was a strong proof of the importance that the French ascribed to the former post.⁴¹

Fort Miami also became an important center of fur trade with the Ohio country to the eastward, as well as with the Wabash Valley to the southward, and the Illinois region to the westward. An agreement which the commandant at Fort Miami made in 1747 with a trader, St. Ange, affords an interesting insight into the practical working of this fur trade. From Fort Miami and from a post on the White River to the eastward, St. Ange agreed to trade exclusively with the French and the Indians. This condition was significant, since the English traders were then working west from Pickawillany on the Miami. In turn, the commandant at Fort Miami agreed to give St. Ange full protection, and to make provision for the Indians who visited the French posts.⁴² Other evidence shows there was frequent communication from Fort Miami with the Illinois country and to the westward. Thus, in 1749 a payment of 200 livres was made at Fort Miami to Jean Baptiste Riddey de Bosseron, "voyageur," who had just returned from the

⁴⁰ *Archives des Colonies* (hereafter cited AC.), C 11: 117, 118; Margry, *Découvertes*, III, 219-62; B. J. Griswold, *Pictorial History of Fort Wayne* (Chicago, 1917), 36-9.

⁴¹ AC., C 11: 117, 118.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 11: 13, 191.

Illinois where he had distributed shot for the King's service. Still other items show frequent communication down the Wabash Valley to the southward, between Fort Miami and Fort Ouiatenon. A typical one was the payment of 60 livres in 1748 to "Galerieau" who had driven from Fort Ouiatenon to Fort Miami four head of cattle, for the commandant at Fort Miami. Much other evidence might be cited to show the great importance of Fort Miami as a center of French influence.

Scarcely was Fort Miami established when it became quite evident that additional posts were needed farther down the Wabash Valley, to meet the increasing aggressiveness of the English fur traders among the Indians of the Ohio Valley. Accordingly, in 1713 Cadillac was directed to send fourteen soldiers to a post on the Wabash which presumably was yet to be established. Apparently these instructions were not carried out immediately, since two years later strong representations were made from Canada of the need for an additional post on the Wabash which would divert trade from the English, and would end their intrigues among the Indians. This communication emphasized the necessity of hurry, in view of a rumor that the English were about to found a post in this same region.⁴³ Finally, about 1720 Fort Ouiatenon was established on the Wabash in a location that commanded the trade of the prosperous Wea tribe of the Miami confederacy. This post, too, speedily became an important one, although in 1747 the garrison was reckoned as only ten men in peace and twenty in time of war. Also, like Fort Miami it soon became a center of French activity and trade among the neighboring Indians, with frequent communication from its safe shelter, to the north with Fort Miami, to the west with the Illinois country, and to the south along the Wabash. An interesting illustration of this last sphere of influence was a payment of 75 livres that was made in 1749 for work upon the firearms of the Kickapoo chiefs who resided at *la Terre Haute*.⁴⁴

⁴³ AC., B 35: 328-9; Wisconsin State Historical Society, *Collections* (Madison), XVI (1902), 321. (Hereafter this series is cited *Wis. Hist. Col.*)

⁴⁴ AC., C 11: 118, 119.

A French post still farther down the Wabash was needed, in view of the "prodigious quantities" of merchandise which the English were carrying to the Indians of the lower valley. François Marie Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes, who had been sent as French agent among the Miamis, received orders to establish this post if it was really necessary. Official orders from France in 1726 directed him to go with presents for the Indians, and to investigate the situation. Should the rumor of an English advance into the lower Wabash Valley prove true, he was to establish a post there, taking along six or eight soldiers and a missionary. The sequel was the founding of a post at Vincennes about a year later, in 1727.⁴⁵ Apparently the French gave the new post little support, and they probably regarded it as a mere outpost of Fort Ouiatenon. Certainly the accounts of the western posts, 1746-1752, do not show any separate items for a post at Vincennes, and it was not included in a list of the French forts in the West in 1747.⁴⁶

Attempts to found a French post in the lower Ohio Valley below the mouth of the Wabash were even less successful. The first one was the direct result of a visit to Montreal about 1732 by the representatives of a band of Shawnee Indians who lived in the neighborhood of Detroit. When they asked that their band should be assigned new homes, the French officials located them on the north bank of the Ohio, below the mouth of the Wabash, in order to remove them as far as possible from the English. Later this little Indian colony, possibly the origin of Shawneetown in southern Illinois, was joined by a number of Iroquois, and soon it, too, fell under the influence of the English with whom its inhabitants carried on a considerable trade.⁴⁷ An attempt to establish another French post on the lower Ohio seems to have been made about 1738. After rumors came that the Cherokees and the Chickasaws were erecting a fort in this same region under

⁴⁵ Margry, *Découvertes*, VI, 657-60; H. S. Cauthorn, *History of the City of Vincennes* (Terre Haute, Ind., 1902), 34-5; Dunn, *Indiana*, 51-8.

⁴⁶ AC., C 11: 118.

⁴⁷ N. Y. Col. Docs., IX, 1033; Wis. Hist. Col., XVIII (1908), 11-2; C. W. Alvord, *Illinois Country, 1673-1818, Centennial History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1918-20), I, 186-7.

English influence, the French abandoned any plans for so advanced a post, in view of its exposed situation.⁴⁸ A few years later Pierre François de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil-Cavagnal, then governor of Louisiana, fearful that the English might cut off his communication with Canada, repeatedly urged the establishment of a French post on the lower Ohio. But so far as any effective action was concerned, his pleas seem to have fallen upon deaf ears.⁴⁹

Meanwhile the French were encountering an ever-increasing threat from the rivalry of English fur traders, and their many attempts to stir up the Indians in the Ohio country, and even beyond. This situation was becoming especially serious along Lake Erie and on the Maumee-Wabash route. As early as 1702 the Indians, as far away as Detroit, were trading with the English at Albany, and the English traders were making strenuous efforts to establish relations with other Indians in this same region who were friendly to the French. At Detroit a number of Indian chiefs doubtless laid bare the true cause of these French difficulties when they gave warning that unless the French traders lowered the prices of their goods, they themselves could not prevent their young men from trading with the English.⁵⁰

In 1730 an official report complained that the English force at Oswego, aided by their vessels on Lake Ontario, had forced the French *voyageurs* to stay on the north shore, so that the plans of La Salle and Frontenac to divert the Iroquois fur trade to Montreal had gone glimmering. On the south shore of Lake Erie conditions were even more discouraging, with English traders, who were scattered along the rivers, trading with the interior tribes, notably the Miamis and the Shawnees, and stirring them up to attack the French. Only at Detroit and beyond were the Indians really loyal to the French. As to the Shawnees, there was some hope of bringing them back into the fold, if they could be persuaded to settle somewhere on the lake shore between Niagara and Detroit, in a

⁴⁸ AC., B 66: 354; C 13: 23.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, B 72: 489; C 13: 31, 42; Margry, *Découvertes*, VI, 661-4.

⁵⁰ *Mich. Hist. Col.* XXXIII, 158.

“hunting district where they could live in plenty.” Here, too, a considerable trade might be established with this tribe, “the most industrious and the most peaceable” in America. So far as the Miamis and “Ouyatenons” were concerned, the picture was a dark one. In spite of the French garrisons in their midst, they were accustomed to take the greater part of their furs to the English, and their country was virtually “lost to trade.” This doleful picture of conditions in 1730 closed with the observation that a really strong post at Detroit was the one possible means to restrain English activities on the southern shore of Lake Erie and in the Wabash Valley.⁵¹

In the southern Ohio country along the Ohio River, the advance of English traders from Virginia and Carolina, and later from Pennsylvania, was a source of even greater anxiety to the French officials. Early in the eighteenth century there were rumors that traders from South Carolina had established trading posts near the Wabash, and at the mouth of the Ohio, and that by a wise distribution of presents they were attracting the Illinois, the Miamis and other tribes in the neighborhood, and were carrying on a considerable trade up the Ohio River.⁵² While these rumors were doubtless greatly exaggerated, it was becoming quite evident that the French could not rest content on the Wabash River line, if they allowed the English to continue, unhindered, their aggressions along the Ohio. The obvious advantages of the Ohio over the Maumee-Wabash route as an avenue of communication between Canada and Louisiana, made it all the more necessary to end this English menace if that were possible. The despatch of a detachment of troops about 1740 from Canada to Louisiana by the Ohio River route, was a forcible illustration of French policy.⁵³

Meantime the English traders were going up and down the Ohio in ever-increasing numbers. Especially were they coming across the mountains from Pennsylvania, from their headquarters

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 73-85.

⁵² AC., C 11: 36, 37, 71; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IX, 931.

⁵³ Levy and Mandeville, *Map of the Ohio River*, BSH., C 4044-54.

at Philadelphia which was much nearer the Ohio country than Montreal. Moreover, the English trading posts were gradually increasing in the heart of the Ohio country, as well as in the Ohio Valley. Greatly alarmed, Charles, Marquis de Beauharnois, as governor of Canada, issued orders to the commandant at Detroit to use the Indians of that region to expel the English and to plunder their posts. He sent similar instructions to Fort Miami and Fort Ouiatenon, but actual execution of his plan proved to be impossible.⁵⁴ The Indian allies of the French, notably the Miamis, could not be relied on in a contest which might well stir up the dreaded Iroquois. When the English established a post on White River, almost in the Wabash Valley proper, French indignation was strongly aroused. From this post, it was said, the English were endeavoring to stir up the Indians as far as Detroit, and they were held responsible for the murder of Frenchmen by Indians at Sandusky. The only possible means to end this menace, in French opinion, was to wipe out the post and end once for all any English trade on White River.⁵⁵ A final conflict was inevitable between the French and the English for the control of the Ohio country, including both the Lake Erie region and the Ohio Valley.

⁵⁴ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IX, 1105.

⁵⁵ *Wis. Hist. Col.*, XVII (1906), 474-6.

CHAPTER IV

The English Advance

IN DECIDED contrast to the wealth of narratives dealing with French explorations and activities, only scanty and widely scattered material is available for the details of the English advance across the Appalachians into the Ohio Valley. This situation is easily explained, for the English, not greatly concerned over the spiritual welfare of the Indians, did not send a priest along with the explorer, and the latter was far more interested in practical details of the fur trade than in descriptive notes of his journey. As a result, the accounts of early English fur-trading expeditions must be secured in somewhat indirect fashion, from official letters, reports and the like. It is only in comparatively recent years that patient historical investigation has unearthed the actual extent of the really bold and important English explorations in the Ohio country. Whichever route these English fur traders followed from the settlements on the Atlantic Coast, once they had crossed the Appalachians they encountered few physical barriers. Moreover, beside the ready communication afforded by the Ohio River and Lake Erie along the borders of the Ohio country, the many tributary streams and the long established cross-country Indian trails gave equally easy access to the interior.

Just as with the French, the gradual expansion of English knowledge with regard to the geography of the Ohio country may be traced in the contemporary maps that were published in England, the earlier ones, especially those of the seventeenth century, based chiefly upon French discoveries. As early as 1670 Richard Blome printed in London "by His Majesties especial command," a map copied from that of Nicolas Sanson in 1656, which shows a

river directly west of Pennsylvania with no outlet.¹ Another map that was apparently printed in England about fifteen years later, indicated both Lake Erie and the Wabash in rather inaccurate fashion, but in place of the Ohio, it gave a river, the "Spirito Sancto," which flowed southward to the Gulf of Mexico.² Crude though they were, these maps, typical of the ones issued in England in the seventeenth century, must have found their way to the colonies, there to arouse bold spirits to explore the lands beyond the mysterious mountains.

Early in the eighteenth century there were unmistakable evidences in the English maps of exploration from the colonies along the Atlantic Coast across the Appalachians. Thus, one of Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas about 1700 showed important rivers on the western slope, the Holston, the Clinch, the "Green Bryer," the Great "Canawa," the Little "Canawa," and the "Youghigainy." The inference is unmistakable that explorers from the English colonies had worked out the courses of these rivers, all of them essential links in important trails across the Appalachians.³ Another important map, evidently an authoritative one, which was published in 1710, omitted the Wabash altogether, and showed the Lake Erie region in quite inaccurate fashion. On the other hand this map gave the Ohio with its "fork," and one tributary, probably the Kanawha, in its upper course. Another tributary lower down, perhaps the Tennessee, was labeled, "the road the French take to go to Carolina."⁴ This allusion to a route that was coming into use from South Carolina to the Ohio was all the more significant in connection with another English map, published in 1720, which apparently gave the Tennessee River, while Daniel Coxe's map in 1722, showed the

¹ Nicolas Sanson and Richard Blome, *New Map of America Septentrionale* (London, 1670) (in Map Div., Lib. Cong.).

² *Map of North America* (1685?), *ibid.*

³ *Map of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina* (17—), *ibid.*

⁴ John Senex and John Maxwell, Geographers, *Map of North America*; Corrected from the Observations Communicated to the Royal Society at London, and the Royal Academy at Paris (1710), *ibid.*

Ohio and the Wabash, and also the "Casqui or Cusates," *i.e.*, the Tennessee, flowing into the Ohio from the Cherokee country just north of "Carolana."⁵

The steady advance of English explorers and fur traders across the Appalachians revealed further geographical details of this region, and to Henry Popple, a clerk in the Colonial Office in London, was assigned the special duty of drawing up-to-date maps from the information he received from the American colonies. Of special interest was a letter from Sir William Keith, governor of Pennsylvania, in 1719 which described the Wabash, or the *Ouabache* as the governor called it, as the shortest route between Canada and Louisiana. This river, he pointed out, was frequently confused with the Ohio into which it flowed. But the sources of the latter river, according to Keith, were much more to the eastward, coming close to Virginia and the Carolinas.⁶ The map which Popple drew eight years later was doubtless based partly upon Keith's letter, for on it he showed the Wabash and the Ohio with the "forks" of the latter. In marking a number of other rivers flowing into the Ohio, especially from the south, Popple gave convincing testimony of the increasing familiarity of English traders with the main routes to the Ohio country.⁷ This map undoubtedly served as the basis for the official one a few years later, which Popple carefully compiled from all the available data, and distributed to many English officials, including all the governors of the American colonies.⁸

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century, the far greater accuracy of detail in the English maps reflected the rapid progress

⁵ Herman Moll, Geographer, *New Map of the North Parts of America Claimed by France*, from the Original Draughts of Mr. Blackmore, the Ingenious Mr. Beresford now Residing in Carolina, Capt. Nairn and Others, never before Published (1720) (in Map Div., Lib. Cong.); *Map of the Mouth of the River Meschacebe*, in Daniel Coxe, *Carolana* (London, 1722).

⁶ *Calendar of State Papers; Colonial Series: America and West Indies* (London, 1860-), XXXI 22-41. (Hereafter this series is cited *Cal. State Papers*.)

⁷ Henry Popple, *Map of the French and English Possessions on the Continent of North America* (1727), Additional MSS., 23,615: 72 (in British Museum).

⁸ Henry Popple, *Map of the British Empire in America with the French and Spanish Possessions adjacent thereto* (1730?), Additional MSS., 35,907.

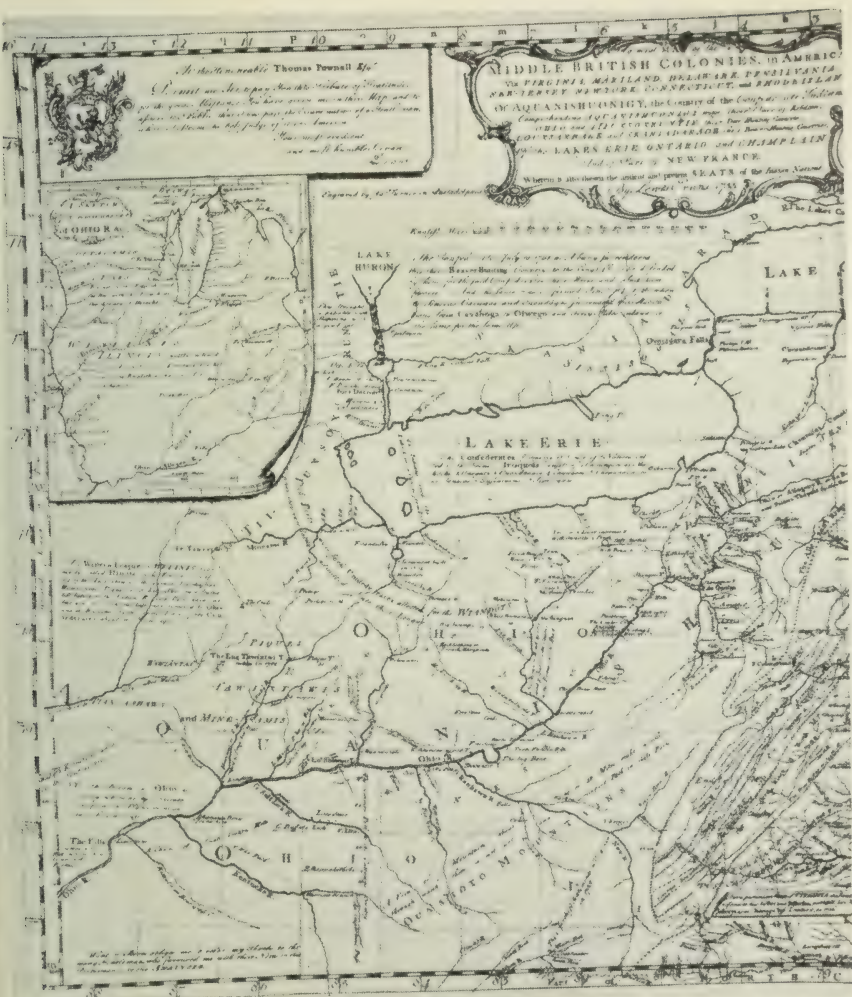


MAP 7. HENRY POPPLE'S MAP, 1730 (?)

From a photograph in the Map Division, Library of Congress, of a map in the British Museum, Additional MSS., 35907.

of the English traders in the Ohio country. Thus, a map issued in London in 1747 showed in fairly accurate location such important rivers as the Ohio, the Wabash, the Miami, the Cumberland, and the Tennessee.⁹ From such cartographical evidence, it is clear

⁹ Tho.^s Kitchin, Geog.^r, *Map of the French Settlements in North America* (London, 1747), (in Map Div., Lib. Cong.).



MAP 8. THE MIDDLE BRITISH COLONIES IN AMERICA, 1755

From the western section of an original map by Lewis Evans, in the Map Division, Library of Congress.

that by 1750 the English were well acquainted with the region between the Appalachians and the Ohio, as well as that immediately north of the Ohio. But by the same evidence, it is apparent

that up to this time they had not penetrated so extensively the more northerly section of the Ohio country which lay south of Lake Erie.¹⁰ From now on, however, their advance must have been quite rapid, for Lewis Evans' map shows that by 1755 the English traders had even pushed from the Ohio Valley into a region which hitherto had been decidedly within the sphere of French influence. It is indeed significant that, beside the Ohio and its chief tributaries, this standard map gives the chief streams flowing into Lake Erie: the "Sanduski," "Cayhuga Creek," and the "Mineami River."¹¹

With the advance of the fur traders, the English colonists, and the people of England itself came to appreciate more fully the true value of the Ohio country. Lewis Evans, who had conscientiously traveled through this region in order to collect material for his map, enthusiastically praised the abounding fertility and the many resources of these western lands. At the outbreak of the French and Indian War, he pointed out the real stakes in the impending struggle, in a passage which displayed remarkably keen insight: "It is not as two Nations at War, contending the one for the other's Habitation; where the Conquered, on Submission, would be admitted to partake of the Privileges of the Conquerors; but for a vast Country, exceeding in Extent and good Land all the European Dominions of Britain, France and Spain, almost destitute of Inhabitants, and will as fast as the Europeans settle, become more so of its former Inhabitants."¹²

With the increasing appreciation of its value, it was to be expected that the English colonies would bring forward claims to the Ohio country. Unlike the French claims, which were based primarily upon La Salle's discovery of the Ohio and the right of prior possession, the English contentions were supported chiefly by the terms of the several colonial charters and by later explora-

¹⁰ Emman Bowen, Geographer to the Crown, *Map of the British American Plantations* (London, 1749), *ibid.*

¹¹ Lewis Evans, *Map of the Middle British Colonies in America*, in his *Analysis of a General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America* (Philadelphia, 1755).

¹² *Ibid.*, 31.

tions. If the provisions of the charters, which betrayed such an alarming ignorance of American geography were upheld, the lion's share would fall to Virginia. Under the charter of 1609 her boundaries were to extend along the seacoast, two hundred miles to the north and two hundred miles to the south of Point Comfort, and "up into the land . . . west and northwest" from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea.¹³ After the French boundary was definitely fixed, Virginia was obliged to content herself with the Mississippi River as her western limit. In like fashion the charters of North Carolina and of the colonies to the south compelled Virginia to limit her claims west of the Appalachians, so that eventually they covered only the vast region that lay approximately between the southern boundary of Kentucky and the Great Lakes, including all of the area north of the Ohio known as the Old Northwest.

Like Virginia, Massachusetts and Connecticut claimed that under their charters their lands extended from sea to sea, but they, too, were obliged eventually to limit their claims to strips of land that ran to the Mississippi. In contrast to the other colonies New York based her claims to western lands upon her position as overlord of the Iroquois. Since these fierce warriors had conquered the tribes around the Great Lakes as well as the Delawares, the Miamis and the Shawnees, according to this theory, the ultimate title to the Ohio country went to New York. This last claim the English Government itself took over after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 which virtually acknowledged the Five Nations as "subject" to Great Britain.¹⁴ Actually, these English claims, like the French, were trumped up to suit the purposes of a colonizing power which found itself entangled in a contest that involved the ultimate fate of North America.¹⁵

English traders naturally followed the accustomed Indian trails, from the New York settlements at one extreme, and from those of

¹³ William McDonald, ed., *Select Charters, 1606-1775* (New York, 1899), 12-3.

¹⁴ *Pennsylvania Archives* (Harrisburg, 1874-), ser. 2, VI, 50-1; *Cal. State Papers*, XVI, 524.

¹⁵ Justin Winsor, *Mississippi Basin* (Boston, 1895), 316-37.

the Carolinas at the other, into the Ohio country. In between, they also took the more direct and less dangerous routes from Virginia, and the most accessible of all from Pennsylvania. But they learned the relative advantages of these different routes only by long experience and considerable experimentation. The first step in this English advance into the Ohio country was the building of Fort Orange, at present-day Albany, by the Dutch in 1617. Here the Iroquois traded the furs they had collected from the Ohio country or in their own territory. This trade the English continued and even extended after they took over the colony, and it is probable they were soon undertaking occasional expeditions to Lake Erie, in order to collect the furs directly. Governor Thomas Dongan, who came to New York in 1683, vigorously pushed this particular trade, hoping to seize for the English the rich traffic in furs which the French were carrying on with the Indians of the Great Lakes.¹⁶ In the fall of 1685 Captain Johannes Roseboom with a trading license from Dongan passed through Lake Erie and Lake Huron, with ten canoes loaded with goods, and apparently reached the important French post at Mackinaw. Emboldened by the success of this venture, a year later Dongan planned an even larger expedition, despatching a detachment the following spring which was to winter among the Senecas, and then go on to Mackinaw. About a year later a still larger expedition left New York. But the French, thoroughly alarmed over the threat to their western trade, acted promptly, capturing the majority of these venturesome traders, and ending for the time being direct trade between the Albany merchants and the Indians of the Great Lakes.

Foiled in one quarter the Albany traders now turned to another direction, and planned to trade directly with the Ohio Valley Indians. Fortunately they had at hand a man who possessed the necessary courage and knowledge to inaugurate activities in this far-off region. Arnout (Cornelisse) Viele, who was chosen for

¹⁶ Helen Broshar, "First Push Westward of the Albany Traders," *Miss. Val. Hist. Rev.*, VII (1920/1), 228-41; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IX, 308.

this task, has been described as "a poor Englishman their (*i.e.* the Indians') Interpreter who has lived a long time with the Indians, and frequently converses with them."¹⁷ Having accompanied the second expedition which Dongan sent to the Great Lakes, Viele was also well acquainted with the geography of much of the western country. Apparently he left Albany in the fall of 1692, at the head of a trading expedition bound for the Shawnee country. Crossing New Jersey and Pennsylvania, Viele finally reached the Allegheny, and then went on down the Ohio to the Wabash. Here he traded and held conferences with the Miamis, whom he tried to win over to the English alliance. He made a rather lengthy stay with a division of the Shawnees, who were scattered between the Cumberland and the Ohio. Even though the evidence is scanty, the conclusion is justified that Viele, as an agent of the Albany fur traders, went down the Ohio only twenty-three years after La Salle made his voyage of discovery. He returned with a large supply of furs, but the trade route he had opened up did not prosper.¹⁸ The greatest obstacle, aside from the rather roundabout route from Albany to the Ohio country, was undoubtedly the disinclination on the part of the Iroquois to give up their profitable position as intermediaries in the fur trade.

On the Great Lakes, the rivalry between French and English fur traders was more persistent, and the latter did not readily give up their hope of gaining at least a part of this rich trade. The need for an English post on Lake Erie became increasingly apparent, and in 1721 the Board of Trade strongly supported the stand of Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia that such a post was altogether necessary in order to cut communication between Canada and Louisiana, and to open up trade with the Indians.¹⁹ To this latter aim Governor William Burnet who came to New York in 1720 subscribed, and he promptly took up in vigorous

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 170.

¹⁸ Broshar, "Albany Traders," 239-41; C. A. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail* (New York, 1911), I, 143; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IV, 98-9.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, V, 622.

fashion the entire problem of the fur trade. His immediate policy was limited chiefly to an attempt to capture the traffic with the Indians of Lake Erie and the upper Lakes, which the French were so largely absorbing. The fur trade of the Ohio Valley, for the most part, he left undisturbed in the hands of the Iroquois as intermediaries. In carrying out this policy Burnet naturally antagonized the French, and in 1721 they retaliated by fortifying their post at Niagara. Burnet in return established Oswego as a trading center, to attract the Indians from the western country who were accustomed to go to Montreal to trade. The results of this vigorous policy were soon evident. Young men from the colony of New York went out to gain the good will of the Indians of the Great Lakes, including those in the northern Ohio country which bordered on Lake Erie. Soon many western Indians were coming to Oswego and Albany, including a band of Miamis from the Wabash Valley. Evidently the New York traders were making serious inroads upon the French dominance over the western tribes, and but for the Iroquois, jealous of their position as intermediaries in the fur trade, they would have inaugurated a direct fur trade between Albany and the Ohio country.²⁰

At the other extreme from New York, the adventurous merchants of South Carolina also endeavored to secure a part of the traffic in furs from the Ohio Valley. Late in the seventeenth century the fur trade which was centered at Charleston began to expand into the Piedmont and even beyond into the Cherokee country. Then some of the bolder traders crossed the mountains, pushed down the Tennessee, and brought goods to be exchanged for furs among the Indians of the Ohio Valley. These aggressive moves were given strong official support, and according to a contemporary, the route to the Ohio and the Mississippi became as familiar to the South Carolinians as the road from London to York was to "most of the English." The Carolina traders may even have reached the Great Lakes, for there were stories of a

²⁰ *Cal. State Papers*, XXXIII, 289-90; Cadwallader Colden, *History of the Five Nations* (London, 1750), 20-2, 43-4.

“great sea or lake of fresh water . . . several thousand miles in circumference,” from which a great river issued at a latitude of 44°. ²¹ Whether this report came to the Carolinas as a rumor from the Indians, or as the result of an actual discovery cannot be determined, but at least it is plausible to infer that it was actually based upon Lake Erie. Scattered bits of evidence show there was at least some fur trade between South Carolina and the western country, and that it was probably here that the colony’s traders collided with those from Virginia. So heated did this rivalry become that the English Government was obliged to call the colony of South Carolina sharply to account for efforts to hamper the Virginians. ²² The rumors that came to Canada early in the eighteenth century are an additional evidence that fur traders from the Carolinas were actually in the lower Ohio Valley. But the route they were obliged to follow across the mountains, and then down the long reaches of the Tennessee River, must have turned back many of these bold adventurers, and they played a very minor role in the English advance into the Ohio country.

The fur traders from Virginia had a much more important part in this westward movement. From the earliest years of settlement there had been intense interest among the Virginia colonists in the probable sources of the James, the Potomac and the other rivers that flowed from the westward into Chesapeake Bay. In the summer of 1608, Captain John Smith, sailing up the Potomac and then to the head of Chesapeake Bay, had sought the fabled river that led to the South Sea. As settlement crept inland, stories spread through the Virginia settlements that great mountains stood athwart the road to the South Sea, and the imagination of many an adventurer was fired by the hope of finding that mythical body of water. These stories soon came to the ears of Sir William Berkeley, who landed in Virginia as governor in 1642. A man in his prime, only thirty-six, his interest was speedily roused, and

²¹ *Cal. State Papers*, XVI, 524, 525.

²² *Acts of the Privy Council; Colonial* (London, 1890-1927), II, 610-3. (Hereafter this series is cited *A.P.C., Colonial*.)

he began to plan an expedition to discover the truth with regard to the lands to the westward.

Early in 1648, from Indian sources Berkeley heard that five days' journey to the westward from the Virginia settlements there were "great, high mountains, and at the foot thereof, great Rivers that run into a great Sea; and that there are men that come hither in ships. . . . They weare apparell and have reed Caps on their heads, and ride on Beasts like our Horses, but have much longer eares." Aroused by these stories, Berkeley made preparations for an expedition made up of fifty "Horse and Foot to go and discover this thing himself in person." The proposed expedition caused great excitement in the colony, "for it must needs pave a passage to the South Sea (as we call it), and also some part of China and the East Indies."²³ This expedition, which Berkeley proposed to lead himself, did not materialize. With the troubled years of the Puritan Commonwealth came loss of power, and not until the Restoration put him back as governor of Virginia was Berkeley in a position to renew his interest in westward exploration. In 1669 he again planned an expedition, this time in the company of two hundred gentlemen, "who had engaged to goe along with me to find out the East India Sea, and we had hopes that in our journey we should have found some mines of silver." First, however, mindful of the "misfortune" of Sir Walter Raleigh, Berkeley cannily applied for a royal commission.²⁴ Again ill luck pursued him, this time in the form of local disturbances that led to Bacon's Rebellion. Nor had Berkeley been altogether disinterested in his zeal for exploration to the westward, in view of his own financial interest in the fur trade.

Meanwhile popular interest among the Virginians in the mysterious lands to the westward was constantly growing, as additional stories were circulated. In 1650 an anonymous author maintained that one of the four rivers which have their sources from

²³ *A Perfect Description of Virginia* (London, 1649), 13-4; also in Peter Force, *Tracts* (Washington, 1836), II, no. 8.

²⁴ C. W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood, eds., *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region, 1650-1674* (Cleveland, 1912), 175-6.

“the great confluence of Waters in the Gulfe of St. Lawrence bends southward along the back of Virginia, and probably is discharged into the South Sea,” which lies across the mountains. Despite his rather confused knowledge of geography, this same author was firmly convinced of the necessity for an effective expedition of at least 200 men to explore these western regions, and to find if possible the passage to the South Sea.²⁵ Eight years earlier, in 1642 the assembly had granted Walter Austin, Rice Hoe, Joseph Johnson and Walter Chiles the profits for 14 years from any “unknown land” they might discover to the westward. Other acts passed in the next few years gave similar special privileges to all those who undertook the discovery of new lands to the westward. An especially interesting act in 1658 granted Anthony Langston and Sir William Harris a commission, “to discover the mountains and Westward parts of the Country and to endeavour the finding out of any Commodities that might probably tend to the benefit of this Country.”²⁶

The most significant advance toward the Ohio country from seventeenth century Virginia was made under the direction of Abraham Wood, an important figure in the colonial, political and business world in the latter half of that period. Wood's first important contact with the western advance came in 1646, when he assumed control of the then frontier post of Fort Henry at the head of navigation on the Appomattox, on the site of modern Petersburg. From Fort Henry an important trail ran up the Appomattox, across the Blue Ridge, and then either to the Tennessee country, or else to the valley of the New River, across what was later known as the Wilderness into the Blue Grass country and on to the Ohio Valley. Abraham Wood took full advantage of this strategic location, sending numerous trading expeditions to the Indian country. According to one account, between 1654 and

²⁵ *Virginia, Richly and Truly Valued*, by “E. W. Gent” (London, 1650); also in Force, *Tracts*, III, no. 11, 41-3.

²⁶ W. W. Hening, comp., *Statutes at Large . . . of Virginia* (Richmond, 1819-23), I, 262, 376-7; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (Richmond), VIII (1900/1), 391-2. (Hereafter this series is cited *Va. Mag. of Hist.*)

1664 he personally made a number of westward journeys, in the course of which he discovered several branches of the Ohio and the Mississippi. If this statement is true, Abraham Wood was the leader of the first known European expedition to make explorations in the Ohio Valley, even preceding La Salle. It is certain that in 1671 an expedition sent out from Fort Henry by Wood actually crossed the mountains, and reached the New River, probably in the neighborhood of Peters' Falls in Giles County, Virginia. On their way down the western slope, Captain Thomas Batts, Thomas Wood, and Robert Fallam, the leaders of the party, found two trees, the one branded with the letters, M A M I, the other with the letters, M A. By whom these blazes were made has so far remained a mystery. But they proved that other Europeans, presumably English explorers from Virginia, had already come over this same path to the western slope of the Appalachians.²⁷

Another important figure in the early westward exploration from Virginia was the elder Colonel William Byrd. An influential and wealthy planter, and an excellent business man, he had an extensive estate on the then frontier at the Falls of Henrico, near the present site of Richmond. Like Berkeley, Wood, and many another of his contemporaries, Byrd was keenly interested in the fur trade, and personally made explorations to the westward, notably in 1671 when with "a great company" he was in the neighborhood of modern Roanoke. In his day Byrd had the reputation of keeping in closer touch with the Indians than any other man in Virginia. Consequently he collected many scraps of information regarding the land beyond the Appalachians. There, he was told by the Indians, a great fresh-water lake was located, and a number of other large bodies of water. Much more important from Byrd's point of view and from that of many of his fellow Virginians, he was told that in the lands beyond the mountains, there was an extensive beaver trade which the French were now monopolizing.²⁸ In view of Byrd's commanding position in

²⁷ Coxe, *Carolana*, 120; Alvord and Bidgood, eds., *Trans-Allegheny Region*, 26-55.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 190-1, 194-5.

the colony, the practical effect of such reports, in stimulating exploration from Virginia into the western country, is obvious.

Of great significance in the story of the Virginia advance across the mountains was the pamphlet which John Lederer published in 1672, with an account of his travels, chiefly in the Piedmont region.²⁹ In this first authentic report upon the Virginia frontier, Lederer, who himself twice journeyed "to the top of the Apalataean Mountains," made some interesting comments upon the land "beyond" these mountains. From all the information he had received he was convinced that, "they are certainly in great error who imagine that the continent of North-America is but eight or ten days journey over the Atlantick to the Indian ocean." Yet he was equally assured that, "the Indian ocean does stretch an arm or bay from California into the continent as far as the Apalataean mountains, answerable to the Gulfs of Florida and Mexico on this side." In spite of this obvious spur to discover what lay beyond the mountains, Virginia enterprise lagged, so far as westward exploration was concerned, for a number of reasons. The demoralizing effects of Bacon's Rebellion were felt for years, while the route westward marked out by Abraham Wood's expeditions was long and difficult. But that the idea of westward expansion had not been given up was shown in 1705, when the assembly promised a trade monopoly for 14 years to anyone who discovered a town or nation of Indians, "to the westward of, or between the Apalataean mountains."³⁰

The arrival of Spotswood in 1710 gave a fresh impetus to the somewhat waning interest in the country that lay beyond the Virginia mountains. A man of broad vision and great energy, Spotswood quickly grasped the vital importance of holding and extending the frontiers, as a protection against the French and the Indians, and a means of securing at least a part of the western fur trade. Nor did he ignore altogether the personal advantages

²⁹ *The Discoveries of John Lederer, in Three Several Marches from Virginia to the West of Carolina, and Other Parts of the Continent; Begun in March 1669, and Ended in September 1670* (London, 1672; reprinted, Rochester, N. Y., 1902).

³⁰ Hening, *Statutes of Virginia*, III, 468.

to be gained from this latter source, as well as from speculation in frontier lands. The local situation in Virginia was peculiarly favorable to Spotswood's plans. The internal troubles had been adjusted for the most part, and the sentiment for expansion had been strengthened by accounts of the western country, such as the one by Lederer, and by the notable cartographical advances as a result of the French explorations. In 1710, the very year he came to Virginia, Spotswood sent out an expedition which reached the top of the mountains, and returned with a report that the descent was easy on the other side. With characteristic enthusiasm Spotswood pictured the profitable Indian trade that might be realized, if the English took possession of this route to the western country. Nor was he unaware of the possibilities of such a policy in putting an end to French aggression in the region beyond the mountains.³¹

In 1716 came the most picturesque incident in the westward advance from Virginia, when Spotswood himself rode at the head of an expedition of about fifty gentlemen, negro slaves and Indian guides to the Blue Ridge. This large company was bountifully supplied with provisions and an extraordinary variety of liquors: "Virginia red wine and white wine, Irish usquebaugh, brandy shrub, two sorts of rum, canary, cherry punch," and last of all water and cider. Crossing over Swift Run Gap this joyous party rode down into the valley, stopping at the South Branch of the Shenandoah which they dubbed the Euphrates. Upon his return Spotswood presented each of his companions with a golden horse-shoe, in order to encourage them "to venture backwards and make discoveries and new settlements."³² This journey of the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe was only one of several expeditions which Spotswood undertook to the mountains, with marked effect in stimulating interest in the land that lay beyond.

In rather remarkable fashion, Spotswood rose above mere considerations of trade, and clearly recognized the growing serious-

³¹ Alexander Spotswood, *Official Letters* (Richmond, 1882), I, 40.

³² John Fontaine, "Journal," in W. W. Scott, *History of Orange County, Virginia* (Richmond, 1907), 104-13.

ness of the imperial problem, to meet the French aggressions before the Ohio country was irretrievably lost to the English. It was quite evident that he kept abreast of current explorations, especially in the Ohio Valley and in the Great Lakes region. The most essential step, in his opinion, was to cut the chain of communication between Canada and Louisiana, which the French were forging west of the mountains. This goal, Spotswood represented, could best be secured if an English colony were established on Lake Erie. Unless some aggressive measures were quickly taken, he feared the French would engross all the Indian trade in this region, and if they were allowed to take possession of the passes through the mountains, they might ultimately be in a position to come across and overrun the English colonies at their pleasure. But though he repeatedly urged his project for an English colony in the western country, even offering to carry out the details himself, Spotswood discovered that the unimaginative English officials, with little if any appreciation of actual conditions, were altogether deaf to his pleas.³³

Although Spotswood did not secure official backing in England in his plans for the western frontier, his enthusiasm was not without local effect, and traders from Virginia were soon finding their way to the Ohio. The available records are scanty, but there is sufficient evidence for the conclusion that from 1730 on, Virginia traders were making their way across the mountains, not by the long and dangerous New River route, but by a much easier road, up the Potomac Valley to Will's Creek, across the mountains to the Youghiogheny and the Monongahela, and then down to the Ohio. The Virginians soon discovered that the high cost of transportation even over this new route put them at a decided disadvantage in comparison with the Pennsylvania traders, who brought their goods across the mountains by the easier and shorter road from Philadelphia. With such a handicap competition by individual traders was impossible, and the only solution was to follow long established precedents, and form a strong trading

³³ Spotswood, *Letters*, II, 295-8, 329-32.

organization in Virginia. The way was prepared by the important Treaty of Lancaster in 1744, in which the thrifty commissioners from Virginia, for a down payment of £200 in gold and a like amount in goods, secured the cession from the Indians of a vast region south and east of the Ohio.³⁴ The foundation was now laid for an English colony west of the Appalachians, which would serve as a convenient basis for trade with the western Indians, and would also recognize Spotswood's repeated warning to meet French aggression in some such fashion.

A number of prominent Virginians, taking advantage of the Treaty of Lancaster, organized the Ohio Company in 1748. Originating with Thomas Lee, the president of the Virginia Council who had also been one of the Virginia commissioners at Lancaster, this organization included among its incorporators John Hanbury, a London merchant who acted as business agent, Lawrence Washington, elder brother of George Washington, and Governor Robert Dinwiddie who had a considerable interest. The avowed object of this astutely organized company was to trade with the Indians "residing near the Ohio and other Branches of the Mississippi, and near the Lakes Westward of Virginia." Also, by founding settlements in this same region the men in control of the Ohio Company planned to protect the frontier from the French. With these objects in view, they petitioned for 200,000 acres of the lands west of the Appalachians which the Indians had ceded to Virginia. The Privy Council speedily recommended the grant, upon the score that it would cultivate the friendship of the Indians and promote trade with them. Furthermore, by cutting the Mississippi route between Canada and Louisiana, the proposed settlement would put an end to the constant danger of French and Indian attacks upon the English settlers.³⁵

³⁴ J. R. Albach, *Annals of the West* (Pittsburgh, 1857), 97-8.

³⁵ W. N. Franklin, "Pennsylvania-Virginia Rivalry for the Indian Trade of the Ohio Valley," *Miss. Val. Hist. Rev.*, XX (1933/4), 463-7; H. T. Leyland, "Ohio Company," *H. & P. S. of O., Quar. Pub.*, XVI (1921), 5-20; T. P. Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution* (New York and London, 1937), 5-9; Berthold Fernow, *Ohio Valley in Colonial Days* (Albany, 1890), 253-5; *A. P. C., Colonial*, IV, 55-8.

Eventually the Ohio Company was granted 200,000 acres at the Forks of the Ohio, provided it settled a hundred families on the tract, and erected a fort within seven years. The promoters of the company energetically set to work. In 1750 their agent, Hugh Parker, built a timber storehouse two stories high on the south bank of the Potomac opposite the mouth of Will's Creek, on a site which commanded an important pass over the mountains and was soon chosen for Fort Cumberland. Already the company had purchased from John Hanbury in London a cargo of goods which duly arrived in Virginia, was shipped up the Potomac Valley to this storehouse, and was then sold to the Indians. But it was quite evident that for the continued success of this trade, the company must also establish a post on the western side of the mountains in closer contact with the Indians. An important step in this direction was the mission of Christopher Gist to the Ohio country in 1750, to open the way for trade with the western Indians. Next the Ohio Company had a road surveyed from Will's Creek, across the mountains to Redstone Old Fort on the Monongahela near modern Brownsville. Along this line a highway was soon constructed in rather rough fashion, which became the approximate route for Braddock's ill-fated expedition.³⁶ The proposed colony and the extensive Indian trade did not materialize, but this bold advance of the Virginians did bring to a climax the intense rivalry between France and England in the Ohio Valley.

Judged by actual results, the Pennsylvania fur traders were far more successful than those from Virginia in establishing a considerable traffic with the Indians of the Ohio country. This was a logical development. The route from Philadelphia was shorter, and the friendship between the Pennsylvania traders and the majority of their Indian customers was based on much more enduring ties. Soon after Penn founded his colony, the inhabitants began to trade with the Indians, chiefly with the Delawares

³⁶ Fernow, *Ohio Valley*, 268; W. M. Darlington, ed., *Christopher Gist's Journals* (Pittsburgh, 1893), 37-8, 113.

and the Shawnees in the upper Delaware and Susquehanna valleys. Before many years the supply of beaver grew scantier, and the Iroquois hunters, extending their activities to the east and the south, forced these two tribes from their homes. Migrating westward the bulk of the fugitives ultimately found new habitations in the Ohio country, the Shawnees in the Scioto Valley, the Delawares in the Muskingum Valley. The fur traders from Pennsylvania followed the retreating Indians, and were probably coming into the Ohio country by the 1730's. These Pennsylvania traders carried their goods on pack-horses, at first over the old Kittanning Trail from Philadelphia to the Allegheny River, and later over the more southerly route through Raystown, modern Bedford, to the Ohio.³⁷

The growing trade with the western Indians was the object of considerable official interest in Pennsylvania. Like Spotswood in Virginia, Keith, who came to Pennsylvania as governor in 1717, appreciated the need for an aggressive English policy west of the Appalachians, in order to meet the threat of ultimate French encirclement. It was of immediate importance, if the growing trade with the Indians was to be maintained in face of inevitable French opposition. In 1719 Keith reported there were no Indians "in the French interest, this side" the St. Lawrence, nearer than the 2,000 or so Miamis in the Maumee and Wabash valleys. A fort on Lake Erie would be the most effectual means, in his opinion, to win over this tribe, and inferentially any other Indians that might be wavering. In addition to this measure, which Spotswood also was proposing in Virginia about this time, Keith recommended the construction of another fort at the head of the Potomac, and the careful regulation of the Indian trade.³⁸

After his return to England Keith made an elaborate report upon the measures he considered necessary to counteract French designs, and to extend English trade and influence among the

³⁷ Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, I, Chapters IX and X; II, 351-2.

³⁸ *Cal. State Papers*, XXXI, 32-3.

western Indians. The forts which the French were erecting along the line of communication between Canada and Louisiana, he pointed out, were interfering materially with the fur trade between the English and many strong Indian tribes, and this despite the cheaper prices at which English goods were sold. In view of this last great advantage, of the "disproportion" in numbers, and of the "prodigious spirit and inclinations" of the English, only "infatuation," Keith believed, could prevent the raising of sufficient troops to "maintain our unquestioned right to the vacant lands" on the frontier, and "thereby easily open to ourselves a free correspondence with those vast and populous nations of Indians to whom, merely for lack of the common means of access to them, we are at present altogether strangers." But if the English continued to depend upon a "loose, disorderly and insignificant militia," Keith feared the consequences would be serious. The one possible policy, in his opinion, was to employ "regular" troops, "all along the Western Frontier of our Settlements," which would be commanded by officers who were independent of the governors.³⁹

Another Pennsylvania official who appreciated the need for a vigorous frontier policy, was James Hamilton who came as governor in 1748. He too favored the establishment of forts on the frontier, with sufficient troops to protect the Indian trade and to meet French aggressions. But Hamilton's far-sighted proposals, also, were lost, this time in quarrels with the assembly over taxation. The result was exceedingly unfortunate, especially in view of the long delay by the English Government to extend the aid which was so greatly needed. Unable to establish the necessary posts on the frontier, Anthony Palmer, who acted as governor of Pennsylvania during Hamilton's frequent absences, attempted to hold the Indians of the Ohio country by means of presents and embassies. Most of them, he pointed out, had supported the British during the brief King George's War, and he proposed that

³⁹ Sir William Keith, *Two Papers on the Subject of Taxing the British Colonies in America* (London, 1767), Loudoun Papers, 46 (in Henry E. Huntington Library).

all the more southerly colonies should combine in order to send large presents to them, and thus cement their friendship.⁴⁰

There were abundant evidences of the good will of the Ohio Indians for the English. Early in 1747 George Croghan, the Irish Anglican who was rapidly becoming the most important figure in Pennsylvania in the Indian trade, reported that several tribes inhabiting the shore of Lake Erie wished to come into the English alliance, and about this time a deputation of ten Ohio Indians came to Philadelphia upon a friendly mission. Under such circumstances the thrifty Quakers in the assembly were even willing to make appropriations for the necessary presents, and to authorize the appointment of George Croghan as a special commissioner to the western Indians. Croghan went to the Ohio in April, 1748, and was quite successful in his negotiations, although the £200 worth of presents he carried along did not nearly go around. Doubtless as a result of his work, a delegation of Shawnees and Miamis came to Lancaster and signed a treaty.⁴¹

Conrad Weiser, who became the chief official interpreter for Pennsylvania, also acted from time to time in the role of a commissioner to the Indians, usually along with George Croghan. Upon the eve of the French and Indian War these two were the most important figures in the many negotiations between the colony of Pennsylvania and the western Indians. When Croghan started his journey to the westward in April, 1748, Weiser had been detained by negotiations with the Twightwee clan of the Miamis, and not until August, 1748, was he able to leave, accompanied by twenty pack-horses to carry the presents. According to his instructions Weiser was to proceed to the Ohio with all possible speed. There he was to find out the number of the Indians and their general disposition toward the English. He was to impress upon them the friendship of the English, and the inability

⁴⁰ *Pennsylvania Archives*, ser. 4, II, 24-5, 35-7, 52-3, 70-1.

⁴¹ R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-5), I, 19-20; A. T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement* (Cleveland, 1926), 63-5; *Pennsylvania Archives*, ser. 4, II, 82.

of the French either to protect them or to supply them with necessities. August 27, 1748, he reached Logstown, and there he received deputations of Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, and Iroquois, to whom he gave presents with assurances that the war between France and England was now over. Also, Weiser reminded the Indians that they themselves had invited the English traders to the Ohio, and it was therefore their duty to protect them. After conferences that lasted three weeks, Weiser left Logstown, having made important progress in promoting a friendly spirit among the Ohio Indians.⁴²

As an important part of their conciliatory policy, the Pennsylvania officials made strenuous efforts to exercise effective control over the Indian trade. Yet the task proved an impossible one, in spite of the many regulatory acts. At least a third of the traders from Pennsylvania remained unlicensed, and paid little, if any, attention to official rules.⁴³ Without an adequate military force, it was impossible to control trade in the wide-spread forests of the Ohio country. Perhaps the most serious problem arose from the constant violations of the law which forbade the sale of rum or other strong drink to the Indians. In 1734 the Shawnees themselves asked that each trader should be restricted to not more than thirty gallons of rum to be brought in twice in one year. Four years later nearly a hundred Shawnees agreed that they would not permit rum at all in their villages for four years, and still later several Shawnee chiefs again complained of the extensive sale of rum. In 1744 Governor George Thomas scathingly denounced the sale of rum in defiance of the law, as well as the wide-spread cheating of the Indians by unscrupulous traders. Again, in 1747 Anthony Palmer, as acting governor, issued a proclamation which called attention to the many illegal sales of strong drink to the Indians and the unfortunate results, forbade any unlicensed trade in the future, and ordered all liquor seized which was destined to be used in illegal trade. This proclamation

⁴² Thwaites, ed., *Western Travels*, I, 21-44.

⁴³ Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 326-43.

Weiser showed to the Indians as proof that efforts were being made to remedy one of their chief grievances.⁴⁴

During the 1740's there was a notable expansion of English trade with the Indians of the Ohio country. Possibly a few of the traders came from Virginia, but according to the available records, those from Pennsylvania were in an overwhelming majority. Soon the old trading posts at Kittanning and Chartier's Town on the Allegheny were replaced by the more convenient Logstown, the *Chiningué* of the French. Founded by the Shawnees about 1743-1744, this famous post on the right bank of the Ohio was about eighteen miles below the Fork, and just below the present town of Economy.⁴⁵ Indians from other tribes, notably Iroquois and Mohicans, soon moved in, and in a short time Logstown became the most important center of English trade and activities in the Ohio country. From Logstown the traders pushed into the interior of Ohio, establishing additional posts at strategic points. Second only in its importance as an English trading center was Pickawillany, or Twightwee Town as it was commonly called, northwest of the present town of Piqua, on Loramie's Creek at the start of the portage to the St. Mary's River. This important post, commanding the frequented Miami-Maumee trail, was founded about 1747 by La Damoiselle and his band of Miamis who had left the main body of the tribe at the French Fort Miami, and had speedily sought an English alliance.⁴⁶

Aside from its favorable location, Pickawillany was in the midst of a fine hunting country, and it speedily became a thriving center of English trade which inflicted serious inroads upon the French interests in the Wabash Valley. From it radiated a number of main trails.⁴⁷ One of the most important ran to the French Fort

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 306; *Pennsylvania Colonial Records* (Harrisburg, 1852-6), V, 194-6; Thwaites, ed., *Western Travels*, I, 41.

⁴⁵ Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, I, 355-6; Thwaites, ed., *Western Travels*, I, 24 (note 17); Darlington, ed., *Gist's Journals*, 95-100.

⁴⁶ A. T. Goodman, ed., *Journal of Captain William Trent* (Cincinnati, 1871), 15-22 (note); R. W. McFarland, "Forts Loramie and Pickawillany," *O.S.A.H. Quar.*, VIII, 479-86.

⁴⁷ Evans, *Map of the Middle British Colonies*; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 129.

Miami, with a branch to the White River and a post, "Wawixtas," which in reality was an advanced English outpost almost in the Wabash Valley. From Pickawillany there was also a direct path to the Lower Shawnee Town on the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Scioto, another important center for the Indian trade. From this latter trading post a trail ran up the Scioto, then over the portage to the Sandusky, and on to Fort Sandusky on the west bank of the outlet from Sandusky Bay. This fort, really an English trading station, was established after overtures had been made by a band of Hurons led by Chief Nicholas. It was here doubtless that Croghan had established contact with the Indians on the shore of Lake Erie.⁴⁸ Still another important center of Indian trade was the Wyandot village, *Conchake*, or Muskingum as it was frequently called, approximately on the site of modern Coshocton.⁴⁹

The posts which they established in the Ohio country show that the English traders had covered practically all of the present State of Ohio from Logstown on the east to Pickawillany on the west, and from the Lower Shawnee Town on the south to Sandusky on the north. In this extensive territory the English traders followed the narrow trails through the forests, over the meadows, and across the numerous streams, or else they paddled their canoes through Lake Erie, and along the Ohio and its tributary streams. These hardy traders had many perilous adventures with hostile Indians or rival French traders, even in the territory they had virtually appropriated. But when they ventured farther afield, especially toward the French stronghold in the Wabash Valley, the danger greatly increased. Thus, Abraham Coy, agent for Pennsylvania traders at Pickawillany, in October, 1751, received goods valued at £845, to trade at an Indian town about a hundred miles away, probably on the White River. When only twenty miles out from Pickawillany a party of French and Indians at-

⁴⁸ L. E. Keeler, "Old Fort Sandusky and the De Léry Portage," *O.S.A.H. Quar.*, XXI (1912), 345-78; R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland, 1896-1901), LXIX, 300 (note 48).

⁴⁹ Darlington, ed., *Gist's Journals*, 105-6; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 181-2, 188-9.

tacked his party, and stole a large part of his goods. Just a few months before, Morris Turner, who had been trading with friendly Indians near Pickawillany, was robbed by seven hostile Indians and taken captive to Detroit, and a year earlier, this same unlucky trader had been robbed while carrying on his activities on the lower Ohio below the Falls.⁵⁰

An excellent picture of the early English trade in the Ohio country is found in the far-flung activities of George Croghan, the most important of the Pennsylvania traders.⁵¹ From his home at Croghan's Gap, a few miles west of Harrisburg, Croghan had ready access to important trails across the mountains, the increasingly popular one up the Juniata, and by way of Raystown, now Bedford, to the Forks of the Ohio, or the more southerly route through the Cumberland Valley. In the Ohio country Croghan and his partners founded numerous posts that took care of his large trade with the Indians. By the outbreak of the French and Indian War several of them were located in the upper Ohio Valley. A most important one, about three miles from the Forks of the Ohio up the Allegheny, included a storehouse, and a number of log houses with numerous bateaux and canoes available, and "large fields fenced and cleared with corn." In the opposite direction about twenty-two miles from the Forks, "up Youghiyoughanie," was another trading post with a storehouse, and with "fields fenced and grain in the ground." The most important storehouse of all on the upper Ohio was the one at Logstown which Croghan made his western headquarters.

Farther to the westward Croghan's most important trading post was at Pickawillany, with a convenient storehouse on the way at the Indian town of Muskingum, or *Conchake*. It was from Pickawillany that Croghan and his fellow traders so greatly alarmed the French as they gradually pushed their operations toward the Wabash. Croghan also traded down the Ohio, with an important storehouse at the Lower Shawnee Town which he valued at £200.

⁵⁰ Ohio Company Papers, I, 22, 33½ (in Pennsylvania Historical Society).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I, 7; Volwiler, *George Croghan*, 17-51.

From this post Croghan's agents went as far as the Falls, and it is even possible that they crossed Kentucky to the Cherokee country on the western fringe of North Carolina. To the northward, Croghan is supposed to have had a number of trading posts in the Lake Erie region, with Sandusky as his local headquarters. The lower prices for Croghan's English-made goods inevitably attracted many Indian buyers from the accustomed French markets, once he had opened convenient trading posts.

The trade which the Pennsylvania traders carried on with the Indians of the Ohio country was quite considerable, with an estimated annual value in 1754 of at least £40,000.⁵² That a large share fell to Croghan was evident from an itemized statement of £8,131, 13s, 2½d in goods alone, which he and his partners claimed to have lost upon the outbreak of the French and Indian War. An exceedingly interesting list of losses at this time, made up by Croghan and his partners, included goods valued at £942, 18s which had been taken from their agent, Andrew McBryer, when the French captured Pickawillany. The individual items, showing the contents of a typical Indian trader's pack, included: "16 pieces of stroud, 3 pieces of duffel, 3 pieces of halfthicks, 3 cwt. powder, 6 cwt. lead, 300 Holland ruffled shirts, 154 plain linen shirts, 3 pieces of embossed flannel, 3 pieces of callimanco, 32,000 wampum, 28 lbs. of vermilion, 27 gross of gartering, 20 pieces of ribbon, 10 lbs. of pin heads, 8 gross of rings, 12 lbs. of brass wire, 4 pieces of handkerchief, 22 dozen knives, 18 dozen brass penknives, 4 gross awl blades, and 28 coats."

The really serious inroads which the English were making upon the fur trade of the Ohio country stirred up French retaliation. As early as 1695 Sir Thomas Lawrence, a minor official of the Board of Trade, called attention to at least two French attempts to seize control of the Ohio River.⁵³ Sir Thomas's knowledge of geography, however, was somewhat inaccurate, for he represented the Ohio as flowing "into the Bay of Campeachy, after a course

⁵² *Ibid.*, 30; Ohio Company Papers, I, 7, 8.

⁵³ *Cal. State Papers*, XIV, 518.

supposed to be continued from the lakes adjoining Canada, through New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Florida." As a practical measure he proposed that with the consent of Spain, England should take possession of the mouth of the Ohio, and thus prevent the French from "extending their claims on the back of the English provinces." Also, he advocated the establishment of a line of small trading posts upon the western frontier, in order to defend the Ohio Valley, and also to extend English trade with the Indians. The timeliness of these representations was forcibly illustrated by many new rumors of French advance, as in a report in 1732 that Canadian forces were building a fort near the Forks of the Ohio.⁵⁴

With the spread of English traders through the Ohio country and beyond to the White River, and the resulting threat to the French strongholds in the Wabash Valley, conflict between the two nations became inevitable. In 1744, at the outset of King George's War, Canadian officials, desperate, issued orders to the western Indians to take up the hatchet against the English on the White and the Ohio rivers. As an incentive the Indians were to divide any booty, but they must bring all male captives to Detroit. This order was typical.⁵⁵ King George's War ended officially in 1748, but the rivalry between French and English west of the Appalachians was only intensified. The English traders with their cheaper goods made continually increasing inroads upon the French trade in the western country, while the accompanying expansion of English influence among the Indians seriously threatened the French line of communication between Canada and Louisiana. The only recourse left the French, unless they were willing to abandon their imperial plans for the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, and at the same time sacrifice the Indian trade in the Ohio country, was to attack the English centers of influence in the upper Ohio Valley.

⁵⁴ *Pennsylvania Archives*, ser. 1, I, 309-10.

⁵⁵ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IX, 707, 1111-2; X, 179.

The French vs. the English

THE rapid progress of the traders from the English settlements in the Ohio country greatly alarmed Rolland Michel Barrin, Comte de La Galissonière, who took charge in Canada in 1745. Farsighted and practical, La Galissonière quickly grasped the issues involved, and planned a line of posts stretching from Canada to Louisiana to assure French control of the Ohio and the Mississippi, and to confine the English to the territory between the Appalachians and the Atlantic. Essentially a man of action, La Galissonière appreciated, too, the necessity of swift bold strokes to meet the English threat before the separate colonies could consolidate their power, or secure help from England. As the first step he planned a French expedition in force, which would go down the Ohio to overawe the Indians, and to warn the English traders from territory which the French claimed.

For the leader of the proposed expedition La Galissonière made a particularly happy choice in Céloron de Blainville, a former commandant at Detroit who understood the Indians thoroughly, and was well acquainted with the situation in the Ohio Valley. Resourceful, courageous, and practical, Céloron was a born leader, and these qualifications stood him in good stead in the mission he now undertook.¹ Seemingly the force that accompanied Céloron, some 250 in all, was unnecessarily large, but otherwise there would have been no possible chance of accomplishing its objectives. Included in its personnel were eight subalterns, six cadets, 20 troopers, 180 "Canadians," and about 30 Indians. Still another member

¹ For Céloron de Blainville's *Journal*, see Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements Français* (Paris, 1879-88), VI, 666-726; for Father Joseph Pierre de Bonnécamp's *Relation*, see R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland, 1896-1901), LXIX, 150-99; also cf. G. A. Wood, "Céloron de Blainville and French Expansion in the Ohio Valley," *Miss. Val. Hist. Rev.*, IX (1922/3), 306-12.

LAN 1749 DV RECHS DE LOUIS XV ROY DE
 FRANCE NOVS CELORON COMMANDANT DVN DE
 TACHEMENT ENVOIE PAR MONSIEUR LE M^{re} DE LA
 CALISSONIERE COMMANDANT GENERAL DE LA
 NOUVELLE FRANCE POUR RETABLIR LA TRANQUILLITE
 DANS QUELQUES VILLAGES SAUVAGES DE CES CANTONS
 AVONS ENTERRE CETTE PLATTE

 PRES DE LA RIVIERE OYO AUTREMENT BELLE
 RIVIERE POUR MONUMENT DE RENOUVELLEMENT DE
 POSSESSION QUE NOVS AVONS EUS DE LA DITTE
 RIVIERE OYO ET DE TOUTES CELLES QUE Y TOMBENT
 ET DE TOUTES LES TERRES DES DEUX COTES ISSUES
 AUX SOURCES DES DITTES RIVIERES VINSI QUEL ONT
 JOUY DV DV JOYR LES PRECEDENTS ROYS DE FRANCE
 ET QUELS SISOINT MAINTENYS PAR LES ARMES ET
 PAR LES TRAITTES SPECIALEMENT PAR CEUX DE
 RISSVIC DV TRONT ET DAIX LA ESPERANCE

8. INSCRIPTION UPON ONE OF CELORON'S LEAD PLATES

Buried at the mouth of the Kanawha River and now in the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

of Céloron's expedition, and a very important one too, was Father Joseph Pierre de Bonnécamps, a Jesuit and a mathematician of distinction, whose charmingly written *Relation* of the expedition is still preserved. In spite of its considerable numbers, the force was really a weak one, made up chiefly of young men hastily gathered together, who had never before been engaged in actual warfare. Céloron, with his long experience on the border of French colonization, was in constant fear that the entire rank and file would take instant flight at the sight of an Indian tomahawk.

Leaving Montreal June 15, 1749, Céloron followed the usual French route across Lake Ontario to Niagara, where he sent messengers to urge the friendly Indians around Detroit to join him at the Lower Shawnee Town. The need for this precaution was soon apparent, for in every Indian village from Chautauqua

Creek to the mouth of the Miami, according to Bonnécamps, there were one or more English traders with their employes.

Céloron boldly met the English challenge as he pushed on down the Allegheny and the Ohio. At the mouth of each important tributary he buried a lead plate with an inscription that asserted possession of the surrounding region in the name of the King of France.² Also, to some near-by tree he fastened a tin plate with the royal arms of France upon it, and a *procès-verbal*, signed by all the officers present, which called attention to the buried lead plate and its inscription. This proceeding, repeated at the mouth of each important tributary of the Ohio down to the Miami, naturally aroused Indian suspicions, and uneasy rumors regarding French schemes circulated through the Ohio Valley. Nevertheless, Céloron kept on his way, warning the English traders, who, he was assured, were at the root of the trouble, to leave French territory. Chabert de Joncaire, the half-breed son of a Frenchman and a Seneca squaw, was an efficient aide, going ahead of the main expedition, and assuring the Indians of Céloron's peaceful intentions.

At Logstown, *Chiningué* in French, the English headquarters, Céloron and his men were in real danger from at least sixty Indian warriors, and about ten English traders. But he put on a bold face, and warned the traders to depart, giving them a letter to the governor of "Carolina." To a man they agreed to obey, "firmly resolved," as Bonnécamps cynically observed, "doubtless to do nothing of the kind, as soon as our backs were turned." Much to his own relief Céloron finally left Logstown in safety, with the Lower Shawnee Town, *Saint Yotoc* as he called it, as his next important stopping place. As Céloron and his men went down the Ohio, there were numerous evidences of the extent to which the English were monopolizing the fur trade of the Ohio Valley. The day after they left Logstown they encountered two pirogues filled

² At least two of these lead plates have been recovered: the one buried at the mouth of the Muskingum, now in the American Antiquarian Society collection at Worcester, Mass.; the other from the mouth of the Kanawha, in the Virginia Historical Society at Richmond.

with bundles of fur, and guided by four Englishmen, which had left the Lower Shawnee Town 25 days before. In other pirogues encountered by Céloron, there were bands of Iroquois on their way to hunt along the tributaries of the Ohio. He did not dare arouse the latent antagonism of these hunting parties, but he planted the customary lead plates, and put up his tin sheets at the mouths of the principal streams.

As he approached the Lower Shawnee Town Céloron was warned that the Indians, aroused by rumors of his ultimate aims, would probably attempt to ambush his party. With his usual prudence, he despatched a canoe ahead with five loyal Indians under the faithful Joncaire, to reassure the Shawnees. In truth, he was greatly alarmed as he reviewed his desperate position. Too far away for any possible French aid, and with little faith in his men, among whom he could scarcely count fifty who could be relied upon in case he were attacked, lacking provisions, and with badly constructed canoes, Céloron was prepared for the worst. When he neared the Lower Shawnee Town, he was greeted with musket shots in the usual fashion. But the exceptional number, approximately a thousand shots, was significant, especially after Céloron learned that the English had furnished free the necessary powder. He prudently refused to go to the accustomed council tent in the village, but insisted that the chiefs come to him. Then he chided them for their conduct, pointing out that the land belonged to the King of France who so far had dealt gently with the English, but would not continue to do so. As he had done elsewhere, he ordered the English traders to withdraw from territory which belonged to France, yet he did not dare use force, for they were "established in the village, and well supported by the Indians."

Céloron's bold and at the same time prudent conduct succeeded, and he and his party finally departed in safety from the scattered group of eighty to one hundred cabins that made up the Lower Shawnee Town. But he left with a heavy heart. The day before he had received word that the Indian force from Detroit, he had

directed to join him, had refused to march, and this news was especially disheartening, as he was now entering the country of the Miamis, many of whom had gone over to the English. At the mouth of the Little Miami he found six cabins belonging to this tribe, and here he engaged a number of the inhabitants to guide him to Pickawillany. Farther down the Ohio at the mouth of the Miami, the *Rivière à la Roche* of the French, Céloron buried his last lead plate, and put up the accompanying *procès-verbal*. Entering the Miami August 31, he found the water quite low, and sent on a part of his detachment by land.

September 13, Céloron arrived at Pickawillany, the second important headquarters of the English traders in the western country. Here he found only two English traders whom he compelled to leave. Others who had been trading there during the summer had already departed by land with their furs. Outwardly the Indians were peaceably inclined, but underneath this seeming cordiality there was unmistakable hostility. In vain did Céloron urge the Indians of Pickawillany to return to their former homes and the bones of their ancestors at Kiskakon, the present Fort Wayne. La Demoiselle, the chief, gave only vague promises to answer definitely in the spring. Céloron finally left Pickawillany August 20, and as he traveled overland to Fort Miami, he burned the canoes which of course he could not carry along. For himself and his officers he secured horses, and with the men in four detachments he managed to cover in five days the difficult journey across the wilderness. From Fort Miami he proceeded to Detroit and Niagara, arriving at Montreal November 9 after a journey of almost five months, during which, he estimated, he had covered more than twelve hundred leagues, and had lost only one man.

The thinly veiled Indian hostility which Céloron reported confirmed the rumors that had come to La Galissonnière regarding the situation in the Ohio Valley. In Céloron's opinion the Indians were for the most part badly disposed toward the French, and were friendly to the English. If violence was employed to win them back, he feared they would flee across the Mississippi, and

seek refuge with the Indians of the western plains. Nor was there any chance of a more favorable situation, unless French merchants were able to meet the low prices at which English goods were offered in exchange for Indian furs. The little trade the French still retained in the Ohio country included chiefly the exchange of beaver with the English for the wild cat, otter and other skins which the latter did not want. Nor could Céloron offer any constructive suggestions. The "solid establishment" which La Galissonière had proposed might be useful, he believed, but difficulties of transportation would make it a very expensive undertaking.³ Céloron's rather pessimistic conclusions were supported by Charles de Reymond, the commandant at Fort Miami, who had doubtless gathered much information at first hand. In his opinion the English would stop at nothing in order to secure the friendship of the Miamis, and he was convinced they were endeavoring to stir up a general Indian war against the French. There were fully three hundred English agents and traders, according to Reymond, who were scattered through the Ohio Valley, and they were distributing free military supplies. Céloron had been in serious danger, and he himself was in constant fear of an attack upon Fort Miami.⁴ In the face of such pessimistic reports, it was clear that the French must send a much more formidable expedition into the Ohio Valley than the one led by Céloron, if the English were to be driven out. For such an undertaking, Céloron's expedition had furnished one important aid, namely, the excellent map of the journey which Bonnécamps had made.⁵

With no illusions as to the actual situation, the French now exerted themselves to win the favor of the Indians. It was high time, judging by the many suspicions which Céloron's voyage down the Ohio had aroused. It was rumored that the lead plates

³ Margry, *Découvertes*, VI, 725-6; *Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique*, 24: 139ff. (Hereafter this collection is cited AE., Mém. et Doc., Amér.)

⁴ AC., C 96: 62-4.

⁵ Joseph Pierre de Bonnécamps, *Carte d'un Voyage Fait dans la Belle Rivière en la Nouvelle France, 1749*, BSH., 4041, B.21.



MAP 9. FATHER BONNECAMPS' MAP, 1749

From a photograph in the Map Division, Library of Congress, of a MS. map in the French Archives, B.S.H., B 4044, B 21.

he had buried at the mouths of the principal streams were a device to steal away the Indian lands. Other accusations were passed around, all of them showing a deep-seated distrust of the French among the Indians, who evidently did not believe the statement that they were coming merely to secure trade and to drive out the English. Attempting to put an end to these fears, the French made strenuous efforts to win over the Iroquois who were so influential with the Ohio Indians. In 1750 Joncaire even tried to persuade a Cayuga chief to accompany him to the Ohio country where, he represented, he expected to build a trading house at

the portage between the Ohio and Lake Erie. This particular effort was fruitless, but Joncaire was persistent, and continued to intrigue among the "faithful" nations in favor of the French. Finally, however, he concluded that the arrest of all English traders in the Ohio country, and the seizure of their trading posts, was the least expensive and the most effective means to turn the tide of Indian favor.⁶

Conciliation having failed, the French began to adopt a more belligerent attitude, and in 1753 seven "French" Indians warned the Iroquois of a threatened French invasion of the Ohio Valley. Bringing a belt of black wampum, six feet long and twelve beads wide, they declared that a French force which numbered fully 6,000, was being prepared to go to the Ohio country. When this army arrived at Logstown, so these pro-French Indians asserted, the French expected to build a fort at the Forks of the Ohio, another one above the Forks, presumably on the Allegheny, and still another one below, doubtless on the Monongahela. If the English traders refused to leave, and offered any resistance, they would be taken prisoners and probably killed.⁷ The Iroquois were not cowed by this arrogant message, which in reality served notice that the French would take possession of the Ohio Valley. In their usual bold fashion, the chiefs directed the "French" Indians to return, and inform the governor of Canada that the lands along the Ohio were their own chief hunting ground, and they proposed to keep them. If the French wished to fight the English, they should do so on the Great Lakes. The Iroquois concluded this courageous reply with the significant statement that they themselves would stand firm. The French now shifted their intrigues from the Iroquois directly to the Ohio Indians, and here they were more successful. Early in 1755, even before Edward Braddock's expedition, Michel Ange, Marquis de Duquesne, gleefully recorded that the Shawnees had attacked the English, taking seventeen scalps and ten prisoners. He added significantly, "noth-

⁶ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI, 709; VII, 267-71; X, 240-1.

⁷ Additional MSS., 14,034.

ing could be so advantageous under existing circumstances, for there are no barriers equal to such defenders."⁸

In spite of French efforts, many of the Ohio Indians, influenced by the firm stand of the Iroquois and the obvious advantages in trade, still remained favorably inclined toward the English. But these friendly Indians must have adequate protection, and they themselves repeatedly urged the need for a really strong English fort and storehouse at the Forks of the Ohio.⁹ Naturally they looked for protection, first to the colony of Pennsylvania which enjoyed so large a share of their trade. Governor James Hamilton, who assumed office in Pennsylvania in 1748, fully realized the desperate situation. But his representations made little impression upon the close-fisted and pacifist Quaker majority in the assembly, which persistently blocked his efforts to secure the necessary appropriation. Under such circumstances a properly garrisoned post at the Forks of the Ohio was impossible, and as a desperate expedient, Hamilton sent conciliatory missions to the Indians, with the very efficient aid of George Croghan.¹⁰ Following on Céloron's heels, Croghan worked so effectively that he was able to report that the Indians in the neighborhood of Logstown were "heartily in the interest of the English," and ready to quarrel with the French. This optimism seemed especially justified when the Twightwee clan of the Miamis, established at Pickawillany, showed such marked friendship for the English traders. Yet this peaceful situation did not continue for long, and Croghan, who had been sent to pave the way for a new Indian treaty, soon reported that Joncaire, Céloron's efficient aide, was on the headwaters of the Ohio, and there was general alarm among the Indians.

It was becoming increasingly apparent that English efforts were in vain, unless they promptly seized the opportunity to erect an

⁸ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, X, 290.

⁹ *Ibid.*, VI, 805-6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VI, 710; *Pennsylvania Archives* (Harrisburg, 1874-), ser. 2, VI, 33-85, *passim*; A. T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement* (Cleveland, 1926), 71ff; R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-5), I, 53-71.

adequate fort at the Forks of the Ohio, in order to hold back the French. The Penns proposed to contribute toward this undertaking, but the amount they were willing to give was pitifully inadequate, in face of the Indian demand for an asylum in war as well as for a trading center. The assembly remained deaf to Hamilton's pleas, and the leaders even attempted to justify their conduct by the assertion that the Forks of the Ohio was outside the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania. Croghan forcibly represented the bad effects of a policy which would inevitably drive the Indians into the arms of the French. But petty jealousies prevailed, and the Pennsylvania Assembly did not take advantage of this opportunity to strengthen the English position in the western country.¹¹

Meanwhile the Ohio Company had been attempting in somewhat more energetic fashion to assert the rival claims of Virginia in the upper Ohio Valley, and to counteract any French gains. As their agent they chose Christopher Gist, a native of Maryland and a professional surveyor who was well acquainted with Indian traits and the problems of frontier life. He was to go "to the westward of the great mountains," and to explore the land along the Ohio and its branches as far as the Falls. His chief aims were to be, to observe the number of Indians in this region, to note details of their trade, and to look for good level land suitable for settlement.¹² Gist left Will's Creek opposite Fort Cumberland, October 31, 1750, a little more than a year after Céloron made his famous journey. Crossing the mountains he reached Logstown, and from there, accompanied by Barney Curran, a trader in the employ of the Ohio Company, journeyed by land to the Indian village at the important crossing of the Muskingum. Here Gist found Croghan, who had been sent out among the Indians by the governor of Pennsylvania. When Gist arrived, the inhabitants of this trading center were greatly excited over a report that the French and

¹¹ *Pennsylvania Archives*, ser. 4, II, 135-7, 264; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI, 710; VII, 323; Volwiler, *George Croghan*, 74-6.

¹² W. M. Darlington, ed., *Christopher Gist's Journals* (Pittsburgh, 1893), 34-66.

Indians had seized two traders, with seven packs of skins. It was during this visit at Muskingum, on Christmas Day, that Gist held what has been claimed to have been the first Protestant religious service in present-day Ohio. From Muskingum Gist journeyed across country to the Scioto, and then down the river valley to the Lower Shawnee Town, where he found that the inhabitants were "great friends to the English." His next goal was Pickawillany, and here too, his party was greeted with much cordiality. The village, Gist noted, included about 400 families, and was daily increasing in population. While he was there, four Indians arrived as ambassadors from the French, but the Indians of Pickawillany refused even to listen to their assurances, asserting they would go along a "road as far as the sea, to the sun-rising," with the English and the Six Nations. From Pickawillany Gist proceeded to the Lower Shawnee Town, arriving March 8, and then crossed the mountains.

Undoubtedly Gist's extended tour through the Ohio country had strengthened the English position, and this scarcely a year after Céloron passed down the river. In view of the strong Indian opposition, however, the Ohio Company gave up its plans for settlement north of the Ohio. Instead, it proposed to found a colony south or east of the river, on land that the Indians had ceded to Virginia. Gist was therefore sent on a second expedition, this time to examine the land between the Monongahela and the Kanawha. He was to look up a location for a trading post, on the western side of the mountains, which would be more convenient to the Indians than the one at Will's Creek.¹³ Gist started on his journey late in the fall of 1751, and went as far as the Kanawha, making careful observations on the way. As an important preparatory step, he planned the approximate route of the road that was built later across the mountains from Will's Creek to the Youghiogheny. Gist had taken another important preliminary step by inviting the Iroquois and the western Indians to a conference at

¹³ *Ibid.*, 67-9; W. N. Franklin, "Pennsylvania-Virginia Rivalry for the Indian Trade of the Ohio Valley," *Miss. Val. Hist. Rev.*, XX, 463-70; H. T. Leyland, "Ohio Company," *H. & P. S. of O., Quar. Pub.*, XVI, 5-19.

Logstown. The instructions he received from the Ohio Company showed the importance the directors ascribed to this meeting, and their understanding of the general situation. Gist was to emphasize the need for a trading post that was conveniently situated, in order to carry on trade in the upper Ohio Valley. If the Indians would agree to fix a definite boundary, the Ohio Company, for its part, would make settlements between the Monongahela and the Kanawha. Then, Gist was to point out, "the Company can safely build factories and storehouses upon the River Ohio, and send out large cargoes of goods, which they cannot otherwise do." Gist was given considerable latitude in his negotiations with the Indians, and the company's officers gave proof of their sincerity in the further direction that he should see that a road was cut immediately from Will's Creek to the "fork of the Monongaly."¹⁴

The commissioners from Virginia met the Indians at Logstown June 9, 1752, and after considerable negotiation they secured a deed which confirmed the Treaty of Lancaster, and thus sanctioned settlement south and east of the Ohio, under the grant which the King had made to the Ohio Company. The Indians, however, evidently alarmed by the numerous reports of French aggression, wanted immediate action, and pointedly called attention to the imperative need for a strong English fort at the Forks of the Ohio. Unfortunately this undertaking, so vital to English prestige in the Ohio Valley, was neglected. The quarrels between Pennsylvania and Virginia regarding jurisdiction over the Forks of the Ohio, naturally restrained the directors of the Ohio Company, in spite of the high official favor they enjoyed in Virginia. Action, when it was finally taken, was only half-hearted, and this favorable opportunity to establish English power in the Ohio Valley upon really firm foundations was allowed to slip by.¹⁵

The English failure to establish themselves securely at the Forks of the Ohio gave the French an opening, of which they speedily

¹⁴ Darlington, ed., *Gist's Journals*, 231-6.

¹⁵ J. R. Albach, *Annals of the West* (Pittsburgh, 1857), 106-7; Robert Dinwiddie *Official Letters* (Richmond, 1883-4), I, *passim*.

took advantage. La Galissonnière's successors as governor-general, first Jacques Pierre de Taffanel, Marquis de La Jonquière, then the Marquis de Duquesne, both favored a strong and aggressive policy against the English in the Ohio country. It had now become quite evident that the mild warnings of Céloron would not suffice, and that a stern example must be given if the Indians were to be turned from their friendly attitude toward the English. The strong trading post at Pickawillany, in the midst of La Demoiselle's followers with their hostility to the French and their friendship for the English, was the ideal setting for a blow which would impress the Indians of the entire Ohio country. Nor, aside from considerations of trade, was it safe to permit further spread of English influence among a tribe, such as the Miamis, which occupied so strategic a position in the Wabash Valley, athwart the most important line of communication between Canada and Louisiana.

The post which the English traders had erected at Pickawillany was an exceptionally strong one. Surrounding the main building there was a high log stockade with three gateways. Inside was a well which, due to its abundant supply of fresh water, made the fort virtually impregnable except during the summer when it usually ran dry. With such a stronghold in its midst, Pickawillany was rapidly becoming a rallying place for the Indians who were unfriendly to the French, and there were rumors that the English were stirring up La Demoiselle to organize a general uprising of the Indians of the Wabash Valley and to the westward.¹⁶ Greatly alarmed over these disquieting reports, La Jonquière became convinced that Pickawillany must be destroyed, and June 21, 1752, Charles Langlade, at the head of 240 French and Indians from Detroit, surprised the post. Most of the English traders and many of the Indian warriors fled precipitately to the stockade, but the well ran dry, and the Indians ensured their own safety by surrendering the traders. The casualty list was short, including only

¹⁶ AC., C 13: 36, 66-75; A. T. Goodman, ed., *Journal of Captain William Trent* (Cincinnati, 1871), 43-4; *Wis. Hist. Col.*, XVIII (1908), 93.

one Englishman and five Indians, among the latter La Demoiselle, the chief whom the English had dubbed Old Britain. The attacking force secured plunder amounting to about £3000, and carried off five English traders as captives. Almost a month later Captain William Trent, who came with a message from Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia, found the settlement practically deserted, and the majority of the inhabitants fled to the Shawnees.¹⁷

Duquesne, now governor-general of Canada, was exultant over the attack upon Pickawillany. This example, he hoped, would put an end to English trading on "our lands," especially as the traders had been so completely pillaged. Already the English had abandoned their post at Sandusky, and the French put up a small fort there in 1750.¹⁸ These French gains, especially the vengeance wreaked upon the pro-English La Demoiselle and his followers, had a profound effect throughout the Ohio country. Even friendly Indians felt that the English had not given adequate protection at Pickawillany, and they feared that failure to heed the pleas for a strong fort at the Forks of the Ohio did not augur well for the future.¹⁹ Yet the English policy continued to be indecisive. Neither Hamilton in Pennsylvania, nor Governor George Clinton in New York was able to secure any effective action.²⁰ Even in Virginia there seemed to be little inclination to take the vigorous steps so greatly needed in the Ohio Valley.

Meantime, rumors of an impending French advance continued to reach the English colonies. One such report was given special credence. Its author, Andrew Montour, was a noted half-breed scout, son of the famous Madame Esther Montour who frequently accompanied George Croghan upon his missions.²¹ Although Montour's warning failed to arouse action in the English colonies, it did increase the nervous tension. When thirty loaded French

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 81; Goodman, ed., *Journal of Captain Trent*, 86-90.

¹⁸ AC., C 11: 119; *Wis. Hist. Col.*, XVIII, p. xiv-xv, 113-4 (note 62).

¹⁹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI, 805-6.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 545-604; Volwiler, *George Croghan*, 74-7.

²¹ Darlington, ed., *Gist's Journals*, 152-75.

canoes passed Oswego in the spring of 1753, rumor had it that they were the advance guard of an army of 6,000, which had been ordered to settle French families in the Ohio Valley, and to build the necessary forts there. A few months later Governor James De Lancey of New York heard that twenty transports had landed in Canada during the summer of 1753, with emigrants "to settle towards Ohio." If this report were true, he declared, it would be of "infinite bad consequence" to the English settlements, and as a counter-stroke he urged the erection of a fort and a trading house on the upper Ohio. Still the English remained strangely inactive, and when the French actually advanced into the Ohio Valley, the Indian population offered little if any effective resistance, in spite of their strong predilection for the English.²²

Nor were the rumors of a French advance into the Ohio Valley without foundation. La Jonquière, who had succeeded La Galissonière, was convinced that only prompt action by the French would prevent the slow-moving English from establishing strong posts on the upper Ohio. His death, early in 1752, temporarily stopped these preparations, but his successor, the Marquis de Duquesne, promptly resumed them, for the officials in Paris, by this time, had also become fully convinced that a strong French expedition must be sent to the Ohio country.²³ Early in 1753 Duquesne despatched a force of more than 1,500. Their first important stopping place was Presque Isle, later Erie, Pennsylvania, where they built a stockade, about 120 feet square, which quickly became the headquarters for French expeditions into the Ohio Valley. From Presque Isle the French marched southward to French Creek, building a wagon road as they proceeded, and erecting Fort Le Boeuf at the end of their march. Originally the expedition had planned to go farther and erect a strong fort at Venango, at the mouth of French Creek. The stream was too low, however, to float canoes, and it was necessary to send down

²² *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI, 779, 805-6, 816.

²³ *Ibid.*, X, 239-40; Margry, *Découvertes*, VI, 727-8; *AE.*, *Mém. et Doc.*, *Amér.*, 24: 170ff.

the needed supplies and provisions by pack-horse. Only a few men, therefore, went down French Creek to establish a small fort at Venango, incidentally driving out John Frazier, a well-known English trader who had made his headquarters there. Evidently the French had come into the Ohio Valley to stay, since at least 300 men were left to guard Fort Presque Isle and Fort Le Boeuf during the winter, in addition to a small garrison at Venango.²⁴

Face to face with an actual French advance, the Virginia authorities finally took active steps. Dinwiddie, the Scotchman who had come to Virginia in 1752 as lieutenant-governor, had his full measure of the shrewdness and persistence so characteristic of his countrymen. He quickly grasped the potentialities of the Ohio Valley, and the danger if a large body of French colonists should secure a foothold there.²⁵ Already, under his protection the commissioners from Virginia had met the western Indians at Logstown in June, 1752, and secured the deed, confirming the Treaty of Lancaster, which sanctioned the proposed settlements by the Ohio Company south of the Ohio. Another attempt by Dinwiddie to conciliate the Indians had been the despatch of Trent to negotiate with the Miamis at Pickawillany. Trent arrived soon after the disastrous French attack, at a time when the bewildered Indians would have been only too glad to make allies of the English and the powerful Iroquois against the hated French, but he could only make promises, and the Indians were obliged to submit to the French. Dinwiddie had aroused English officialdom to some appreciation of the serious situation in the Ohio country, and, when the Board of Trade received news of the French invasion, they ordered at least thirty cannon with sufficient stores to be shipped to America for the use of the forts which he proposed to establish on the Ohio. With the shortsightedness which was so

²⁴ AC., C 11: 119; Albach, *Annals*, 101-5; J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799* (Boston and New York, 1925), I, 55.

²⁵ Virginia (Colony) General Assembly, House of Burgesses, *Journals . . . 1752-1758* (Richmond, 1909), 104; Goodman, ed., *Journal of Captain Trent, 58-9, 104*. (Hereafter the *Journals* of the House of Burgesses are cited Virginia House of Burgesses, *Journals*.)

characteristic of English colonial policy, the board directed that the people of Virginia must defray all further expenses of the undertaking. If necessary, Dinwiddie was to call and arm the Virginia militia. Moreover, the Board significantly added, if any Indians, or "Europeans" interfered with these orders, Dinwiddie was to represent the "undoubted right" of the British to the Ohio River. Should the report that the French had erected forts in English territory prove true, he was first to require them to depart peacefully, and then, if necessary, to use force.²⁶

Even before he received the instructions from the Board of Trade, Dinwiddie had appointed a commissioner to go to the French commander in the upper Ohio Valley to warn him to depart from English territory. Probably frightened by stories of French cruelties to prisoners, this first messenger from Virginia ventured only as far as Logstown, and reported that the French were about a hundred and fifty miles farther up the river. Dinwiddie decided to try again and for this second mission selected George Washington, then only twenty-two, a mere stripling in years, but already an adjutant-general in the Virginia militia, and a surveyor with an extensive experience in the backwoods. With such training Washington was well fitted for an enterprise which would severely test his courage, his knowledge of woodcraft, and his practical sense. Washington's instructions were explicit.²⁷ He was to proceed to Logstown, where he would get in touch with Half-King and other Indian chiefs who were reputedly friendly to the English. To them Washington should make clear the purpose of his mission, and with their aid he should secure an ample guard of warriors for the dangerous journey from Logstown to the French fort. Proceeding from Logstown to the headquarters of the French forces, Washington was directed to present the letter he carried from Dinwiddie, and to wait for an answer, asking the French commandant for a "proper guard" for his return home.

²⁶ Loudoun Papers, 450.

²⁷ Jared Sparks, ed., *Writings of George Washington* (Washington and New York, 1847), II, 428-9.

Throughout the journey, Washington was instructed to secure all possible information upon the French forts and the military forces in the upper Ohio Valley.

October 31, the very day Dinwiddie signed his commission, Washington began the long journey, through the wilderness for most of the way, from Williamsburgh to Fort Le Boeuf. The story of this difficult and dangerous journey, as Washington has told it in his *Diary*, is one of the epics of American history.²⁸ Picking up Christopher Gist at Will's Creek to act as guide, Washington did not reach the Monongahela for three weeks, owing to the "excessive rains," and the "vast quantity of snow in the mountains." With keen military insight he noted how admirably the terrain at the junction of the Allegheny and the Monongahela was adapted for a fort which would command both these rivers as well as the Ohio. At Logstown he met a number of French traders, and from them he learned many details with regard to the French posts on the lower Ohio and the Mississippi. From Half-King and other friendly chiefs Washington had full accounts of the arrogant fashion in which the French commander had met Indian protests against his advance, by asserting the absolute rights of France over the Ohio country, and his firm intention to uphold them. Also from Half-King, Washington obtained much information respecting the forts at Presque Isle and at Le Boeuf.

After considerable delay Washington and Gist left Logstown, accompanied by Half-King and two other Indians. At Venango they had their first encounter with the French, in the person of three officers who directed Washington to the commandant at Fort Le Boeuf. Outwardly these officers were exceedingly friendly, inviting Washington and Gist to supper. In his usual dry and incisive fashion Washington wrote in his *Diary* that after they had "dosed themselves pretty plentifully" with wine, his hosts openly spoke of the French design to take possession of the Ohio Valley. More important, they gave many details regarding the

²⁸ Fitzpatrick, ed., *Diaries of Washington*, I, 43-66; Darlington, ed., *Gist's Journals*, 80-7.

forts the French had already constructed, and the forces that were now engaged in their advance. In spite of this apparent friendliness, Washington discovered that these same officers were exhausting every possible stratagem to detach the Indians in his party. In the end their efforts failed and Washington arrived at Fort Le Boeuf December 11, almost five weeks after he had left Williamsburgh. Washington's first care was to deliver to the commandant his own credentials and the letter from Dinwiddie. While waiting for an answer, he took the opportunity to make many observations around the fort, which he found to be quite a substantial stronghold. Almost surrounded by water, with bastions which stood 12 feet above the ground and were sharp at the top, it was well stocked with cannon and small arms. So far as Washington could discover, there were then about 100 men in the fort, exclusive of officers. Evidently a much larger force was expected in the spring, since hauled up on the bank were some 50 birch-bark canoes, and 170 made of pine, "besides many others which were blocked out in readiness to make."

October 14, Jacques Repentigny Legardeur de Saint-Pierre, the commandant at Fort Le Boeuf, gave Washington his reply to the message in which Dinwiddie had courteously but firmly asked for an explanation of the presence of a body of French troops and the erection of forts in territory that belonged to the King of Great Britain, and warned that trouble was inevitable unless the French returned to their own lands in Canada. Saint-Pierre's reply was evasive.²⁹ Claiming that he was acting under orders, he declared that he was unable personally to give a decisive answer, but he promised to forward Dinwiddie's letter to his superior, the Marquis de Duquesne. At the same time Saint-Pierre denied that he had acted contrary to treaty provisions, and asserted the "incontestable rights" of the King of France in the country along the Ohio. With Washington personally Saint-Pierre was even more explicit, maintaining that the Ohio country belonged to the French, and that no Englishman had any right to trade there. Moreover, he

²⁹ Margry, *Découvertes*, VI, 728-31.

had orders to make a prisoner of every Englishman who attempted to trade "on the Ohio, or the Waters thereof."

Having received Saint-Pierre's answer Washington was impatient to be off. Outwardly the French officers at Fort Le Boeuf, like those at Venango, were friendly, but he soon discovered they were using every device to win over Half-King and the other Indians who accompanied him. December 16, he and his party finally started off on the four days' journey down French Creek to Venango. There Half-King left Washington with half-hearted excuses, although he loudly proclaimed his invulnerability to French flattery. The horses were now so weak that Washington, clad in Indian hunting attire, trudged on foot for three days, and used them solely to carry packs. Finally, chafing at the slow progress, he went ahead of his baggage train, and with Gist as his sole companion, "with Gun in Hand, and Pack at my Back," he tramped through the wilderness. Near the "Murthering Town," he and Gist were in grave peril when a "French" Indian fired upon them at close range. Washington and Gist attempted to pilot a raft through the floating ice of the Allegheny, and were obliged to spend the cold night on a desolate island. Finally they reached Frazier's trading post on the Monongahela and comparative safety, and on New-year's Day they started on the well-beaten path back to Virginia.

Even though Saint-Pierre and the other French officials so completely ignored the warning from Dinwiddie, Washington's perilous journey to Fort Le Boeuf had lasting consequences for the Ohio country. Washington personally had learned the road there, and this knowledge he turned to good account in later years. This first trip across the mountains gave him an insight into the resources of the western lands, so that in later years he came to appreciate the peculiar problems of this vast region, and used his great influence effectively to help solve them. Washington's report brought the English face to face with the perilous situation in the Ohio Valley. It was apparent that, lacking the cooperation of Pennsylvania, the colony most deeply concerned, it would be

impossible for Virginia, at so great a distance, to expel the French from a territory claimed by so many other colonies. In short, it had become clear that if the French were to be expelled, or even checked in their control of the Ohio country, the colonies of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia must take concerted and whole-hearted action, and failing this, the English Government itself must lend effective aid.

First an attempt was made to secure united action against the common peril. With the support of Benjamin Franklin and other influential men, and the sympathetic aid of the English authorities, a conference was called at Albany, in order to unite the various colonies against the threat from the French. This Albany Congress, as it is familiarly known, met June 19, 1754, with commissioners present from the four New England colonies, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire, and from New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland. Although New Jersey and Virginia had also been invited, they did not send representatives. For present purposes, the chief interest in the prolonged deliberations of the congress centered around the proceedings with reference to the problems of the Ohio country.³⁰ To the Iroquois complaint that the English from Virginia, as well as the French from Canada, were encroaching upon their lands, Conrad Weiser replied that the French had been the aggressors. The English, he claimed, had only advanced after the Indians themselves had repeatedly begged for help. In this way, the congress attempted the difficult but important task of allaying Indian fears.

Before it adjourned, on July 11, 1754, the congress adopted a report which clearly set forth the situation of the English in the Ohio Valley. Noting the continual advance of the French forces, the commissioners called attention to the danger of French fortifications west of the Appalachians, as a plan to win the support of the principal Indian tribes, and to encircle the English colonies. Unfortunately, the report pointed out, the "divided, disunited state"

³⁰ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI, 853-92; Colonial Office Papers (in British Public Records Office; hereafter cited C. O.), 325, I.

of the colonies had so far prevented the "joint exertion" which was necessary to meet the French, and "particular colonies are unable and unwilling to maintain the cause of the whole." The report noted certain measures that were necessary if the situation was to be remedied, such as the public control of the Indian trade, and the prohibition of large grants to speculative organizations. Of especial significance was the conclusion of the commissioners, "that the bounds of these colonies which extend to the South Sea be contracted, and limited by the Alleghenny or Apalachian mountains, and that measures be taken for settling from time to time Colonies of his Maj^{ty}s several governt^s on the Continent so that their Councils, Treasure and strength may be employed in due proportion ag^t their common Enemy." This last proposal was lost sight of amidst many petty bickerings and mutual jealousies, and it became apparent that only direct military aid from the English Government could solve the problems of the Ohio country.

While the English colonies were seeking so strenuously for some effective means of checking the French advance, it was to be expected that the proposals of Governor Alexander Spotswood and Sir William Keith for colonies west of the Appalachians would be revived. Dinwiddie was an ardent advocate of this policy, and urged it vigorously after the French started their advance down the Ohio. If he should succeed in establishing a fort on the Monongahela, presumably at its junction with the Allegheny, he proposed to build two more on the Ohio, a good distance below, "to prevent the communication from the Mississippi." If this plan were carried out, he believed a single regiment of regulars would be able to hold the Ohio Valley, provided a settlement also was established to furnish supplies. Unless the English took such positive action, Dinwiddie was confident that the French would establish settlements and monopolize the fur trade.³¹

Another strong advocate of western colonies was Thomas Pownall, who arrived in New York in October, 1753. Already well acquainted with colonial problems through his experience in the

³¹ Additional MSS., 33,029: 106.

Board of Trade office, Pownall acquired an intimate understanding of the contest with the French while he was in America. Consequently, his view of the matter was exceedingly significant. It is quite probable that he was the author of an unsigned paper in 1754 which strongly advocated the erection of a line of forts "back of the settlements," from Nova Scotia on, and including one on the Ohio. If there were adequate garrisons and careful supervision, the report pointed out, these posts would be of the greatest value in meeting French encroachments, and in putting the Indian trade under effective regulation. The forts would hold the friendship of the Indians, and if war came, would enable the English to push hostilities into French territory.³²

Pownall was present at the Albany Congress, with a report from his brother, John, long secretary of the Board of Trade, which strongly urged the necessity of establishing forts at strategic points on the Great Lakes as a means of checking the French attempts to encircle the English colonies. Such a policy, according to Pownall, would greatly hamper communication between Canada and Louisiana, and from these strategic posts the English could easily control the Indians and their trade. Although the Albany Congress proved to be a fiasco in the end, Thomas Pownall was persistent, and he persuaded Franklin to work out in detail a plan for two colonies between Lake Erie and the Ohio, one at the southeast end of the lake, the other at the mouth of the Scioto. In Franklin's opinion this scheme was preferable to the mere extension of the older colonies to the westward, for it would secure united action by all the English settlers. A sufficient population would be provided, he believed, by the large increase in the older colonies, but if nothing were done, the French settlements in the Ohio Valley would grow and eventually cut off the English from trade with the western Indians.³³ Apparently with Franklin's plan as a basis, Pownall advanced a scheme for pro-

³² *Ibid.*, 33,029: 109.

³³ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI, 893-7; A. H. Smyth, ed., *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, (New York, 1905-7), III, 358-66.

tection against the French, in which the outstanding feature was the founding of two colonies west of the Alleghenies, one between Lake Erie and the Ohio, the other south of the Ohio and west of the Monongahela. According to Pownall, these colonies would enable the English to "support ourselves" against the Indians, and to retain ascendancy over them. On the lakes he proposed to maintain English power by armed vessels, with a chain of forts along the eastern shore of Lake Erie to the New York border.³⁴

In supplementary notes Pownall gave detailed suggestions for the proposed colony between the Ohio and Lake Erie which showed a remarkably accurate knowledge of the problem and an equally striking forecast of future developments.³⁵ A detailed summary of the sources from which colonists might be secured, and their possible motives for migrating, showed that Pownall had grasped the significance of the frontier as a haven for the discontented and the economically depressed. The Scotch-Irish and the Germans, he noted, were constantly pushing westward, and doubtless they could be induced to cross the mountains, and settle in the Ohio country. In New Jersey the unsettled land situation and uncertain titles were causing much unrest, and large numbers of the inhabitants would be glad enough to find new and more secure homes. In Connecticut, the unfavorable economic situation and especially the troubles over paper money had deprived many persons of their land, and undoubtedly they too could be induced to migrate. In somewhat more cynical vein, Pownall suggested that the "amazing influence" of George Whitefield "might be turn'd & applyed to a prodigious life, at first to the drawing into it many who wou'd go wholly on his account, nay in raising Contributors towards its first Emigration & afterwards from Time to Time towards its Support." He suggested the offer of land to immigrants at a cheaper rate than it could be had in more settled regions, free from quit-rents or other such dues, and that it should be laid out in townships "in the manner of New England."

³⁴ Loudoun Papers, 740.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 716.

Like many another would-be colonizer, Pownall pictured the resources of the Ohio country in glowing terms. From the very first, he declared, the settlers would have fish and game in abundance, and soon they would have supplies of Indian corn and wheat. A little later they would be producing milk, pork, beef, and other products. As for their other supplies, it would probably be necessary to import molasses, sugar, tea, clothing, and possibly salt. Iron goods of various types could be brought from Philadelphia, as well as a varied assortment of manufactured articles, and in return a country so well adapted to grazing could ship beef. Since the proposed colony was approximately in the same latitude as China, Pownall believed it should be able to raise tea on a large scale, while hemp, flax, cotton, and buffalo wool should also be important products.

So far as government was concerned, Pownall favored the usual system in a royal colony which would, in his opinion, suffice to establish a real democracy. At first, in order to make the settlements safe from the French and the Indians, there should be a force of regular soldiers with artillery, to meet any possible attack. Pownall strongly advocated the appointment of a special officer to supervise the Indian trade and Indian relations, and for this post he recommended Conrad Weiser, "a good and prudent man, . . . an Englishman and a man of great authority and lead" among the Indians. Pownall closed this rather optimistic picture of the possibilities of a colony in the Ohio country, with the observation that it would be little real expense to the Crown, and within a dozen years it would become equal in its development to any settlements in the "back parts of the colonies" which have existed "these hundred years."

Another report, possibly by Pownall also, stressed the strategic advantages of a colony in the Ohio country at the mouth of the Scioto.³⁶ Such a settlement, the author pointed out, would cut off French communication from Louisiana up the Mississippi and the

³⁶ B. W. Bond, Jr., ed., "Notes on Proposed Settlements in the West," H. & P. S. of O., *Pub.*, 1925, 41-58.

Ohio to Fort Duquesne. By the protection it would afford it would strengthen and hold the friendship of the Twightwee clan of the Miami Confederacy. Moreover, in the then critical situation, with reference to the French threat to English influence throughout the Ohio Valley, the author believed this proposed settlement could accomplish much by "industry and perseverance." In his enthusiasm he estimated that the sum of £47,000 would cover the cost of taking out 1,000 settlers and supporting them for the first year, along with the 1,000 soldiers needed to guard them. But this, like other plans for western colonies, failed in face of the disunion existing among the colonies, and the unwillingness of the English Government to provide the necessary financial support for colonies which would anticipate the French advance. The one remaining recourse was to meet the French peril by force of arms in a conflict which decided the fate of the Ohio country.

CHAPTER VI

The Final Struggle

AT THE outset, the struggle between the French and the English for control of the Ohio Valley was in reality a preliminary phase of the Seven Years' War, which had its repercussions in far-off India in the final contest between Joseph François Dupleix and Robert Clive. France and England were at grips in the Ohio country for two years before there was an actual declaration of war. The Forks of the Ohio was their acknowledged goal, and the English paid dearly for their failure to establish a really strong post there. The half-hearted effort to meet the French advance was left to the colony of Virginia, single-handed, until it was too late, and the situation was finally saved after needless English losses in men and money.

Two months before he sent George Washington to Fort Le Boeuf, Governor Robert Dinwiddie had ordered Captain William Trent, a fur trader of long experience, to establish a fort at the Forks of the Ohio. As a necessary precaution, Trent secured permission from the Iroquois to build a trading post, and then returned to Virginia to make his preparations. On his way back he reached the junction of Redstone Creek and the Monongahela early in January, 1754. Here there was already a storehouse belonging to the Ohio Company, which would serve as an excellent base for an English advance. February 17, 1754, Trent arrived at the Forks of the Ohio with 33 men, most of them workmen, built a fort, and Washington on his return from Fort Le Boeuf met 17 horses loaded with material and supplies for the new post, as well as a number of families who expected to settle there.¹

¹ A. T. Goodman, ed., *Journal of Captain William Trent* (Cincinnati, 1871), 60-1; J. N. Boucher, *Century and a Half of Pittsburgh* (Chicago, 1908), I, 9-10; Boyd Crumrine, *History of Washington County, Pa.* (Philadelphia, 1882), 34-5; J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Diaries of George Washington* (Boston and New York, 1925), I, 67.

There were persistent rumors that the French would come down the Allegheny in considerable strength in the spring, and Trent, greatly alarmed, sent an urgent message to Virginia to hurry the military force necessary to protect the workmen who were then at the Forks. But the Virginia authorities failed to take advantage of the respite, until the opening of navigation made a French attack possible. April 17, with both Trent and his second in command absent, Claude Pierre Pécaudy, Sieur de Contrecoeur, an able and experienced officer, attacked the weak English post with a force which included 300 canoes, 18 pieces of artillery and more than 1000 men. Faced with such an overwhelmingly superior force, Ensign Edward Ward, the only officer in the unfinished fort, was obliged to surrender. Contrecoeur allowed him to retreat in peaceable fashion, and then, with his own men proceeded to complete the fort which he christened Fort Duquesne. To complete the English discomfiture, the Sieur de La Chauvignerie, who had already been despatched with 30 men from Fort Le Boeuf to Logstown, had expelled the traders at that important English post, and had constructed a French fort.² With the Forks of the Ohio and Logstown in their control, the French were now masters of the Ohio Valley. They proceeded to make Fort Duquesne as strong as their resources would permit, in order to withstand expected English attacks. At each corner of the square structure on the point of land at the junction of the Allegheny and the Monongahela were bastions upon which large guns were mounted. A deep moat on the sides that were not protected by the river gave added protection, and in the usual fashion of the frontier, the surrounding land for a greater distance than the firing range was entirely cleared and the stumps cut off.³ For the first year the budget at Fort Duquesne was almost as large as that at the important post of Detroit, and six times that of either Fort Presque Isle or Fort Le Boeuf. The garrison at Fort Duquesne

² Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements Français* (Paris, 1879-88), VI, 731-2; W. M. Darlington, ed., *Christopher Gist's Journals* (Pittsburgh, 1893), 328-9.

³ Boucher, *Pittsburgh*, I, 40.

was twice as large as the combined forces at Presque Isle and Le Boeuf. These facts, with much additional evidence, are proofs that with the establishment of Fort Duquesne at the Forks of the Ohio, French policy had taken an important step toward the ultimate expulsion of the English from the Ohio Valley.⁴

Meanwhile, before news of the successful French attack had crossed the mountains to Virginia, the usual inadequate measures had been adopted to support Trent in his post at the Forks. Dinwiddie roundly denounced the territorial claims of the French to the Ohio Valley, and the seizure upon this pretext of Englishmen who dared trade upon the Ohio. The Virginia Assembly in turn expressed "resentment" over the "unjustifiable proceedings and encroachments" of the French and the Indians, and a determination to take these matters into "serious consideration."⁵ The sequel was a singularly ineffectual expedition of 100 militia under Washington which was ordered to the Forks of the Ohio to aid Trent. A significant section of his instructions directed Washington to act on the "defensive," but gave him permission to attack "any Persons whatsoever," who might attempt to obstruct the work at the Forks, or to interfere with the English settlements.⁶ Prompt as always, Washington was on his way only a little more than two weeks after he had received his orders.⁷ April 17, while he was on the South Branch of the Potomac with a force which now numbered 150, he received an urgent call from Trent for reinforcements. The next day came the news of Ward's surrender, together with an urgent request from Half-King, the influential Iroquois chief who lived at Logstown, begging for immediate aid to the Indians who were still loyal to the English. At near-by Fort Cumberland, opposite the mouth of Will's Creek, Washington promptly held a council of war, at which his practical sense was strongly in evidence. As it was impossible to advance to Fort

⁴ AC., C 11: 100; AE. Mém. et Doc., Amér., 7: 91-2; 24: 170ff.

⁵ Virginia House of Burgesses, *Journals*, 1752-1758, 175-7.

⁶ Robert Dinwiddie, *Official Letters* (Richmond, 1883-4), I, 59.

⁷ Fitzpatrick, ed., *Diaries of Washington*, I, 73-102.

Duquesne with his small force to meet a French army estimated at seven times its size, he decided to march to the mouth of Redstone Creek, and to make use of the storehouse already there. After fortifying this position, he proposed to wait for further orders. As an immediate step Washington undertook to clear a road from Will's Creek over the mountains, broad enough for the transport of both the artillery and the baggage. Ultimately he hoped to ensure an advanced English post west of the mountains which could be held, and would present an effective resistance to any further French advance.

Washington soon discovered the practical difficulties in the way of carrying out his carefully laid plans. Rumors came of French detachments scattered through the woods, which had been despatched from Fort Duquesne to drive the English traders and soldiers back over the mountains, and he wisely decided not to attempt to hold the advanced post at the mouth of the Redstone. May 22 he encamped at the Great Meadows where he was later to establish Fort Necessity. Three days later with the aid of friendly Indians, he attacked a French party in the neighborhood, upon the ground that they had invaded territory that belonged to Virginia. Joseph Villiers, Sieur de Jumonville, the French commander, and nine others were killed, a number of his party were wounded, and 21 were captured. On the English side only one man was killed, and two or three were wounded. The French officials claimed that just as Washington had gone to Fort Le Boeuf, Jumonville had been sent as an ambassador to warn the English from French territory. Washington, however, denied this plea, citing the attempted secrecy of Jumonville's movements, and his instructions to go through the country as far as the Potomac. Perhaps an even stronger argument, was the forcible seizure by the French of the English post at the Forks of the Ohio.⁸

Aware that French vengeance would be sure and swift, Washington hastily retreated to an improvised position, which he named

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 86-9; Jared Sparks, ed., *Writings of George Washington* (Washington and New York, 1847), I, 447-55.

Fort Necessity. Its strategic location was well chosen, in the Meadows about fifty miles from Fort Cumberland, and it constituted the last important stand of the English on the western slope of the mountains. Here, in an attempt to rally the western Indians to the English cause, Washington held a council with a number of Iroquois and Delaware chiefs. He assured the Indians that the English would protect them, but the chiefs gave only a faint-hearted response. Washington now called in the men engaged in constructing the road to the mouth of the Redstone, and concentrated all his forces at Fort Necessity. The expected French attack came July 3, 1754, and in the face of overwhelming odds, Washington surrendered his small force. Under the articles of capitulation he undertook to withdraw his force with all its baggage and equipment except the artillery. At the same time he pledged his word that for an entire year, the English would not attempt to establish a post on the west side of the mountains.⁹ These terms, if adhered to, meant that the English had surrendered the Ohio country to the French.

It was now apparent that only a well-organized and comparatively strong expedition could restore English power and prestige on the Ohio. With united action by the colonies apparently impossible, such an undertaking must be carried out by the English Government itself. For once the London officials understood the situation and promptly made preparations to send troops to America under Major-general Edward Braddock. Braddock's secret instructions ordered him to lead his troops up the Potomac to Will's Creek, then across the mountains to the Ohio Valley. There he should drive out the French, erecting a "good and sufficient fort," in a "most convenient location," to defend and protect the Indians as well as the English. These important tasks accomplished, Braddock was directed to dislodge the French from Niagara, and thus break up the communication between the French posts on the St. Lawrence and those on the Mississippi. Braddock was also to protect the "back settlements," and bring

⁹ *Ibid.*, 456-68; Fitzpatrick, ed., *Diaries of Washington*, I, 89-101.

back "those Indians who may have fallen off from His Majesty's interest," and joined the French.¹⁰

Braddock's expedition was planned with great care. The English Government sent £10,000 in specie to Dinwiddie for expenses, with permission to draw for an additional £10,000. He was authorized even to make advances for a log house to be erected for use as a hospital at Will's Creek, as well as for "floats" and other "proper conveniences" for this same purpose.¹¹ The colonies, too, gave considerable support. In February, 1754, the Virginia Assembly had authorized a loan of £10,000, to meet the danger from the French, who had encroached upon English lands, and had murdered English subjects, "taken others captive and spoiled them of their goods and effects, and are endeavoring to seduce the Indians in friendship with us." Several months later this same assembly granted an additional £20,000 "for the encouragement and protection of the settlers upon the waters of the Mississippi."¹² The New York Assembly granted £5,000 to help repel the French invaders, and even the Pennsylvania Assembly was persuaded to aid in rather frugal fashion in the construction of a new road to the Ohio.¹³

Braddock landed at Alexandria, Virginia, in February, 1755, with two regiments of English troops and the accompanying artillery, and made preparations for his ill-fated westward campaign against the French.¹⁴ With Washington as his aide-de-camp, he began the march from Alexandria to the Ohio country late in April, by way of Winchester and the upper Potomac Valley to Fort Cumberland on Will's Creek. Here the army halted for

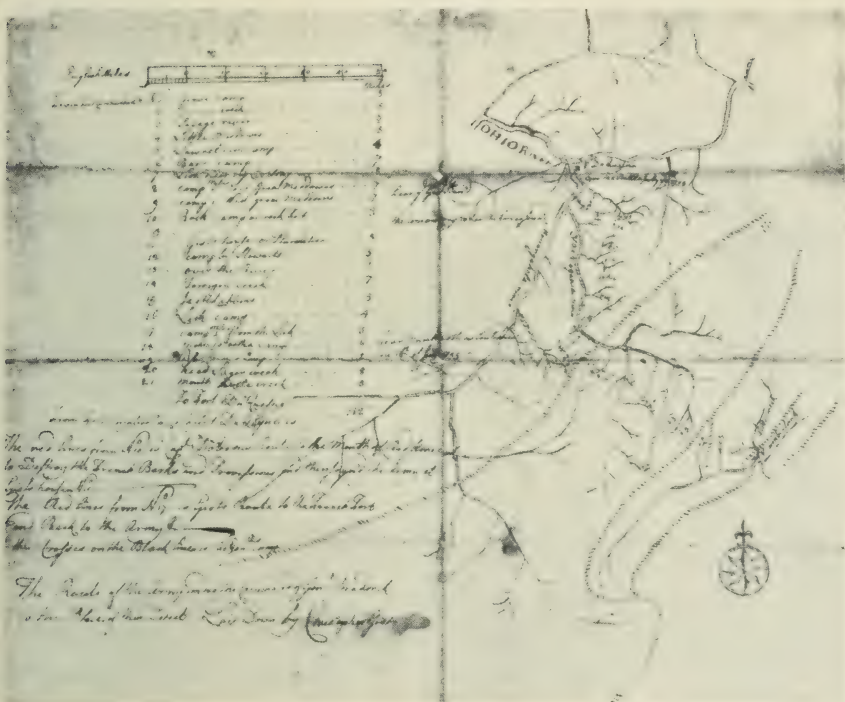
¹⁰ Loudoun Papers, 510, 514; Additional MSS., 33,029; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI, 920.

¹¹ Loudoun Papers, 451, 507.

¹² W. W. Hening, comp., *Statutes at Large . . . of Virginia* (Richmond, 1819-23), VI, 417-20, 436-7; Virginia House of Burgesses, *Journal, 1752-1758*, 189-90, 222.

¹³ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI, 927; *Pennsylvania Archives* (Harrisburg, 1874-), ser. 4, II, 409-11.

¹⁴ Sparks, ed., *Writings of Washington*, II, 77ff.; J. R. Albach, *Annals of the West* (Pittsburgh, 1857), 129-38; Boucher, *Pittsburgh*, I, 15-26; Admiralty Secretary, *In-Letters* (in British Public Records Office; hereafter cited A.S.I.), 480, sec. 4, 53-6; for an excellent detailed map by Gist of Braddock's exact route, cf. Huntington MSS. (in Henry E. Huntington Library), H. M. 1095.



MAP 10. MANUSCRIPT MAP OF BRADDOCK'S MARCH

Map by Christopher Gist, from the Henry E. Huntington Library MSS., H. M. 1095.

about two weeks, waiting for horses and wagons to transport the artillery and the baggage. For the expedition across the mountains, Braddock could rely upon about 2,000 effective men, approximately half of them English regulars, the remainder colonial militia gathered chiefly from Virginia and New York. From such information as he could gather, Braddock reckoned the total French force opposed to him as approximately the same as his own. But in fighting strength it was probably inferior, as it included 500 to 600 Ottawas. Therefore the chances for success of his well-equipped and well-trained troops seemed indeed bright.

The French, in spite of the initial strength of their advance

into the Ohio Valley, were by no means prepared to meet the English counter-attack. The king had ordered nearly 3,000 men to Canada, and instructions had been issued for the construction of bateaux for the lakes, and birch-bark canoes for the rivers, sufficient to hold 2,000 to 3,000 troops. Yet about the time Braddock began his advance Thomas Fabres, a French private who went from Canada to the mouth of the Mississippi by way of the Ohio, found the French defense in the western country in a most unsatisfactory condition.¹⁵ At Niagara a stockade 14 feet high enclosed a square space about 300 paces around, but out-works were lacking, and there were not over 14 swivel guns, with only about 30 men in the garrison. At Presque Isle there were about 30 in the garrison, although the fort was somewhat larger than the one at Niagara, and here, too, there were no out-works. At Fort Le Boeuf there was a commandant and 20 soldiers. Going down French Creek, Fabres and his party found the water so shallow that often they were obliged to tow their canoes, sometimes wading in the stream, at other times pulling them along by ropes on shore. In the Allegheny they found "fine deep water," and rowed with ease to Fort Duquesne, where the garrison was busy working on the fort, in order to strengthen it against a surprise attack. With such inadequate defenses in the upper Ohio Valley there was naturally much consternation among the French forces in Fort Duquesne as Braddock approached. Rumor doubled his force, and it was said he had sufficient artillery and munitions for a siege. To meet this threat, according to their own statement, the French had total forces of 1,600 including regulars, militia and Indians. Moreover, supplies had been forwarded in such irregular fashion, and often in such insufficient quantity, that it had become necessary to divert a considerable part of the garrison to act as a convoy on the river. To add to the French anxieties, Fort Duquesne had never been completed, although in the spring of 1755, the commandant had secured an engineer from Detroit, Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry, to put it in the best possible con-

¹⁵ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, X, 278-80; *A.S.I.*, 480, sec. 4, 47-63.

dition.¹⁶ Under such circumstances, Braddock should have easily overcome the smaller force of French and Indians at Fort Duquesne. This accomplished, the instructions to advance to Niagara should have been easy to carry out.

The natural odds in favor of the English were overcome by the arrogant self-confidence of a general trained in European methods of war, and disdainful of advice from mere provincials, even though they understood better the peculiar demands of a fight in the forest. The details of Braddock's defeat are too well known to warrant more than a bare outline.¹⁷ By July 9, the English army was only a few miles from Fort Duquesne, and had crossed the Monongahela. When the attack came, the English easily routed the French, but the Indians, skulking behind trees and firing upon the advancing column, presented a new and terrifying form of warfare to the English regulars, and the advancing force was soon completely demoralized. Disregarding the exhortations of Braddock and their officers, they abandoned to the enemy the bulk of their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. The officers suffered greatly and displayed much bravery, but they could not rally men who were terrified by the stories they had heard of Indian cruelty. Braddock, himself, died a few days later. So complete a disaster was of course fatal to English prestige, and for the time being the Ohio Valley came completely under French control.

Meanwhile, in approved twentieth century fashion the fiction had been maintained that each country was merely acting to police its own territory in the Ohio Valley, and negotiations were actually going on in London while Braddock's expedition was being despatched. December 18, 1754, Gaston-Charles-François de Lévis, Duc de Mirepoix, French ambassador to England, presented a memorial that set forth the French view and started long continued diplomatic conversations.¹⁸ Calling attention to armed

¹⁶ *N. Y. C. I. Docs.*, X, 307-9.

¹⁷ Sparks, ed., *Writings of Washington*, II, 77ff.; Albach, *Annals*, 129-38; Loudoun Papers, 606.

¹⁸ *AE.*, *Mém. et Doc.*, *Amér.*, 22: 60-1; 24: 186ff., 198ff.

encroachments by the English upon territory which France claimed, Mirepoix pointed out the need to restrain the colonial governors, whose "violent enterprises" seriously threatened to take possession of French lands "which form the communication from the colonies of Canada and Louisiana." He especially complained of the concession England had made on the "French" side of the Ohio, doubtless an allusion to the Ohio Company grant. Mirepoix brought up the death of Jumonville, which he termed an assassination, and curtly denounced Washington's invasion of French territory as wholly unjustifiable and contrary to treaties. Finally, he asked for a full explanation of the English policy in the Ohio Valley, and of the extensive military preparations that were then going on in England.

The English answer to Mirepoix' memorial pointed out the inaccuracy of the French maps, which confused the Ohio and the Wabash. Ever since La Salle's discoveries, it asserted, the French had customarily used the Wabash route between Canada and Louisiana, and not until recently had they advanced a claim to the lands around the sources of the Ohio. The English title to the Ohio country, according to this document, was clearly established, since by the Treaty of Utrecht England had been recognized as overlord of the Iroquois, who in turn had conquered the Indian tribes of the Ohio Valley. This English claim had been further strengthened when the Iroquois formally sold them the land in question. The memorandum pointedly complained that when the English had attempted to erect a fort at the Forks of the Ohio to protect their property, an overwhelming French force had driven away the men sent by Virginia. Commenting on these English arguments, Mirepoix insisted that lurking in the background, was the suspicion that the ultimate design of the French was to launch an attack across the mountains against the colonies on the Atlantic Coast. Such fears, he categorically declared, were "chimerical," for the Ohio was separated from the English colonies by a chain of mountains which were "rude, difficult, impracticable," and for the most part impassable. But if the English

established a fortified post on the Ohio they would command the chief French waterways to Canada and Louisiana, and might easily come to dominate the Great Lakes. A colony would be even more dangerous. For their own purposes, Mirepoix hinted, the English were pretending that the ownership of the Ohio Valley was a matter of minor interest to the French.

The importance which both France and England attached to the controversy over the Ohio Valley was shown by the persistent attempts of each power to justify its own position. A circular letter from Mirepoix to the French diplomatic corps based French claims to the Ohio Valley upon La Salle's discoveries, and asserted that even while these discussions were being carried on, the English had established themselves on the Ohio, and had sent a large military detachment to America. The English replied in a memoir to the courts of Europe which flatly denied the validity of French claims to the Ohio, and repeated the statement that for years the Wabash route had served for communication between Canada and Louisiana. Reiterating likewise the English claims to the Ohio Valley through the Iroquois, this document maintained that England had been in possession of the Ohio country for more than twenty years, and had established posts which extended from the source of the Ohio to "Pickiwillan."¹⁹

These negotiations in London, brought out two sharply different and wholly contradictory views.²⁰ The English contended that the French must abandon the forts at Presque Isle and Le Boeuf, and on the Ohio River. Moreover, the region between the Wabash and the Appalachians should be neutral, except for a strip twenty leagues wide along the Wabash, which would be allocated to the French. Within this neutral territory the English proposed to make trade and travel free, but to prohibit settlement.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 24: 200ff., 227-32; N. M. Miller Surrey, *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives and Libraries Relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley to 1803* (Washington, 1926-8), II, 1261.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 1265-404, *passim*; AE., *Mém et Doc., Amér.*, 10: 149-51; 24: 207-10; AC., C 112, 6: 191ff.; 7: 91-2; Additional MSS., 15,874: 208; 33,029: 272ff.; N. Y. *Col. Docs.*, X, 408.

The French, however, were not satisfied to retain only the Wabash Valley, and insisted upon their rights in the territory between the Wabash and the Ohio. The possession of this area, they claimed, was necessary to protect the all-important line of communication between Canada and Louisiana. They were willing, they said, to surrender their claims between the Ohio and the mountains, but this was their maximum concession. Each side was adamant, and each one tried to bolster its position with time-worn arguments. With such opposite views the negotiations soon reached an impasse, with open warfare as the one solution. The troubles in the Ohio Valley were merged in the many controversies between England and France in Europe and India, and England finally declared war May 18, 1756.

Braddock's defeat, and the breakdown of the negotiations in London had serious effects upon the English frontier settlements. The growing fear among the Ohio Indians, that English settlers would encroach upon their lands, now came into the open. Nor did French intrigues help the situation. Even the Iroquois, the constant friends of the English, were unable to give much aid. The Shawnees and the Delawares now set up an "independency," and refused to listen to their former overlords. The attitude of the Ohio Indians was forcibly expressed by an aged chief, "Ackowanthio," who spoke in behalf of the Delawares and near-by Indians.²¹ The English, he declared, had encouraged the settlers who were coming in droves, for where one came to drive the Indians from their hunting grounds, "like Pidgeons, a thousand more would settle." The Ohio Company Grant, especially, had aroused the Indians, and the French, according to the old chief, had attached many Delawares by promises of protection. After Braddock's defeat the French officers had indicated that now was the time to take revenge, and the priests had supported them. By this "great influence" the Shawnees had been won over in a body, and had brought the remainder of the Delawares along with them.

²¹ Chatham Papers (in British Public Records Office), G. D. 8.96; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III, 209, 260, 264.

After war was declared, May 18, 1756, French activities redoubled among the Indians of the Ohio country. Messengers were sent to the different tribes, inviting them to make war upon the English, and elaborate preparations were made at Fort Duquesne to furnish them with the necessary supplies. These efforts met with marked success among the volatile Indians, who had been duly impressed by the overwhelming French victory over Braddock. By the fall of 1756, parties of Indians, usually led by French officers, had captured or massacred fully 700 inhabitants of frontier Pennsylvania and Virginia. Sieur Dumas, commandant at Fort Duquesne, reported that for eight days he had been busy counting scalps which the Indians had brought in. Other bits of evidence show how ruthlessly the French officers at Fort Duquesne urged on the Indians to attack the English frontiers,²² and the Pennsylvania and Virginia borders were literally infested with French and Indian raiding parties. To meet this situation, the Earl of Loudoun, now commander-in-chief of the English forces in America, advised the governors of the several colonies to act individually while he himself collected a sufficient force to attack the main body of the enemy.²³

A striking insight into French intrigues and the break-down of English prestige in the Ohio country, is given in the *Journal* of Major Smith of the Virginia rangers who was captured with ten of his men in a blockhouse near the head of the James River in June, 1756.²⁴ His captor, the French commandant at Fort Miami, had come all the way from the Wabash Valley, at the head of a party of 25 French Canadians and 205 Indians. During the eleven months he was held prisoner, Smith was taken across the Appalachians to the Ohio country, then to Detroit and the St. Joseph River, and finally through the Great Lakes to Niagara and Fort Frontenac. On the way he noted the many evidences of French aid to the tribes of the Miami Confederacy, to the "Otto-

²² AC., F 15: 17-20; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, X, 423-584, *passim*.

²³ Chatham Papers, G. D. 8.95; Loudoun Papers, 1880, 2087, 3111, 4524, 4930.

²⁴ Chatham Papers, G. D. 8.95.

ways," and to other Indian tribes in the western region. But in the Ohio country he found that the French forts were not equipped with heavy guns, so that an attack upon them would not, in his opinion, be a difficult matter. After his release and return to Virginia he proposed to lead an expedition of 1,000 woodsmen and a sufficient number of Indians, across the Ohio and over the Shawnee Trail to Fort Miami, Fort St. Joseph, and Detroit. From Detroit he would take his force across Lake Erie in bateaux, and then return either through the Shawnee country or Presque Isle.

Another French captive, Charles Stuart of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, has also left an interesting account of conditions in the Ohio country at this time. Captured late in the fall of 1755, Stuart was first taken to Fort Duquesne, then to Sandusky, and finally to Detroit.²⁵ On the way through the Ohio country Stuart saw few human habitations. At Muskingum, aside from the trader's house there were only some hunting lodges. At Sandusky the fort was altogether decayed, and there were about 11 cabins, most of them used only in the winter by the Wyandot hunters. At Detroit the Indians sold Stuart and his wife, who accompanied him, to two priests for whom they worked for about eight months, in order to pay off their ransom money. According to Stuart, the French officials and priests in Detroit were constantly urging the Indians whom they sent out against the English "to kill, burn and destroy all, save none unless it be one for their own use."

The situation in the Ohio country, as it was described by these two eye-witnesses, Smith and Stuart, showed how necessary was the adoption of a vigorous English policy, unless the entire region beyond the mountains was to be abandoned to the French. As a preliminary step to any effective action, it was clear that the increasing Indian hostility must be checked, or else there would probably be a repetition of Braddock's unfortunate experience.

²⁵ B. W. Bond, Jr., ed., "Captivity of Charles Stuart," *Miss. Val. Hist. Rev.*, XIII, 58-81.

In Sir William Johnson the English had an agent capable of undertaking this difficult task. With a thorough understanding of Indian psychology, Johnson was especially friendly with the powerful Iroquois, and in 1756 he received a royal commission as general superintendent of relations with them and their confederates north of the Ohio. The need for the Iroquoian friendship to counteract French intrigues among the Ohio Indians, was strikingly shown by the experiences of a number of Delawares who were at Niagara in June, 1756.²⁶ The French, they testified, had treated them with the utmost consideration, exhibiting numerous barrels of gunpowder which had been stowed near the fort, in order to meet any English attack. The French captain had read them a letter, which he claimed was from the king of England, that proposed an alliance with France to divide the Indian lands. These same Indians reported that there were fully 200 English prisoners at Niagara; half of them were closely confined, but the other 100, Indian traders who had joined the French, "enjoy their full liberty, and walk about as gentlemen." Yet even this dismal picture was not without its brighter side for the English. During the visit of the Delawares, emissaries from the Iroquois had come to meet a deputation from the Twightwee tribe, which was then in league with the French. When the Iroquois insisted that the Twightwees return to their friendship with the English, the latter had promised to comply.

The influence exerted by the Iroquois over the Twightwees was only one of many evidences of the friendliness of the Six Nations, and Johnson constantly made use of them to win over the Ohio Indians. He also used other practical means for the same end, notably the appointment of George Croghan as his deputy. Already, while agent for Pennsylvania alone Croghan had made considerable progress in persuading the Delawares and the Shawnees to return to their former friendship for the English.²⁷ Johnson

²⁶ Testimony of Jo Peepy, a Delaware, July 21, 1756, Loudoun Papers.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1028, 1043, 1071, 1072; R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-5), I, 84-7.

also turned to good account the genuine distress among the Ohio Indians, who now found themselves cut off from the accustomed supply of cheap English goods, and without acceptable substitutes from the French traders. Johnson promised them an abundant supply of goods at cheap prices at Oswego. At the same time he severely upbraided the Ohio tribes for their unprovoked depredations upon the English, and their alliance with the French, and called upon them to confirm their promises to the Six Nations and mend their ways. This policy was successful, the impulsive Indians expressing open regret for their conduct. A typical Shawnee apology asserted in picturesque language that the French and the English had come into the western country with two powerful armies like clouds. Some of the young men of the Iroquois had killed English hogs, the English in retaliation had buried their hatchets in Indian heads, and then the Indians had taken the hatchet against the English.²⁸ Such an admission showed the results of the persistent efforts of Johnson and Croghan in winning over the Delawares and the Shawnees. The direct effect was the gradual cessation of the attacks of these Ohio Indians upon the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

News of English counter-intrigue among the western Indians soon came to French ears. There were persistent rumors, too, that at Fort Cumberland on the east slope of the mountains a considerable English force was assembling, the defenses of the fort were being strengthened, and military supplies were being accumulated. Attempting to arouse Indian prejudices against the English, the French declared these preparations were being made in order to destroy their villages on the Ohio. Moreover, they spread abroad reports that the English were offering large rewards for Indian scalps and French prisoners. At the same time the French officers proceeded to strengthen their defense against the inevitable counter-attack. So far as numbers were concerned they were in excellent condition, with a total available force in the western

²⁸ Loudoun Papers, 1072, 1269; Abercromby Papers (in Henry E. Huntington Library), 64; Huntington MSS., 22,365.

country in 1756 of 3,250, composed of 1000 French and the remainder Indians.²⁹

The problem of supplies, at such a distance from their Canadian base, was a serious obstacle to French plans in the Ohio Valley. The necessity of carrying packs over the many portages between Canada and Fort Duquesne, and the other hard work of this tedious and lengthy route, used up and even killed off the inhabitants of the western posts, civil as well as military, so that there was a serious shortage of labor. Thus, in the neighborhood of Fort Duquesne there were many rich valley lands which could have supplied a considerable population, had the necessary labor been available. One rather unexpected source of supplies was opened in the summer of 1756, when the commandant at Fort Duquesne secured much-needed food from the French settlements in the Illinois country. The next summer there was a serious drought in Canada, and the Illinois settlements became a veritable life-saver to Fort Duquesne. Yet if real dependence was to be placed upon them, a substantial French fort at the Falls of the Ohio was necessary, in order to control this river route. But in spite of repeated representations nothing was done. Detroit, however, served as an auxiliary source of supply for arms, ammunition, and the like.³⁰ Altogether, with such a long distance and so many difficulties of transportation from their main sources of supply, the French were at a decided disadvantage in the Ohio country, in view of the shorter and comparatively easier English communication with either Pennsylvania or Virginia.

During the winter of 1756-1757 the French made special efforts to strengthen the defenses of Fort Duquesne, so that by spring there were 360 troops in the fort, to whom the younger Vaudreuil, Pierre, now governor-general of Canada, proposed to add 400 militia from Detroit. With this increased force, aided by the Ohio Indians, he hoped to be able to harass the English, and to meet any attack they might make. The difficulties in securing

²⁹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, X, 423-584, *passim*; AC., F 15: 17-22.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, C 11: 100, 126; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, X, 435-584, *passim*.

supplies would, he feared, make it impossible to maintain a larger force. During the following winter of 1757-1758, carpenters were kept busy at Fort Le Boeuf, as well as at Fort Duquesne. The accumulation of sufficient supplies continued to be a most serious problem. Thus, at Fort Duquesne supplies for the artillery were very late in arriving, and the many scouting parties which were sent out against the English frontiers made serious inroads upon the stores of small arms and ammunition. Consequently Vaudreuil became greatly alarmed for the safety of Fort Duquesne, and evidently put his faith in the same Indian aid which had enabled the French to defeat Braddock. If, however, the English were able to capture Fort Duquesne, he realized they would be in complete control of the Ohio Valley.³¹

In England itself popular appreciation of the critical situation in the Ohio Valley was rapidly increasing, as is evident in numerous allusions and articles that appeared in the popular *Gentleman's Magazine* between 1750 and 1755. A few of the more striking examples may be cited.³² One in the January number for 1752 called attention to an army of 400 French and 200 Indians, which was supposed to have left Canada to go to the southwest, presumably to the Ohio country. The author expressed alarm over the many forts which the French were building to the westward of the English colonies "in the carrying places between the lakes and the rivers, and in the most important places too, to bring the Indians into dependence, and to draw their trade." Another article called attention to the importance of the Wabash, "the river of the Ouabaches," as a connecting link between Canada and Louisiana. In 1753 the August issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* published a report, that had come by way of Charleston, South Carolina, of a French force made up of 1,000 regulars and 7,000 Indians which had been sent from Canada to the Ohio. With a slight disregard for accuracy, which was pardonable in view of the devious route over which the report had traveled, this

³¹ AC., C 11: 102, 103, 108, 223, 289, 293; F 15: 17-22.

³² *Gentleman's Magazine* (London), January, 1752, to October, 1755, *passim*.

correspondent asserted that the French objective was to "dislodge the English from Logstown, a settlement upon the Ohio, a branch of the Mississippi, lately made by the government of Virginia." Washington's mission to Fort Le Boeuf, and his advance across the mountains the following spring and summer, also aroused great interest on the part of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. One editorial noted that the French were making secure their favored position with the Indians west of the mountains. Unless they were checked, the author felt assured that they would control the rich fur trade and become a menace to the English colonies on the coast. As the quarrel in the Ohio region became more bitter, this public interest in England naturally increased, and Braddock's expedition received considerable notice in the columns of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. To meet the public demand for a geographical guide to the campaign and its objectives, a fairly accurate map of the western country was published, and the disastrous outcome of the expedition was recounted in full detail. Two months later there was an elaborate summary of the situation in the Ohio Valley. The French encroachments, the author asserted, made it imperative that the English establish strong forts there and hold their ground, in order to control this particular region, and to protect the colonies east of the mountains from the Indians.

In the face of the growing public appreciation of the issues involved in the Ohio Valley, some definite action by the English Government was a foregone conclusion. Major-general James Abercromby, who in 1756 became second in command in America under John Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudoun, sent William Pitt an elaborate account of the struggle, summing up English policy in effective fashion: "Thus going on, with trifling and ill adapted supplies from hence and starving the cause . . . we have nourished our misfortunes in America with generals without armys, regiments without men, garrisons without strength, dependent governments without subordination to this government, and as the case now stands, nothing to trust to but the fallacious strength of provincial auxiliaries." Now that the Albany Congress

had failed completely, Abercromby maintained, men and money were necessary, and an "established plan to secure them must be agreed upon between England and her colonies."³³ About this same time another communication, which was probably sent to Pitt, proposed definite steps to end the French menace. The author, who was evidently well acquainted with the American situation, favored the despatch of a strong French force to capture Montreal and take possession of Lake Ontario. By such a move, he believed, the French would be effectively cut off from the Ohio, and the English would then control the fur trade of the Great Lakes and their tributaries, as well as that of the Mississippi and its branches. Furthermore, the English should capture Detroit and Presque Isle, and thus, with access to the Ohio, the expulsion of the French would be an easy matter. For these various operations, the writer considered a force of 5,000 men sufficient.³⁴

These direct representations to Pitt, even before he came into power, undoubtedly made a strong impression upon him, especially in view of the growing understanding in England of the situation in the Ohio Valley. Soon after the shake-up in the ministry took place in 1757, he determined upon a strong expedition to drive the French from the Ohio Valley, as an important phase of his general plan to push the war with renewed vigor. Late in 1757, Pitt sent General John Forbes to America with orders to capture Fort Duquesne, and thus repair the damage which Braddock's defeat had done. Forbes arrived at Philadelphia about the end of April, but he was obliged to wait until July for his stores and troops. His force of over 7,000 included about 1,500 regulars, the remainder colonial militia. It moved slowly across Pennsylvania, through Carlisle and Raystown, now Bedford, building blockhouses on the way to protect the line of communication. From Raystown it was necessary to open a road to Fort Duquesne, a distance of some 100 miles.³⁵

³³ Chatham Papers, G. D. 8.95.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 97.

³⁵ Boucher, *Pittsburgh*, I, Chapter II.

This time the English avoided Braddock's fatal mistake in failing to win over the Ohio Indians from the French. The appointment of Croghan as deputy Indian agent was a most important step in realizing this aim.³⁶ Beside a general commission to gather important news from the Indians, and, if possible, to detach all those of the Ohio region from the French alliance, Croghan had specific instructions to conciliate the Shawnees and the Delawares especially. The usual lack of funds, and the petty squabbles in Pennsylvania politics greatly interfered with these plans, but Croghan managed to hold a number of conferences which accomplished much in restoring English prestige among the Indians of the Ohio country. However, as Forbes prepared to march westward, it became evident that it would be necessary to send an envoy to the semihostile Indians who were assembling near Fort Duquesne, in order to detach them from the French. For this highly important, yet exceedingly dangerous mission, a Moravian missionary, Christian Frederick Post, was selected. Humble, uneducated, wholly sincere, he had earned the good will of the Delawares and the Shawnees, among whom he had labored in their old homes in Pennsylvania. As the official messenger of Governor William Denny of Pennsylvania, Post left Easton, July 18, 1758, about the same time that Forbes began his march across Pennsylvania. After about a month's journey Post reached the neighborhood of Fort Duquesne, and here his real troubles began.³⁷ The French officers at the fort insisted that he should be given up to them at once as a prisoner. The Indians, who had assembled in large numbers, Mingoës, Delawares and Shawnees, refused to surrender him. To the savage assemblage halting between the French and the English, Post insisted that the English army was being sent against the French alone, and that England was the friend of the Indians. By such persuasive words, as

³⁶ A. T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement* (Cleveland, 1926), 123-42.

³⁷ Thwaites, ed., *Western Travels*, I, 170-233; Charles Thomson, *Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawnee Indians* (London, 1759), 129-30.

well as by sheer bravery, Post finally won over the Indians, and a second time they refused to hand him over to the French officers. Instead, the humble Moravian missionary continued to mingle with the Indians, assuring them of English friendship. Finally, after he had slept in the woods for thirty-two nights, Post returned to the settled frontiers of Pennsylvania. At the end of the journey the dangers he had faced so bravely were fittingly described in typically pious phraseology: "Praise and glory be to the Lamb that has been slain, and brought me through the country of dreadful jealousy and mistrust, where the prince of this world has his rule and government over the children of disobedience."

October 25, Post set out on a second and even more perilous mission to the western Indians. This time two volunteer English officers accompanied him, together with five devoted Indians, two of them Iroquois chiefs.³⁸ Post had need for all his courage. November 7 he reached Forbes' camp at Fort Ligonier, and from there on, he and his few companions encountered far greater perils than on the earlier mission. Less than two months before, an expeditionary force under Colonel James Grant had advanced against Fort Duquesne, only to experience a complete defeat. The subsequent hasty retreat to Fort Ligonier, and the loss of 273 out of a total of 850 men, had been a severe blow to the returning Indian faith in an English victory, even though Forbes had beaten off a counter-attack by a force of 1,200 French and a few hundred Indians. There was now the gravest danger that the French would ultimately win over the Indians, and the debacle which had overtaken Braddock would be repeated.³⁹

Post, the Moravian missionary, came to the front at this moment so critical for the future of English power in the Ohio Valley. He and his little party bravely pushed on from Fort Ligonier, and down the Ohio to the Beaver Creek region, into the very heart of the Indian country. Unobtrusively friendly and persuasive, he was firm in his belief in the object of his mission, to reconcile the

³⁸ Thwaites, ed., *Western Travels*, I, 234-91; Volwiler, *George Croghan* 137-40.

³⁹ Boucher, *Pittsburgh*, I, 31-4.

Indians to the English, and thus "turn them again from their errors." At several councils with the Indians, usually with French representatives present, Post in vigorous fashion assured them that Forbes' aim was to surround the French, but not to harm them. By such arguments and even more by his sheer bravery, this humble Moravian missionary carried his point and nullified French efforts to arouse the Indians to join with them to overwhelm the English. The sequel came swiftly. Deprived of Indian aid, the French officers at Fort Duquesne recognized that further resistance was hopeless. November 22, the Indians informed Post that Forbes was within fifteen miles of Fort Duquesne, and, "that the French had uncovered their houses, and laid the roofs round the fort to set it on fire, and would demolish the fort, and let the English have the bare ground," promising to return later and build a stone fort. Volatile as always, the Indians danced around the fire for joy that "their brethren," the English, were coming. Three days later Forbes arrived with his troops at Fort Duquesne, to find that the French had retreated to Venango and down the Ohio.

With the English occupation of Fort Duquesne, French resistance in the Ohio Valley quickly collapsed. The English had completely won over the Indians, "already fatigued" with war, and the French officers soon recognized how hopeless the struggle had become. For a time the commandant at Venango remained at his post, hoping to annoy the English, and to protect Lake Erie. But the question of supplies was a serious one, and it became necessary to concentrate all the French forces at Presque Isle. A year later all French garrisons in the Ohio country were called in to Detroit, and French power in the Ohio Valley had come to an end.⁴⁰

In the negotiations which led to the Peace of Paris in 1763, both France and England recognized the strategic importance of the Ohio River and its tributaries. From the French point of

⁴⁰ AC., C 11, 104: 19-22; *Pennsylvania Archives* (Harrisburg, 1874-), ser. 2, VI, 599; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, X, 1093-4.

view, continued control of Canada would be uncertain if not impossible without the essential Ohio region.⁴¹ The English, too, recognized the importance of the Ohio Valley. What was apparently an official spokesman pointed out that if the French were allowed to make navigable the mouth of the Mississippi, and to settle on its "fair banks," and those of the Ohio, there would inevitably be traffic between Canada and Louisiana, creating "a very dangerous and pernicious thorn in the sides of the British Colonies." It was suggested rather that "some Sugar Islands" should be returned to France as a concession. If, however, it became necessary in the end to return a part of the conquests which had been made in America, there should be a fixed boundary line to avoid a recurrence of the controversy in the Ohio Valley, which had been "one great occasion of the present War."⁴² This advice was accepted in the Peace of Paris in 1763, which handed over to England, Canada and all the territory east of the Mississippi, except New Orleans. Thus the English had finally overcome the French in the long struggle for the control of the Ohio Valley and its neighboring region, loosely termed the Ohio country.

⁴¹ AE., *Mém. et Doc., Amér.*, 25: 197ff.

⁴² *Observations on America, 1756-1760, Loudoun Papers*, 2564.

CHAPTER VII

The English in Control

AFTER the Peace of Paris in 1763 the English were supposedly in undisputed possession of the Ohio country, but there were many troublesome factors to be reckoned with. Above all, it was necessary to establish friendly relations with the Indians, now especially susceptible to the intrigues of the French traders who still lingered in the Wabash Valley posts with their bases in Spanish territory west of the Mississippi. Next in importance were the closely connected problems of controlling the immigrants, who were beginning to encroach upon Indian lands, and the rather lawless fur traders. The one apparent solution, to place the Trans-Appalachian region directly under the English Government, would run counter to the western claims of several of the colonies. The immediate task was to assert English power over the region which France had so lately controlled. Scarcely had John Forbes occupied Fort Duquesne when settlers in increasing numbers sought the protection of the rechristened Fort Pitt, and the little village soon took the place of Logstown as the main English trading center and military post in the Ohio Valley. At the same time assurances were given the Indians that the English did not plan an extensive settlement there, but only to put up the necessary storehouses for trade, and to erect a military stronghold on the site of Fort Duquesne.¹

The next move was to establish English control north of the Ohio Valley, and this was undertaken by Major Robert Rogers, the romantic leader of Rogers' Rangers, who embarked at Montreal September 13, 1760, with a party of more than 200 men, to

¹ Virginia House of Burgesses, *Journals, 1761-1765* (Richmond, 1907), p. xi ff.; James Sullivan, ed., *Sir William Johnson Papers* (Albany, 1891-1939), III, 34-5.

take over the western posts.² Rogers arrived at Presque Isle October 8, and after a hurried detour to Fort Pitt, he proceeded to the mouth of a river which he called, "Chogoge," and which was probably the Cuyahoga. Here he encountered a deputation of Ottawas headed by Pontiac. When this important chief haughtily asked why the English had entered that particular region without his permission, and what was their business, Rogers, undaunted, replied, that the French had been overthrown and he was on his way to occupy Detroit and make peace with the Indians. Pontiac discreetly sped the party on its way, but the incident, which had revealed the deep Indian distrust of the English, forecast the general uprising under Pontiac. Rogers and his party went on to Detroit, and on their return they made a detour over the Great Trail across country from Sandusky to Pittsburgh. Rogers took advantage of the opportunity to set down in his *Journal* important observations of the interior Ohio country.

The apparently peaceful situation in the Ohio country did not last long, and Indian restiveness under English rule soon reached a climax in the wide-spread disorder popularly known as Pontiac's Conspiracy.³ The fundamental trouble was the tactless English attitude toward the Indians, which was in such marked contrast with the consideration the French had shown. Frequently English officers, and at times even the soldiers, treated the more important chiefs in contemptuous fashion. Nor did the English continue the supplies of guns, ammunition and clothing which the French had distributed so generously. As a result there was actual suffering among the Indians, and matters were made worse by the unfair and dishonest conduct of so many English traders. The Indians of the Ohio country, too, were becoming much disturbed over the steady advance of English settlement in the Pittsburgh region. Lastly, the French traders seized upon all these causes of discontent to stir up the Indians.

² Francis Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac* (Boston, 1885), I, 161-71; F. B. Hough, ed., *Journals of Major Robert Rogers* (Albany, 1883), 175-202.

³ Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, I-II.

The undercurrent of unrest came to the surface in 1761 and 1762, in the form of Indian plots to seize the English posts in the western country, which were speedily nipped in the bud. In 1763, however, when news came that France had handed over to England all the vast region east of the Mississippi, Indian resentment could no longer be restrained. Pontiac became the chief conspirator in a wide-spread plot to destroy all English forts west of the Appalachians on the same day, and thus to drive the English across the mountains. The less important posts surrounding the Ohio country, the forts at Presque Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango, Fort Sandusky, Fort Miami, and Fort Ouiatenon, speedily fell into Indian hands. But the two main strongholds, Detroit and Fort Pitt, were not so easily conquered. At Detroit Pontiac signally failed in the attempt to seize the fort by stealth, and May 9, 1763, he began a siege that lasted until, worn out by the resistance of the heroic garrison, he left in disgust early in November, and this English stronghold was safe. At Fort Pitt, the expected attack was somewhat delayed. At first a band of supposedly friendly Delawares were admitted into the fort on July 26. They complained that the English had marched armies and built forts in the Indian country contrary to their wishes. Therefore the chiefs begged the English to leave, and warned them, if they refused the Ottawas would come in great force to the Forks of the Ohio. The commandant replied that the fort had been built to supply and protect the Indians, and he would defend it to the limit. The next night, Fort Pitt was attacked by a considerable force of Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots and Mingoes.⁴ Meanwhile Colonel Henry Bouquet, an exceptionally able Swiss officer who had served already under Forbes, had started west with about 500 men. Upon the approach of this force the Indians gave up the siege of Fort Pitt, and hurried to meet them. At Bushy Run, August 6, Bouquet inflicted an overwhelming defeat upon them, and Fort Pitt was relieved.

The Indian failure to capture Detroit and Fort Pitt meant that

⁴ M. C. Darlington, *History of Colonel Henry Bouquet* (Pittsburgh, 1920), 105.

the English still held a nominal control over the Ohio country. The Indians withdrew into the interior, retreating from Fort Pitt to the Muskingum, and beyond Sandusky in the north. From French traders, so it was rumored, they were securing arms and ammunition, and were planning another attack upon the English frontier in the spring. General Thomas Gage, who became commander-in-chief of the British forces in America in 1763, quickly grasped the situation, and planned two expeditions against the Indians for the campaign of 1764. One force under Colonel John Bradstreet was to move by way of Niagara against the Wyandots, the Ottawas and other Indians in the region of Lake Erie. At the same time a second force, under Bouquet, would march from Fort Pitt to attack the Delawares, the Shawnees, the Mingoës and other Indian tribes in the interior of the Ohio country. By this strategy, Gage believed, the Indians would be properly impressed with English power, now that their eyes had been opened, "as to the Succour they vainly hoped from the French." The English officers, he felt, must show great indifference to Indian promises, and must make them understand that they would be judged by their actions rather than by their words.⁵

The expedition under Bradstreet was the first one to move. An officer with extensive experience in frontier warfare, apparently he was an excellent choice. In reality Bradstreet's reputation was far beyond his merits, and he was self-willed, lacking in good judgment and eager for notoriety. His orders were explicit. From Niagara he was to proceed to Sandusky, and there he should attack the Wyandots, "our most inveterate enemies," who had extensive fields of corn with which they supplied other hostile Indians. Then, following either the Cuyahoga or the Sandusky, he should surprise the Delawares and the Shawnees who had retreated to the Muskingum and the Scioto. These important objectives secured, Bradstreet should then go to the aid of Detroit and other forts to the westward. These instructions also empha-

⁵ *Ibid.*, 107-8; C. E. Carter, ed., *Correspondence of General Thomas Gage, 1763-1775* (New Haven, 1931-3), II, 211-2; Thomas Gage MSS. (in William L. Clements Library), 1461, 1462.

sized the necessity to control the Miamis. As to the inhabitants of the French posts, Gage questioned whether it would not be wise "to rout those villains out of all the small posts." He was convinced, too, that "if the missionaries were sent about their Business . . . it would prove usefull." Supplementing these instructions were some practical suggestions which were probably drawn up by Sir William Johnson. Bradstreet should address the Indians "affably," and respect their point of view, frequently consulting them, and at the same time he should see that the Indians who came to counsel with him were "properly cloathed and armed, also victualled plentifully, with a Dram likewise Morning and Evening."⁶

Unfortunately Bradstreet failed to follow either his instructions, or the excellent advice he had received. At times he enraged the Indians by his high-handed conduct, on other occasions he was entirely too lenient and credulous.⁷ Early in July, 1764, he arrived at Niagara with a force of about 1,200. There he met representatives from friendly tribes of the Great Lakes region, and came to fairly satisfactory agreements with them. August 8, Bradstreet started up Lake Erie, but not before he had made a tactless mistake in the organization of an Indian battalion under Alexander Henry, an English trader whom the Indians had captured at Mackinaw. As the battalion included a number of Henry's captors, matters did not run smoothly, and when the Indians discovered that many of them were being led against their fellow tribesmen, all but ten of them deserted. The remainder left a few days later, after Bradstreet had severely upbraided them for drinking too much rum, and had reminded them that they were subject to military discipline.⁸ At Presque Isle a deputation from the Delawares and Shawnees waited upon

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1314, 1316, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1467; Carter, ed., *Gage Correspondence*, I, 26; Huntington MSS., H. M. 1976.

⁷ Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, II, 156-99; J. R. Albach, *Annals of the West* (Pittsburgh, 1857), 179-80.

⁸ Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories* (New York, 1809), 182-5.

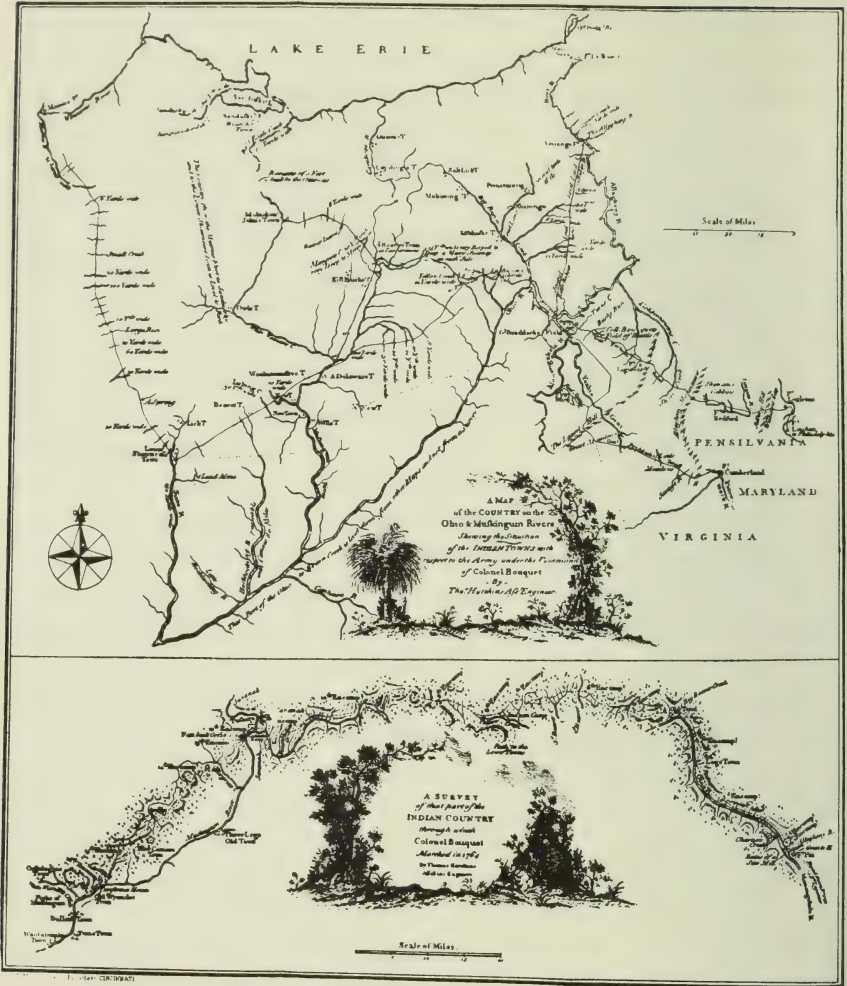
him, their real purpose to delay his expedition until the season was too far advanced to push his campaign. But Bradstreet calmly accepted their protestations of friendship at their face value, and notified Bouquet, who also had started west, that the Delawares and Shawnees had submitted, and the campaign could now be ended. At Sandusky Bradstreet was again overcredulous, making no attempt to send a force to the Scioto. But he accepted the promises of the Wyandots, the Ottawas and the Miamis, and went at once to Detroit to make peace. He returned with nothing accomplished. At Sandusky he received a message from Gage which roundly condemned his credulity, and ordered him to proceed to the plains of the Scioto. Enraged, Bradstreet declared the season was too far advanced for such an expedition, and led his force back to Niagara.

Bouquet, who commanded the force from Fort Pitt, was a man of different caliber. An extended experience had taught him the necessity of force in dealing with the Indians. Starting from Carlisle, August 5, 1764, with about 500 regulars and 1,000 Pennsylvania militia, Bouquet lost on the way fully 700 of the latter by desertion. At Fort Pitt, however, he filled their places with militia from Virginia who, with their experience in the backwoods, were to prove of great value on this particular expedition.⁹ At Fort Loudoun Bouquet received Bradstreet's message that he had made peace with the Delawares and the Shawnees, but with a better understanding of Indian wiles, he decided to continue the expedition until he received further word from Gage. At Fort Pitt came the first overtures from the alarmed Indians of the Ohio country. When three Delaware chiefs ventured across the Ohio, Bouquet held two of them as spies, and released the third one to go as a messenger to his tribesmen. Bouquet's message showed his keen understanding of Indian psychology. Bradstreet had notified him, he declared, of their request for peace, but since then they had openly violated their engagements and had mur-

⁹ [William Smith], *Historical Sketch of Bouquet's Expedition* (Cincinnati, 1868) 29-91; Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, II, 200-44; Albach, *Annals*, 181-2; Huntington MSS., H. M. 569; Bouquet MSS. (in Henry E. Huntington Library).

dered several Englishmen. Yet he would give them one more chance, and they must forward safely two messengers with despatches to Bradstreet. If these emissaries did not return within twenty days, he would put to death the two Delawares he was holding as hostages. Also, the Indians must return to Fort Pitt as soon as possible all the prisoners they had taken, or else they would "feel the full weight of a just resentment." Ten days later, two Indian envoys came to Fort Pitt with representations that the chief Ohio tribes were "sincerely sorry for what they had done," were now collecting their prisoners, and would deliver them within five days. Bouquet sensed the real purpose of this ruse, to hold his forces at Fort Pitt until the Indians could collect a large force, or the late season would make an advance impossible. In answer he declared that the Indians, against whom he proposed to march, were, "bad people," and had murdered many Englishmen. Now that the English had come to chastise them, it was not sufficient to say they were sorry, and he was resolved to take the road toward Sandusky. At "Tuskarawas," he would be willing to meet the chiefs.

True to his word, October 3 Bouquet started from Fort Pitt upon the perilous journey into the heart of the Indian country. In order to secure the cooperation of his troops, he called attention to the constant danger of sudden attack, and the need for frugal use of the supplies of food and ammunition. At the same time he announced severe penalties for infractions of discipline. The line of march through the forest was carefully planned, too, with the experienced woodsmen of the Virginia militia in the lead and on either side of the troops. The ammunition and tools, the oxen and sheep, and the baggage, were carefully placed in the center. In this dangerous country Bouquet ordered the men to observe "the most profound silence," marching at a distance of two yards from one another. In such careful fashion and in strong contrast to Braddock's tactics, this important expedition marched in safety to the junction of the Muskingum and the Tuscarawas. Proceeding a short distance down the Muskingum, Colonel Bou-



MAP. 11. THE COUNTRY ON THE OHIO AND MUSKINGUM RIVERS, 1766
 Map by Thomas Hutchins, from William Smith, *An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians, under . . . Henry Bouquet* (London, reprinted, 1766), frontispiece.

quet established his camp on a high bank where he erected a small stockade, and issued stringent orders to prevent surprise attacks by the numerous Indians that were skulking in the neigh-

borhood. On October 17, Bouquet received representatives of the Delawares, the Shawnees and the Senecas, in a setting that was skilfully arranged, standing in a bower, with his troops stationed alongside, "to appear to the best advantage." The chiefs humbly sued for peace, throwing the blame for Indian misconduct upon the rashness of their young men, and the treachery of the tribes to the westward. At the same time they made fervent promises to surrender all their prisoners. The following day Bouquet gave his answer. The excuses of the chiefs he termed "frivolous," and he boldly recounted their many acts of treachery. At this very time, he declared, they had collected a large force of warriors in order to overwhelm his army if they dared. He pointedly called attention to the many unfulfilled promises to give up their captives, and he refused to leave until this promise was carried out. He allowed them twelve days in which to surrender their prisoners to him, "without any exception," including "Englishmen, Frenchmen, women and children." When they had complied, he would let them know the terms upon which they could have a treaty.

Bouquet's bold speech was effective. Awed by such daring and the display of force, and doubtless fearing, too, that Bradstreet's army might be brought in from Sandusky as a reinforcement, the Indians saw that compliance was the one possible course. Bouquet now established a permanent camp site, near the junction of White Woman Creek and the Muskingum, and convenient to the principal Indian settlements. Here he prepared to receive the Indians, and to care for the captives they brought in. In a little more than three weeks, 206 captives were surrendered, and the Shawnees soon brought in 100 additional ones. The arrival of prisoners was accompanied by many touching scenes which gave a vivid insight into the perils of frontier life, as members of families, separated for years, were reunited. Often the Indians exhibited real emotion as they gave up captives whom they had adopted into their own families. Now that the Indians had complied with his demands, Bouquet could afford to be more

lenient. He spoke more kindly to them, and advised them to send deputies to Sir William Johnson, in order to consider specific terms of peace. Meanwhile he took hostages to ensure there would be no further acts of violence against the English. Nor did he let the Indians feel that all their past treachery had been forgotten, for he warned them that while they might safely come and go at Fort Pitt, it would be unwise to venture to any other of "our settlements, the Inhabitants not yet being reconciled with you." November 18, Bouquet reentered Fort Pitt, having forced the bulk of the Ohio Indians to recognize the English power.

While Bouquet's expedition met the immediate problem of peace in the Ohio country, some permanent solution was necessary. Already the English Government had taken up the question of a boundary line between Indian lands and those open to white settlers, working out an imperialistic plan that ignored the claims of the individual colonies west of the Appalachians. Its essential feature was the creation of a vast reservation, in which the Indians might dwell undisturbed by English immigration, and where trade with them would be under adequate control.¹⁰ This policy was put into concrete form in the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763, which prohibited all governors of the American colonies from issuing patents, until the royal pleasure was made known, to "any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or northwest." The territory approximately between the Appalachians and the Mississippi, and between Quebec and the Floridas, was reserved to the Indians. All persons who had settled there upon lands which the Indians had not ceded to the Crown, or which had not been purchased from them, were to remove themselves "forthwith." The proclamation also attempted to substitute imperial control of the fur trade for the very inadequate supervision exercised by the individual colonies, opening it to all English subjects who took out licenses with adequate security.

¹⁰ C. O., 325.1; Chatham Papers, G. D. 8.97; C. W. Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics* (Cleveland, 1917), I, Chapters VI-VII; William McDonald, *Select Charters, 1606-1775* (New York, 1899), 267-72.

In practise the Proclamation of 1763 could not be enforced. If it were interpreted literally, it would invalidate the titles of the many immigrants who were coming into western Pennsylvania and western Virginia, and would prohibit settlement in the Ohio country. To carry it out a considerable military force would be necessary, and this measure the English Government would not undertake in view of the expense. The situation with respect to the growing English fur trade especially, demanded some more concrete measures in place of the general terms of the Proclamation.¹¹ A careful survey in 1764 which included the Great Lakes region, as well as the Ohio country, showed that the fur trade employed fully 10,000 Indian hunters, and that goods of an average annual value of £179,594, 5s were being exchanged for the furs, with a profit at times of 100 per cent. The share of the Ohio country in this trade was considerable. Thus, a single firm filed claims for damages from Indian attacks in 1763 and 1765 which totaled £5,217, 18s, 12½d, distributed among trading expeditions to, "Waweachteing," the Miami country, Muskingum, the Lower Shawnee country, and the Illinois region. So valuable a trade needed careful regulation in view of the many threats from French intrigues, and from unprincipled English traders. And so the Board of Trade proceeded to formulate a system for the control of Indian affairs, and especially the fur trade. In this work they consulted especially Sir William Johnson, who had been in charge of Indian relations north of the Ohio since 1756. George Croghan, who was then in England, greatly aided the Board with his personal experience.

In July, 1764, the Board of Trade completed an elaborate plan to control Indian affairs, and especially the fur trade.¹² This scheme centered upon the two superintendents, Sir William Johnson and John Stuart, in charge of the northern and southern dis-

¹¹ C. O., 323.20; 325.1; Huntington MSS., H. M. 22,360; Ohio Company Papers, I, 72; Illinois State Historical Library, *Collections* (Springfield), X (1915), 338-9. (Hereafter this series is cited *Ill. Hist. Col.*)

¹² Alvord, *Mississippi Valley*, I, 221-5; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 637-41.

tracts respectively, with the Ohio River as the dividing line. Under the superintendents, who were directly responsible to the British Government, were commissaries in charge of subdivisions. Still smaller divisions were set off according to tribes, with a trading post in each one of them. As hitherto, traders were required to take out licenses from the governors of the colonies in which they resided. This plan also included provisions to keep the peace between Indians and traders, and as an effective means to this end, it prohibited the sale to the Indians of rum or other spiritous liquor, and of swan-shot and double-barreled guns. To complete this scheme the Board of Trade urged the drawing of a definite boundary line between Indian lands and those open to settlers.

Johnson approved the plan of the Board of Trade as a whole, although he feared it would be impossible to put an end altogether to the sale of rum. To carry out the scheme he proposed to establish eleven posts in his own district, two of them, Detroit and Fort Pitt, convenient to the Ohio country. The total annual expense, he estimated, including the salaries of a superintendent, three deputies, eleven commissaries, thirteen interpreters, and eleven smiths, and for incidentals, including presents to the Indians, would be £10,850. This sum he proposed to raise by various duties on the Indian trade, which would bring in annually an estimated £10,963, 6d.¹³

In other quarters this plan to reorganize Indian affairs met bitter criticism. The colonies interested in the fur trade naturally resented a scheme which would run so counter to their own petty interests, and a strong opposition developed in England also. An act of Parliament was necessary to put the scheme in effect, and the Board of Trade did not press for action. Instead, they instructed the two superintendents merely to carry it out so far as it was practicable.¹⁴ Accordingly, Johnson in 1766 prepared to organize two official trading posts for the Ohio country, at Detroit

¹³ *Ill. Hist. Col.*, X, 327-44.

¹⁴ A. T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement* (Cleveland, 1926), 173-5.

and Fort Pitt respectively, each with its full official staff, a commissary, an interpreter, a gunsmith and a surgeon.

As superintendent of the northern district Johnson did effective work, and one of his chief aims was to persuade the Iroquois, over whom he had great influence, to adopt a more peaceable attitude toward the English. His accounts between the years 1755 and 1774 show considerable expenditures among the Indians for the special benefit of the western country. Thus, one item of £1,289, 14s, 3d was for disbursements to the Indians, "in the district of Fort Pitt."¹⁵ The details of Indian relations in the Ohio country Johnson left under the direct supervision of his deputy, Croghan, who now made his headquarters at Croghan Hall, only four miles from Fort Pitt. Here Croghan conducted negotiations with the Delawares, the Shawnees, the Wyandots, and the Miamis and other western tribes. His duties were manifold.¹⁶ He must see that the many Indians who came to Fort Pitt for conferences were properly supplied. There was the problem of reopening the Indian trade after the expulsion of the French, with many inevitable clashes with the self-sufficient Pennsylvania traders. Still another difficult task was the general oversight of the English garrisons which had replaced the French at Venango, Le Boeuf, Presque Isle, Sandusky and Miami. To cap the climax, his English superiors, notably Sir Jeffrey Amherst, adopted a policy of the utmost economy, and insisted that Croghan should virtually abolish the customary presents to the Indians. The sequel was a real grievance which was the source of great disaffection. In spite of these and other constant annoyances Croghan did excellent work in pacifying the Ohio Indians with whom he held several conferences. Perhaps the most important was the one at Fort Pitt in May, 1768, with the Delawares, the Shawnees and other Indian tribes, all of whom accepted his conditions for the resumption of trade.

Johnson evidently approved Croghan's handling of Indian rela-

¹⁵ Audit Office Accounts (in British Public Records Office; hereafter cited A. O.), 1530.2; Sullivan, ed., *Johnson Papers*, IV-VIII, *passim*; W. L. Stone, *Life and Times of Sir William Johnson* (Albany, 1865), I-II, *passim*.

¹⁶ Volwiler, *George Croghan*, 143-208, 226-32; Gage MSS., 4090.

tions in the Ohio country, and gave him strong support for the most part.¹⁷ But the elaborate scheme of the Board of Trade to regulate Indian trade did not work satisfactorily. The parsimonious policy of the English Government was a main source of trouble. While Gage was inclined to be more liberal than his predecessor, Amherst, he constantly reminded Croghan of the necessity for economy, since "the Indian Expenses swell to an enormous Sum." The persistent opposition of colonial officials also had its effect, and the imperial scheme to control the Indian trade was soon a complete failure. Croghan, disgusted, resigned in 1772, much to the regret of Gage, who confessed, however, that he could not "remove the reasons." Croghan's successor, Alexander McKee, had already been appointed commissary in 1766. A native of Pennsylvania, and the son of Thomas McKee, a well-known Indian trader on the Susquehanna, McKee's long experience among the Indians well fitted him for his post. With no money for presents or even for supplies for the Indians who came to negotiate, his hands were tied, and soon his position was merely that of an agent in charge of general Indian relations. Any actual regulation of the Indian trade was left to the individual colonies, which, so far as the Ohio country was concerned, meant Pennsylvania.¹⁸

Although the plan for imperial control of the fur trade collapsed, the attention which it had focused upon western problems at least brought about the fixing of a definite boundary for the Indian lands. Some such arrangement was imperative, in view of the many unlicensed traders and the lawless settlers. The restriction of these two elements had been a prime motive in the Proclamation of 1763. But its provisions were too impractical, and a more definite line was needed.¹⁹ A group of Philadelphia merchants, who asked compensation in western lands for their heavy losses in the Indian uprising of 1763, joined in the demand for a

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 593, 2059, 2062, 2063, 3718, 4088.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 287, 1794, 3658, 3721.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*; C. O., 323.25; C. O., 324.121; *Ill. Hist. Col.*, X, 335.

permanent boundary, and enlisted the aid of Croghan and Benjamin Franklin. Such representations were finally effective, and in 1768, according to instructions from the Board of Trade, a conference was held with the Indians at Fort Stanwix in the Mohawk Valley. About 3,400 Indian warriors assembled, representing the Delawares, the Shawnees, the Senecas and other Ohio tribes, as well as those farther westward and northward. Twenty boat-loads filled with presents came up the Mohawk, and Johnson managed the negotiations with consummate skill.²⁰

The final agreement, known as the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, fixed the boundary of Indian lands. From the eastern end of Lake Ontario, the line ran southerly to the Delaware River, then west to Kittanning, where it turned down the Allegheny River, and then down the Ohio to the Tennessee. The Indians ceded all lands east and south of this line, in consideration of a "valuable present" of articles valued at £10,460, 7s, 3d and £10,000 additional in sterling.²¹ This boundary line both Indians and English formally observed, but in the treaty itself there were the germs of future conflicts. A large tract of land between the Kanawha and the Monongahela, granted to the Philadelphia merchants, was in an area which both Virginia and Pennsylvania claimed. As a result there was much lawlessness among the increasing settlers in the upper Ohio Valley, with many clashes with the Indians on the other side of the Ohio. The break-down of the imperial scheme for the control of the fur trade, and the lack of oversight by the colonial authorities, became still another source of conflict between the Indians and the white men.

With the boundary line of the Indian country supposedly settled, the next problem was to set up some agency for the settlement of the lands between the Appalachians and the Ohio. Already proposals had been made by interested persons to found new colonies in the vast region west of the Appalachians. With the

²⁰ Franklin Papers, Miscellaneous (in Library of Congress), II, 50-7; Alvord, *Mississippi Valley*, I, 61-89; Carter, ed., *Gage Correspondence*, I, 173; Volwiler, *George Croghan*, 221-5.

²¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VIII, 135-7; *C. O.*, 42-14.

opening of the western country and the increasing appreciation of its resources, speculators had rushed forward with such schemes.²² Indeed, scarcely had the French been subdued when there was a proposal to found two colonies, one on the Ohio, the other on the Mississippi. When the alarm over Pontiac's Conspiracy had died down, the colonizing fever broke out afresh. One of the most noteworthy projects favored three colonies in the western country, one in the Detroit area, another one on the lower Ohio, and a third on the Illinois and Mississippi rivers. Sir William Petty, first Marquis of Lansdowne and second Earl of Shelburne, who came into power in 1766, thoroughly approved the general principle, to establish "new governments" as aids to the fur trade, and to keep the Indians in order.

Of all these plans for colonies in the western country, the only one which came close to realization was the one proposed by the Philadelphia merchants, to whom the Indians had ceded great tracts south and east of the Ohio in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. The interested merchants soon formed the Grand Ohio Company to carry out their plans, including among their stockholders, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Walpole, a well-known London banker, and Thomas Pownall. This organization came to be known as the Vandalia Company, and an elaborate scheme for government was drawn up which followed the usual pattern for royal colonies. Full religious toleration was provided for in this frontier colony, and but for the Revolution Vandalia would have become a reality.²³ A number of other proposals for western colonies about the same time asked for lands in payment of military bounties, thus foreshadowing the general practice in the early settlement of the Ohio country.²⁴ One application of this type, submitted in 1767 by 60 officers who had served under Bradstreet, petitioned for an

²² *Ibid.*, 323.25; Alvord, *Mississippi Valley*, I, 77-101, 316ff.

²³ Ohio Company Papers, I, 82; C. O., 5.232, 347-72; Privy Council, Unbound Papers (in British Public Records Office), 1774; T. P. Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution* (New York and London, 1937), 40-58; Alvord, *Mississippi Valley*, II, 91-148; Volwiler, *George Croghan*, 266-7.

²⁴ C. O., 5.67; 323.25.

extensive grant on the Detroit River. Of a similar nature was the request from General Phineas Lyman of Connecticut in 1766, for a grant of land along the Mississippi, 300 miles north and 300 miles south of the Ohio, and extending eastward for a "great extent." This land Lyman petitioned for in behalf of veterans of the French and Indian War. The petition received scant attention, but two decades later, a similar request to the American Congress from Revolutionary veterans of Connecticut and Massachusetts was more successful.

Usually the petitions for western lands respected the Indian boundary line of 1768. But occasionally they asked for land in the Ohio country, as when Samuel Wharton and other influential men organized a company to purchase land north of the Ohio in 1772.²⁵ Still another petition came in 1775 from, "Myles Cooper, L.L.D. President of King's College in the City of New York, John Vardill, A.M. Professor of Divinity in the same, and Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D.D. Rector of St. John's Church, Elizabethtown, New Jersey."²⁶ These very reverend gentlemen drew a pathetic picture of their great difficulties in making adequate provision for their families, while they were engaged in promoting the "principles of Religion, Virtue, Loyalty, and just Subordination to Government." So they asked for a grant of 100,000 acres, to begin on the Muskingum, at "a place called Tuscarawas," and to extend between the Muskingum and the Hocking to the Ohio. This petition, too, received scant notice from the Board of Trade, but it was a forcible illustration of the view that western lands should be available as private rewards.

Rumors of the proposed colonies naturally alarmed the Indians, at the same time that the advance of settlement along the Ohio, and constant clashes with the settlers increased the dread of losing their lands. Settlers were increasing around Fort Pitt, in the Monongahela Valley, and on the upper Ohio until, at the outbreak of the Revolution there were between 25,000 and 30,000

²⁵ Volwiler, *George Croghan*, 297-8.

²⁶ C. O., 5-115.

persons in the Pittsburgh district.²⁷ Often without a valid title to their lands, many of these settlers were a lawless lot, and a constant source of trouble with the Indians across the Ohio. Shelburne and Gage insisted that these squatters must be expelled, and in 1768 the Pennsylvania Assembly passed a drastic act which required all persons who had settled illegally upon western lands to remove within thirty days, or else suffer death without benefit of clergy. This act proved to be a mere gesture. The settlers continued to pour in, and the quarrels with the Indians across the Ohio continued. From an interpreter who came to headquarters, Gage learned that at least 30 or 40 settlers on the east bank of the Ohio River had frightened the neighboring Indians so greatly that they had run away. According to the interpreter these settlers were "half naked, chiefly covered with loose, coarse linnen Frocks, such as the Frontier People manufacture for themselves, and Paint or Colour with Bark; and they differ little from Indians in their manner of Life." But to expel these uncouth and troublesome settlers, Gage discovered, was beyond his power. Attempts to drive away the settlers, without any title, on the Monongahela around Redstone Creek and Cheat Mountain were equally without effect.²⁸ The squatters in the upper Ohio Valley continued to increase, and presented a very real source of trouble with the Indians across the Ohio.

It was becoming increasingly apparent that an adequate military force was the one possible means to control the settlers on the western border, and to overawe the Indians. The latter of course presented the chief problem, but their number was not formidable, probably 750 fighting men in the Ohio country, and 1,350 potential allies in the Maumee-Wabash and Detroit regions, a total of

²⁷ C. H. Ambler, *History of West Virginia* (New York, 1933), 106-7; J. N. Boucher, *Century and a Half of Pittsburgh* (Chicago, 1908), I, 50; Joseph Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania* (Wellsburgh, W. Va., 1824), 99.

²⁸ C. O., 5.225; Gage MSS., 1954, 2910, 3139, 3307, 3308-14; Carter, ed., *Gage Correspondence*, I, 314, 336; Boyd Crumrine, *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1882) 142.

not more than 2,100 warriors.²⁹ Certainly an English force of 1,000 to 1,500 regulars, with the available militia, should have been sufficient to hold in check these scattered tribesmen. But councils in England were divided with respect to western problems. One adviser to the Crown reported that frontier forts were no longer necessary, and another, a military observer, strongly urged the necessity of posts on the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Great Lakes. For a time the latter suggestion was followed, and in 1765 seven companies were stationed at Fort Pitt and at Detroit respectively, and one company at Fort Bedford and Fort Ligonier, with a small force at Fort Chartres in the Illinois country.³⁰ This last fort, Gage considered of the utmost importance, since it guarded the lower Ohio, while Fort Pitt protected the upper valley. In his opinion still another fort on the Ohio was needed between these two.³¹ Gage had no doubts whatsoever as to the value of Fort Pitt and Fort Chartres, and if they were abandoned, he was convinced the door would be opened to endless French intrigues among the Indians, and frontier disorders would increase.

Gage considered Fort Pitt of supreme importance as the gateway to the Ohio country and its main defense. Much to his satisfaction he found that Bouquet had thoroughly repaired the fort, and he himself gave orders to overhaul it.³² But Fort Pitt was a difficult post to maintain. Owing to the high cost of transportation across the mountains, supplies were very expensive, averaging annually between £4,500 and £5,500. For the repair and upkeep of the barracks alone there was an additional annual expense of £200.³³ For a time Gage managed to save Fort Pitt, even after the English Government ordered the reduction of the western posts upon the plea that they might arouse Indian resentment. Finally, the frugal English policy forced him to order the fort

²⁹ Estimate by Thomas Hutchins, 1762, Huntington MSS., H. M. 1091; "Sir Wm. Johnson's Estimate, 1763," *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 583.

³⁰ Chatham Papers, G. D. 8.96, 97; C. O., 323.25.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 323.25; Huntington MSS., H. M. 20,030.

³² C. O., 323.25; Gage MSS., 389, 1674, 3140.

³³ A. O., 3.118; Carter, ed., *Gage Correspondence*, I, 129.

abandoned in October, 1772. Captain Edmonstone, the commandant, sold for £50 the building material in a fort upon which upwards of £60,000 had been expended. Not all the buildings were torn down, and during the Revolution Fort Pitt again became the main stronghold of the Ohio country.³⁴

A small volume published in London in 1767 contained an especially interesting suggestion regarding the necessary revenue to maintain Fort Pitt and other frontier posts,³⁵ a reprint essentially of a pamphlet published in 1739 by a "Club of American Merchants," headed by Sir William Keith and "many other eminent persons." This plan avowedly represented the sentiments of the "greatest Friends of America." It proposed to station a force of regular troops on the western frontier, with the expense met by a stamp tax in the colonies. This plan was being revived, it was alleged, "to promote the interest of the Plantations in general, to extend their Settlements Westward, and protect their Trade with the Indians." By this measure, its proponents declared, a frequent source of friction between the colonies would be removed, and it would place, "the united strength of all the Colonies together, into the Hands of the Crown, without affecting their constant and necessary Interdependency on one another." Following so swiftly upon the repeal of the Stamp Act, this proposal naturally received scant attention, but at least it showed that the problems of the Ohio country were not being ignored in England.

The failure to maintain an adequate garrison at Fort Pitt inevitably led to trouble between the Indians of the upper Ohio Valley and the settlers. The keynote of English policy continued to be, to maintain at all costs the friendship of the Iroquois, whose claims to be overlords of the Ohio country were grudgingly recognized by the Indians of that section. Yet even with the powerful Iroquoian aid, Johnson encountered increasing hostility in dealing with the Ohio Indians. The traders, now practically uncontrolled,

³⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 176; Gage MSS., 2523; *Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1896), II, 99-159; Volwiler, *George Croghan*, 226.

³⁵ Sir William Keith, *Two Papers on the Subject of Taxing the British Colonies in America* (London, 1767), Loudoun Papers, 46.

were stirring them up by their wide-spread sales of rum. Then, too, these Indians had been greatly disappointed by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, claiming that as the surrendered land east and south of the Ohio was theirs by right of conquest, they, rather than the Six Nations, should have received at least a part of the purchase money. The constant encroachments of the inhabitants of the frontier added to this Indian discontent, and the French traders, working from their bases in the Wabash Valley, were quick to take advantage of all these sources of trouble.³⁶ Finally, in the spring of 1770 there were rumors that a great Indian congress was being planned to meet on the plains of the Scioto. Gage was very apprehensive, fearing the consequences if so many Indians met together with a large quantity of rum on hand. There was literally nothing he could do, and the Indians gathered in the fall in considerable numbers, some of them coming from as far off as the Great Lakes and the Wabash Valley.³⁷ French agents had exerted much influence, and there were unmistakable signs of unfriendliness toward the English. Above all, Gage feared the outcome of this congress would be the formation of a northern Indian confederacy which would join a southern one, headed by the Cherokees, against the Iroquois. If such a union came about, the one English hope to avoid a repetition of the terrors of Pontiac's Conspiracy, was to hold fast to the traditional friendship of the Six Nations, and trust to them to control the Indians of the Ohio country. If the worst came, Johnson was confident he could hold a sufficient body of Indians loyal to the English to meet the attack of the hostile tribes.

Meanwhile many signs showed wide-spread Indian hostility.³⁸ Several Shawnee chiefs gave notice they intended to move to the Scioto in anticipation of war, and other Indians, it was rumored,

³⁶ C. O., 323.20; Gage MSS., 1319; Carter, ed., *Gage Correspondence*, I, 31, 227, 335, 341; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 573; VIII, 185.

³⁷ Gage MSS., 2908; Carter, ed., *Gage Correspondence*, I, 281-2; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VIII, 262-4, 280-1.

³⁸ Sullivan, ed., *Johnson Papers*, VII, 1149-50; VIII, 291; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VIII, 291-2, 314-7, 340-1, 361-2, 369.

would move into the woods near Lake Erie. Nevertheless Johnson was still optimistic, believing that if only the English traders were fair, and French intrigue was stopped, the situation would quickly improve. The Six Nations, he believed, held the key to the situation, and it would be necessary to reassure them as to English designs west of the Appalachians. The Ohio Indians continued to be aroused over the possible coming of settlers who would cause them trouble, and the traders, practically unrestrained, still added to the general trouble with their "vast cargoes of rum." In dealing with this generally unsatisfactory situation Johnson was much disturbed by rumors of secret alliances and intrigues. Especially dangerous was the presence on the upper Ohio of a considerable body of Senecas who were peculiarly open to the blandishments of the Ohio tribes, and he advised the Six Nations to move them nearer their own country.

The Iroquois seem to have been sincere in their efforts to maintain peace in the western country. But the aggressiveness of Virginia under Lord Dunmore practically nullified Johnson's efforts to establish friendly relations with the Ohio Indians. The motives were easily found. Settlers were coming down the Greenbrier-New Valley, and into the Monongahela and Wheeling districts where the claims of Virginia came into direct conflict with the plans of the Pennsylvania supported Vandalia Company. The evacuation of Fort Pitt in 1772 was the signal for a violent quarrel between the two colonies over the land west of the Appalachians.³⁹ Pennsylvania formed the disputed area into Westmoreland County, while Virginia countered with the District of West Augusta, naming Pittsburgh as the county seat. Croghan seemed to favor the Virginia claims, and his nephew, Dr. John Connolly, became an active agent of that colony. January 1, 1774, Connolly summoned the militia of the Pittsburgh region, and at the same time seized Fort Pitt, rechristening it Fort Dunmore. He sent out a circular letter to the inhabitants of the western country warning them to

³⁹ Abernethy, *Western Lands*, 91-7; J. J. Jacob, *Life of Captain Michael Cresap* (Cincinnati, 1866), 64-7.

be on their guard, and to have all their forts ready in case of a sudden Indian attack. It was not long before the reckless frontiersmen began to attack the Indians across the Ohio.⁴⁰ First Captain Michael Cresap, a well-known Indian trader, led from Wheeling a party of frontiersmen, who killed a number of Indians encamped on Yellow Creek above Steubenville, including a sister of Logan, the famous Cayuga chief. Later Cresap accepted a commission in the Virginia militia, and accompanied Major Angus McDonald on an expedition which set out from Wheeling some time in June, crossed the Ohio, and went through the country to the Muskingum, near present Coshocton. This expedition naturally stirred up the alarmed Indians still more. Already the Delawares, the Shawnees and the Wyandots in the Ohio country had made overtures to the Pennsylvania authorities, but the wary Quakers decided not to meddle in the affair, as its "consequences may essentially affect government."

Meanwhile trouble was brewing between the Virginians and the Indians in another quarter. During the summer of 1773 Captain Thomas Bullitt, with a considerable body of men, went down the Ohio to the Falls, and proceeded to make surveys on the present site of Louisville, a proceeding which stirred up the Shawnees who regarded this region as their own private hunting ground. Nor was the situation helped by French agents, who assured the Indians that the true aim of the English was to take possession of the entire Kentucky country. Other prospectors who came to the Kentucky country in 1773 included a party of 30 from the Yadkin Valley. The inevitable result of this increasing activity across the Ohio in Kentucky, was to increase the Shawnee restlessness, with border outbreaks as a result.⁴¹

The advance of the Virginians on the upper Ohio and in Kentucky made war inevitable, and the sequel was the brief campaign commonly known as Dunmore's War, which started with

⁴⁰ R. G. Thwaites and L. P. Kellogg, eds., *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774* (Madison, Wis., 1905), 305-6; Jacob, *Cresap*, 68-9; Sullivan, ed., *Johnson Papers*, VIII, 648.

⁴¹ Abernethy, *Western Lands*, 98-107; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VIII, 395-6.

two separate expeditions. One force of about 1200 Dunmore brought together at Fort Dunmore, rechristened Fort Pitt. By September 30, 1774, he was at Wheeling, and about six weeks



9. LORD DUNMORE

From the portrait in R. G. Thwaites and L. P. Kellogg, *Documentary History of Lord Dunmore's War* (Madison, 1905), frontispiece. Courtesy of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

later he had advanced to Pickaway Plains on the Scioto. Here in the very heart of the Shawnee country, he established Camp Charlotte. Meanwhile Colonel Andrew Lewis, with a force of militia from southwestern Virginia, advanced down the New and Kanawha valleys, reaching Point Pleasant on the Ohio October 6. Three days later, the Indians, chiefly Delawares, Shawnees, Mingoes and Ottawas, crossed the river, fully 1,000 strong, and came to grips with the Virginians. The Indians fought bravely, but they were obliged to retreat with heavy losses. Halting any further advance of Lewis and his men, Dunmore concluded a highly satisfactory peace with the Indians who had been caught as in a vise between the

two expeditions. They agreed to return all prisoners, to permit boats to go down the Ohio unmolested, and to come to Fort Pitt in the spring in order to negotiate a permanent peace.⁴²

Dunmore's War had far-reaching results. The Battle of Point Pleasant inspired the Indians with a wholesome dread of the Long Knives, as they called the Virginians, and for a time at least they kept the peace. Thus this brief campaign paved the way for

⁴² Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Dunmore's War*, p. ix-xxvii, 253-97.

the conference between the western Indians and the Continental commissioners at Pittsburgh, September 15, 1775, and the ensuing peace in the Ohio country at the beginning of the Revolution. One exceedingly interesting by-product of Dunmore's War was the famous speech of Logan, the Cayuga chief. The English, needing his great influence, had begged him to attend the negotiations at Camp Charlotte. But Logan refused, and sent instead the eloquent speech which, aside from the dispute over its actual authorship, has come to represent the spirit of the red man who had been a friend to the white man, and now suffered from his cruelties. The speech began with the well-known passage: "I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin, and he gave him not meat, if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not." Pointing out that he had refused to take part in Dunmore's War, Logan narrated his injuries at the hands of Cresap, concluding: "There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have fought it! I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance; for my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not one."⁴³

The Quebec Act passed in June, 1774, was actually a carefully planned attempt of the English Government to solve the pressing problems of the Ohio country.⁴⁴ Its aims, however, were varied. The continued Indian unrest, and the consequent disorganization of the fur trade demanded some definite remedy. But this would require sufficient control over the French settlements to the westward of the Ohio country, to ensure that they would cease to be centers of anti-English intrigue. It was necessary to remove the Indian apprehensions that settlers would encroach upon their

⁴³ Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia* (Baltimore, 1801), 95-6, 331-64; Brantz Mayer, *Logan and Cresap* (Albany, 1867), 165-80.

⁴⁴ Alvord, *Mississippi Valley*, II, 209-25; Victor Coffin, *Province of Quebec*, University of Wisconsin, *Economics, Political Science and History Series* (Madison), I (1896), 391ff.

lands in complete disregard of the Ohio boundary line which had been agreed upon in 1768. Lastly, if these pressing problems were to be solved, it must be done by the English Government, rather than by the individual colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia. With these objectives the Quebec Act added the territory north and west of the Ohio to the province of Quebec, thus flatly denying the claims of the seaboard colonies to western lands. On the other hand, by restoring the boundary line of 1768, this provision, it was hoped, would put an end to Indian fear of encroachments upon their lands. Furthermore, English settlers would probably be kept out by the sections of the Act which recognized the Catholic Church and established French property law throughout the province in satisfaction of the claims of the French-Canadians living along the St. Lawrence. Yet these same provisions went far toward conciliating the French *habitants* of the Maumee-Wabash and Illinois region. In short, like so many colonial projects conceived in London, the Quebec Act attempted to conciliate one side, the Indians and the French *habitants*, and in doing so stirred up a veritable hornet's nest among the English colonists. Nevertheless the act kept French Canada loyal to Great Britain when the American Revolution broke out the following year.

The inhabitants of the colonies along the Atlantic Coast, now saw themselves cut off from the rich lands beyond the mountains, and resentment was especially strong among the settlers on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia. In England, too, the Quebec Act had its repercussions. The Common Council of London, already worried over the decreasing trade with the colonies, boldly petitioned the king to veto the measure, since it did away with jury trial in civil cases, as well as with representative government, and broke the promise to the frontier settlers that they would enjoy the full rights of Englishmen. This petition protested, too, against the recognition of the Catholic Church, pointing out that the Hanoverian family had come into power as a result of the exclusion of the "ancient" Catholic branch of the royal family, and that the king himself had promised to uphold

the Protestant faith.⁴⁵ This religious opposition was even stronger among the Scotch-Irish frontiersmen, and opposition to the Quebec Act became a living issue in the American Revolution, as the inspiration of a crusade for the preservation of English institutions in the Ohio country and throughout the Old Northwest. As regards the British problem of dealing with conquered French Canada, however, it was an act of statesmanship.

Turning from the picture of a disorderly frontier and the attempts to solve its problems by force, it is interesting to note in contrast a few sporadic efforts to Christianize and civilize the Ohio Indians.⁴⁶ The pioneer work of the Moravian missionaries among the Delawares on the Muskingum has already been mentioned. English sense of responsibility, also, soon awoke, and in 1764 the Board of Trade recommended to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the appointment of four missionaries in each district of the Indian country, and Sir William Johnson strongly approved this plan. About the same time General Phineas Lyman proposed to set up, in his colony on the Mississippi, an Indian school similar to the one Reverend Eleazar Wheelock had established as the foundation of Dartmouth College. Lyman proposed to train the Indian boys as teachers or missionaries, requiring all of them to do practical work in agriculture and industry. To the girls he would give merely the essentials of good housekeeping.

Another interesting episode was the mission to the Ohio Indians undertaken by Reverend David Jones, pastor of the Baptist church at Freehold, New Jersey. His project received the approval of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, which gave him a certificate in 1772 that called special attention to "his benevolent and fervent longing desire for the promulgation of the gospel of a dear Redeemer and the salvation of the immortal souls of his native countrymen, the several tribes of Indians."⁴⁷ As he himself

⁴⁵ State Papers, Domestic (in British Public Records Office), Geo. 3.10.

⁴⁶ C. O., 323.125; *Ill. Hist. Col.*, X, 329, 331; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 637.

⁴⁷ E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1850-1), IV, 300; H. G. Jones, ed., *Journal of Reverend David Jones* (New York, 1865).

acknowledged, the reverend gentlemen had "views" of settling in the proposed new colony of Vandalia, and was in close contact with its chief promoters. He set out upon his first journey May 14, 1772, going to Fort Pitt, and leaving there with George Rogers Clark "and several others who were disposed to make a tour through this new world." Jones went down the Ohio as far as the mouth of the Little Kanawha, but finding that even the Delawares regarded him with suspicion, he did not venture into the interior of the Ohio country, and returned home after a journey of nearly four months, having relied for the most part upon his own resources. Jones, of Welsh origin, was not easily turned aside, and in April, 1773, he again went west. First he visited the Shawnees, going up the Scioto to the very heart of their country. There a number of traders, including Alexander McKee, treated him with great courtesy, but his ignorance of the Shawnee language proved to be a great handicap. After spending about four weeks among the Shawnees with no apparent results except to arouse suspicions, this intrepid missionary started, alone, to ride in the midst of winter across country to the Delaware settlements in the Muskingum Valley. Jones made the perilous journey in safety, and was received by the sympathetic Moravian missionaries and their converts. Here he learned that the Indians would welcome a minister and a schoolmaster among them, provided they were not Presbyterians, for frontier ministers of that faith had gone to war against them. Again his lack of knowledge of the Indian language, and the difficulty in securing an acceptable interpreter interfered, and Jones left for Fort Pitt and home. During this second tour of a little over six months he had slept continuously in the open, and had endured many hardships. He had, he testified, "learned more in this time than in all my life before."

But the English officials were much more concerned in fostering the western fur trade than in converting the Indians. Gage estimated at £80,000 the annual value of the furs which found their way from the Illinois region and the upper Mississippi through New Orleans and ultimately to France, with large quantities of

French manufactures disposed of in return. One of the main English objectives now became the diversion of this rich fur trade up the Ohio to Pittsburgh and east across Pennsylvania.⁴⁸ To make this traffic route entirely feasible, it was essential to establish peaceful relations with the Ohio Indians. The vicissitudes of the western fur trade were forcibly illustrated by the experience of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, the most important Philadelphia firm engaged in this trade. In 1766 business was so flourishing that the partners engaged shipbuilders to construct bateaux at Pittsburgh for use on the Ohio. At the height of their trade they were using 600 pack-horses between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, and 300 boatmen on the Ohio, to carry on a trade estimated at £50,000 each year. Soon increasing difficulties with the Indians interfered, at least a part of the fur trade was diverted to New Orleans, and the Pennsylvania traders confined their activities chiefly to the Ohio country.⁴⁹

One important outcome of the effort to build up the western fur trade was a marked advance in the detailed knowledge of the Ohio River. In England the most notable evidence was Thomas Pownall's map of the Ohio country in 1776. Based upon the one by Lewis Evans in 1755, this map included also many later journals and notes of English officers and others who had gone up and down the Ohio.⁵⁰ Even more important was the work of Thomas Hutchins, which was based chiefly upon personal trips and surveys. After serving in the French and Indian War, Hutchins superintended the building of Fort Pitt, and conducted many explorations in the near-by region. His first important map, one of a tour from Fort Cumberland to Fort Pitt in 1762, was evidently based upon personal observation, and showed the western country as far

⁴⁸ Chatham Papers, G. D. 8.97; C. O., 323.25; Carter, ed., *Gage Correspondence*, I, 99-100, 119, 121-2, 279.

⁴⁹ Volwiler, *George Croghan*, 190-1, 203.

⁵⁰ Thomas Pownall, *Topographical Description of the Middle British Colonies*, with annexed map (London, 1776).

N ^o of Course	Course	Time			Distance		Remarks
		Hours	Min	Sec	mi	ft	
173210	1	5 1/2	3 1/4	3/4			Water 3 1/2 Tathoms at 4 1/2 Min small Run on L ^t at Chautauque Men Bottom begins on L ^t at 24 1/2 Min Runs on R ^t at Hardy Men Water at Feet Mid Stream, a Branch on L ^t side of R ^t and runs along a low on L ^t the Branch continues sou th above & below the place - at Hardy Men small Run on L ^t Bottom on R ^t half mile wide - Gravelly - above R ^t at end of 45 Min. to end of Peabody shore - and small Run on R ^t Peabody side would have Bottom on R ^t at one Run and 1/2 of 16 Min small Run on L ^t that under the Ridge -
173211		3 1/2	3	2 1/4		20	Water 3 Tathoms at 20 1/2 Min Water Peabody - Feet Mid Stream - Run 1000 yds. Ridge on L ^t Bottom on R ^t to end of Hat ^h South
		5 1/2	3 1/4			0	Water 2 Tathoms - Run Bottom on L ^t at Hardy Men at Down - at 46 Min Water 2 Tathoms Mid Stream - at 1/2 the low Min Water 11 Feet. Run on R ^t end of R ^t
173212	1	10	5 1/2			0	at one Min Run on R ^t side the Run Feet at Hardy Men Bottom - 1 measure L ^t Water Runs East on R ^t Bottom on R ^t & Narrow on L ^t
173213		49	3 1/2	300		0	Water 9 Tathoms at 16 1/2 Min small Run on R ^t at Peabody Men large Run, and that divides the R ^t by Peabody - Run which a thin plate of grass to be near a mile broad - at Peabody the Run is 1/2 mile grass under - at Peabody Run Water 3 Feet about 1/2 the Run - Bottom on R ^t end of Hat ^h at 1/2 the Run Run on L ^t then of Peabody Water 6 Tathoms at 1/2 the Run of R ^t Run on R ^t
173214		45	3 1/2	223		0	at 15 Min Water 2 Tathoms Mid Stream at Peabody Men large Run on R ^t at 30 Min Water 3 Feet Mid Stream - Bottom Run on R ^t that near 100 yds out - at Peabody Men small Run on R ^t at 38 Min Ridge begins on R ^t Bottom on L ^t end of Hat ^h
173215	1	2	4 1/2	66		0	Water 2 Tathoms at 33 Min large Run on R ^t and Bottom begins on R ^t Bottom on L ^t all the course at Peabody Men Run on L ^t
173216		11	1	88		0	Water 12 Feet at Peabody Bottom begins on L ^t Bottom on R ^t at 1/2 the Run Run on L ^t
173217		17	1 1/2	419		0	at 19 1/2 min near Mid Stream Ridge partly close on L ^t at Peabody Men large Run on R ^t Little Run on Peabody side of R ^t at Peabody Men Run on R ^t Bottom on L ^t

as Lake Michigan and the Wabash, and down to the Ohio River, with many intervening trails.⁵¹

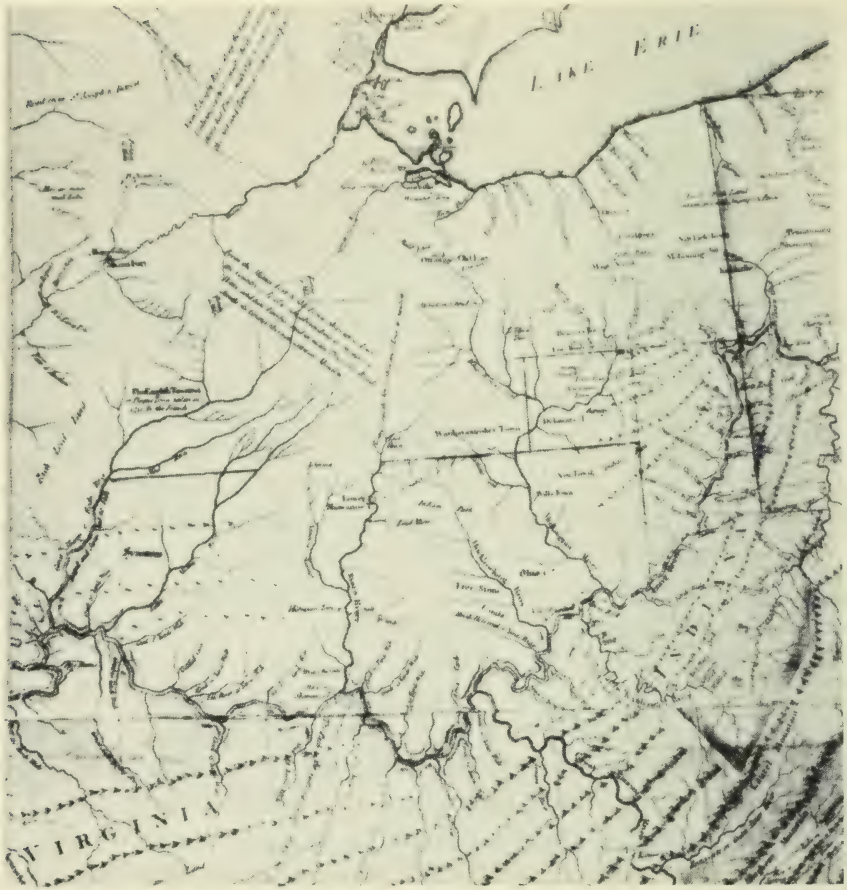
June 18, 1766, Hutchins started from Pittsburgh upon a journey down the Ohio which was to prove of great significance in its effect upon western navigation. Accompanying him was Captain Henry Gordon, chief engineer in North America, who kept a journal which, in Gage's opinion, gave distances and places in the Ohio Valley "with more accuracy than has been done by any other person."⁵² Gordon also jotted down many interesting observations in his *Journal*, including a list of the different tributaries with the distance between them. The total length of the Ohio, he estimated at 1,164 miles.⁵³ Hutchins also was busy, carrying on an elaborate hydrographical survey of the river, and noting such details as suitable camping sites, the conformation of the banks, and the character of the timber and soil. In a particularly interesting item on July 8, he noted that at "Buffaloes Lick . . . our Indians" killed fifteen or sixteen buffaloes. Another typical entry recorded that the Little Miami, at the mouth of which Hutchins and his party encamped, July 12, "runs thro' a very extensive Rich Bottom, and has opposite its mouth a Gravelly Beach, which continues close on L^t Shore for 300 yds. below the mouth—this River has high Banks—The Ohio here runs pretty swift, on L^t Shore opposite the mouth of the River is an abundance of Lime Stone." At the Falls, Hutchins and his party stayed five days, making a detailed survey, and August 8 they reached the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi.⁵⁴ This careful survey, together with Gordon's *Journal*, provided the material for a really accurate map and descriptive pamphlet of the Ohio River and the Ohio

⁵¹ "A Manuscript Map of a Tour from Fort Cumberland to Fort Pitt, 1762, with a Description of the Country and the Names of the Different Indian Tribes," Huntington MSS., H. M. 1091.

⁵² Carter, ed., *Gage Correspondence*, I, 121.

⁵³ Pownall, *Topographical Description*, Appendix, 2-5.

⁵⁴ "Courses of the Ohio River, Taken by T. Hutchins, Anno 1766," Huntington MSS., H. M. 642.



MAP 12. THOMAS HUTCHINS' MAP, 1778

"A new map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina," published by Thomas Hutchins, 1778; reduced from an original map in the Map Division, Library of Congress.

and Indian War, he expected to receive a promised bounty. With his customary care Washington wrote down many details of his trip.⁵⁶ His keen eye recognized the trouble which was rapidly developing with the Ohio Indians, as a result of the increasing

⁵⁶ J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Diaries of George Washington* (Boston and New York, 1925), I, 402-47.

settlement east of the Ohio. The people from Virginia and elsewhere, he noted, were exploring and working the valuable lands on the Redstone and on the Ohio as far as the Little Kanawha, and if they were permitted, their settlements would soon extend to the Great Kanawha. The truth was, the schemes of the English Government to settle the problems of the western country had all failed, and the Continental Congress inherited a difficult and serious situation there. Upon the wisdom with which it was worked out would depend, in large measure, the ultimate fate of the Ohio country, and its relation to the new American Nation.

CHAPTER VIII

The British vs. the Americans

SCARCELY was Dunmore's War ended when the mounting dissatisfaction with the mother country reached a climax in open conflict at Lexington and Concord, April 19, 1775. The colonies were now arrayed against the entire British Empire, rather than England alone, and so far as the Ohio country was concerned, the conflict was a clear-cut struggle for supremacy between the British in nominal control and the advancing Americans. The situation was strikingly similar to the one during the French and Indian War. Like the English in 1754, the Americans in 1775 based their power upon Fort Pitt and the near-by region, while the British, like the French in the earlier war, had their headquarters at Detroit, and controlled the Wabash Valley and the Illinois settlements. Between these centers of British and American power were the Ohio tribes, with each side striving to win their friendship, and the odds favoring the British who, in addition to their long-time alliance with the Iroquois, controlled the Great Lakes and the Wabash Valley. A forecast of the Ohio Valley was the resolution adopted by Lord Dunmore's officers, November 5, 1774, at Fort Gower near the mouth of the Hocking, pledging their utmost efforts "for the defense of American liberty, and for the support of her just rights and privileges."¹

The British faced many difficult problems in holding Detroit at so great a distance from their main base in Canada.² In April, 1776, there were only 120 men in the garrison, and the approximately 350 untrained militia at Detroit, chiefly French *habitants*,

¹ *American Archives*; prepared by Peter Force (Washington, 1837-53), ser. 4, I, 953.

² Additional MSS., 21,764; A. O., 1,376.1; War Office Papers (in British Public Records Office; hereafter cited W. O.), 28.6; R. G. Thwaites and L. P. Kellogg, eds., *Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777* (Madison, Wis., 1908), 147-51.

were not dependable. At the same time military supplies included about a ton of powder and shot. Sir Frederick Haldimand, who came to Canada as governor in 1778, adopted a more vigorous policy, so that by 1782 the garrison at Detroit had increased to 432, and in other respects the post had been greatly strengthened. The main dependence of the British, however, in maintaining their hold in the western country was in their Indian allies, and that meant the transportation of arms and ammunition a long distance and at great expense. For example, for 1781 the total military expenditure at Detroit was not less than £88,654, 15s, 3d in New York currency. With such large annual budgets, British activities in the western country were necessarily limited.

At first glance the American situation at Fort Pitt was far stronger than that of the British at Detroit. The population in the neighborhood was rapidly increasing, with settlers coming into the Monongahela Valley, and even to Wheeling Creek. Other immigrants were coming down the Greenbrier and the New rivers into the Kanawha Valley, and in the Blue Grass region of eastern Kentucky there was a rapidly increasing population, which soon spread as far as Louisville at the Falls of the Ohio. These growing settlements had a two-fold value to the Americans: as a source of supplies, and even more important, as a reservoir of man power.³ From Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, eight companies of militia and one company of rangers were enlisted during the Revolution, in addition to a long list of non-commissioned officers and privates in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. Monongalia County, Virginia, with a population of 1,200 by 1776, also furnished a large number of recruits, and it was chiefly from the pioneers in the Greenbrier Valley that Colonel Andrew Lewis collected his troops for Dunmore's War. In Kentucky the militia numbered 1,286 in 1781. Thus, in contrast to the British the Americans were not at all dependent upon Indian allies, but had an abundant reservoir of man power to supplement the regular

³ C. H. Ambler, *History of West Virginia* (New York, 1933), 106-9; J. N. Boucher, *Old and New Westmoreland* (New York, 1918), I, Chapter XXI; R. S. Cotterill, *History of Pioneer Kentucky* (Cincinnati, 1917), 183.



MAP 13. THE OHIO COUNTRY IN THE REVOLUTION

Approximate areas of American settlement and chief Indian tribes, principal trails in the northern region, and important American forts and campaigns; based upon Charles Whittlesey's "Historical Map of Ohio," in H. F. Walling and O. W. Gray, *New Topographical Atlas of the State of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1872), p. 35.

troops at Fort Pitt and other western posts. Furthermore, the transportation of supplies over the well-marked trails from the seaboard, did not involve either the distance or the expense in supplying Detroit from the British base in Canada.

American strength was seriously weakened by the boundary controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia, which was not settled until 1776, when Pittsburgh and the surrounding territory was finally included in Pennsylvania.⁴ The long continued quarrels were intensified after the appointment in 1776 of George

⁴T. P. Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution* (New York and London, 1937), 176-8; Boyd Crumrine, *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1882), 158-203.

Morgan, who as Indian agent at Fort Pitt was substantially interested in the Vandavia scheme. As a result there was much intrigue in favor of the British in Pittsburgh and the near-by settlements, with a really serious threat to the Americans in the plot of Dr. John Connolly,⁵ who had represented Virginia in this region under Lord Dunmore. Essentially Connolly's ambitious scheme was to raise a considerable force of British, French and Indians at Detroit, cross the Ohio country and capture Fort Pitt with the aid of the many disaffected inhabitants. Then, having secured this backdoor of the American colonies, he would march across the mountains and join Dunmore at Alexandria on the Potomac. Connolly's arrest in Maryland on his way to Pittsburgh put an end to his plot, but the wide-spread disaffection in western Pennsylvania continued to be a grave menace to the Continental cause.

Another serious problem at Fort Pitt, in spite of many seeming advantages of position, was that of supplies of food and the like for the troops. With the increasing population west of the mountains, an abundant supply of provisions should have been available for the garrisons in the western posts; this was far from true. From time to time, as agent for Congress, Morgan received orders to store up provisions, but he could not comply, chiefly because of the very limited funds at his disposal, and the unwillingness of the frontier people to part with their property without adequate compensation.⁶ The contractors stretched their personal credit to the limit, but the scarcity of supplies continued. In 1780 Colonel Daniel Brodhead complained that unless money were sent immediately to purchase forage, the horses at Fort Pitt would die for want of food. Three different times, Brodhead declared, he had called out the militia to attack the Wyandots and other trouble-making Indians. Each time he had been disappointed in his efforts to secure the necessary provisions, and the settlers had

⁵ Continental Congress Papers (in Library of Congress), 78: V, 13, 17, 19; Crumrine, *Washington County, Penn.*, 180-1; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Revolution on Upper Ohio*, 136-42.

⁶ Cont. Cong. Papers, 78: III, 441; IV, 29; XX, 315; *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, 1904-37), IX, 912.

actually driven their cattle into the mountains, threatening the foraging expeditions. Congress made repeated requisitions for supplies for the western posts, but like similar requests for the main Revolutionary forces in the eastern sector, the response was altogether inadequate. Pennsylvania was the chief dependence for the western forces, for the distance from Virginia, and the many difficulties of transportation, made it impracticable to secure supplies there on a large scale.⁷ For the campaign of 1781, Washington asked for large supplies from Pennsylvania to be delivered at Fort Pitt, but apparently with little effect. By spring affairs were in a deplorable state. Provisions were "extremely deficient," and for fully twelve months the garrisons at Fort Pitt and the neighboring posts had subsisted "in the most scanty and precarious manner." Now the distress was so great there was danger these posts would be abandoned, and the frontier would thus be exposed to the enemy.

At first, an adequate supply of arms, and especially of ammunition was another pressing problem in the western country. Congress regularly issued orders for these necessary supplies, but even when these requisitions were filled, the grade was usually unsatisfactory. For example, according to an official report of May 1, 1777, there was then in the magazine at Fort Pitt, 3,472¼ lbs. of "good" and 1,825 lbs. of "bad" powder, 4,442 lbs. of lead, 9,683 flints, 685½ lbs. of bar iron, and 156½ lbs. of steel, the last item "very bad."⁸ Fortunately for the Revolutionary cause in the western country, the deficiencies in military supplies were now made up from another quarter. Oliver Pollock, a native of northern Ireland who had settled at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1760, had moved in 1768 to New Orleans where he prospered greatly and became an important figure in commercial life. Intensely interested in the American Revolution, he persuaded the Spanish Governor, Unzaga, that there were many advantages to be gained by supply-

⁷ *Ibid.*, XIX, 279-82; Virginia Governors, *Official Letters* (Richmond, 1926-9), II, 180-1; J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington* (Washington, 1931-), XX, 450-1.

⁸ Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Revolution on Upper Ohio*, 258.

ing the American "rebels" with military stores, and thus opened up a source of supplies which was all-important in upholding American military power west of the Appalachians.⁹ The first important shipment up the Mississippi left New Orleans September 22, 1776, in charge of Lieutenant Linn, with 9,000 lbs. of powder. Wintering at Arkansas Pass, the party finally reached Wheeling May 2, 1777, with the powder which was so sorely needed. New Orleans now became a dependable base for supplies of arms and ammunition, and without this aid the Revolutionary cause would probably have collapsed on the western frontier. George Rogers Clark, especially, received indispensable supplies from this source in the course of his several campaigns.

Despite obvious weaknesses in the important matter of supplies, the rapidly increasing population in the western country gave the Americans a decided superiority, and the British were obliged to enlist Indian aid. According to an official American estimate in 1778, in the general Ohio region, including the Wabash Valley and the Detroit area, there were 670 Indian warriors friendly to the Americans, 330 actively allied with the British, and 8,130 who were neutral.¹⁰ Henry Hamilton, who became governor of Detroit in 1778, proposed the employment of these last two groups to attack the American frontiers, and his superiors did not object, provided the savage allies were restrained from undue cruelties. This policy aroused the wrath of the American frontiersmen, even though they themselves did not hesitate to attack the Indians, and to stir them up by attempted settlements on the "Indian" bank of the Ohio. They roundly denounced Hamilton for what was an inevitable war measure, and as the "hairbuyer" they later ranked him with Benedict Arnold, Aaron Burr and other stock villains of American history. The truth is, Hamilton was not personally cruel, but it was his task to hold the Americans in check. Once he employed savage allies he could only hope to mitigate their natural

⁹ James A. James, *Oliver Pollock* (New York, 1937), especially Chapters I-III; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Revolution on Upper Ohio*, 226-9.

¹⁰ Estimate secured by Col. Morgan, August, 1778, *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXIII (1915), 344-6.

brutality, and he encouraged the war parties to treat the defenseless inhabitants of the frontier with humanity.¹¹

Colonel Arent Schuyler De Peyster, who succeeded Hamilton at Detroit, likewise tried to restrain his Indian allies, and Haldimand advised that, "every caution should be taken against cruelty in their attacks upon the frontier." This attitude had considerable effect, and the Ohio Indians were inclined to be merciful toward their prisoners, until American attacks upon the Indians tended to counteract the British efforts.¹² When the Indians in revenge burnt Colonel Crawford at the stake, the British warned them that such modes of warfare would not be "countenanced," and would end in the withdrawal of all British aid. According to Alexander McKee, the British agent, not a single white person had been "wanting in their Duty to represent to the Indians in the strongest terms, the highest abhorrence of such conduct," and its evil consequences. Aside from this difficulty in restraining their Indian allies, the British found them very expensive. Constantly their agents had to counteract American and French intrigues, with great quantities of supplies for these savage allies, who were usually on sale to the highest bidder. Nor could they be depended upon, for often they refused to obey British commanders, and pursued wild schemes of their own which frequently defeated the aims of an expedition.

The Americans, not needing aid themselves from the Indians, were greatly shocked when the British unleashed the savages upon the luckless frontiers. James Duane, for example, roundly denounced the "desolation of so great a part of our Northern and Western frontier" by the employment of "incendiary" forces, in a region which England herself was unable to subdue. From the very first, American policy, in contrast to British, was to keep the Ohio Indians neutral.¹³ Early in the summer of 1775 both Con-

¹¹ Additional MSS., 21,781-3.

¹² *Ibid.*, 21,757, 21,762, 21,783.

¹³ *American Archives*, ser. 4, II, 1240; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, II, 93, 123, 183; E. C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1921-), V, 444; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Revolution on Upper Ohio*, 34-67.

gress and the Virginia Assembly appointed commissioners to meet the Ohio Indians, and carry out the terms of the treaty which Dunmore had negotiated a few months before. Captain James Wood, a Virginia frontiersman of long experience among the Indians, went west to prepare the way. As he found the Delawares and the Mingoes still friendly to the Americans, he journeyed still farther to the Shawnee and Wyandot settlements, Simon Girty going along as interpreter. His first important stop was at the principal Delaware town, present-day Coshocton, and there the chiefs assured Wood they would not listen to the British agents from Detroit who had warned them against the Virginians. From the Delaware town, Wood and Girty proceeded to Upper Sandusky. Here Wood met Ottawas, as well as Wyandots, and explained to them the dispute between the British and the Americans, in an attempt to counteract British intrigues. Next Wood went to the Shawnee towns in the Scioto Valley where he invited the chiefs to a council, and by assurances of friendship again tried to match British promises. He returned to Fort Pitt August 11, 1775, after almost a month of dangerous and difficult travel in the Indian country.

Although Wood's mission had apparently resulted in a favorable reaction, when the commissioners met at Fort Pitt September 12, 1775, they found it was necessary to reassure the Indians again. It was nearly a month later that they were able to begin their meetings, with Mingoes, Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots, and Ottawas present. During the ensuing negotiations which ended October 19, the commissioners stressed their hope that the Indians would remain neutral in the struggle between the British and the "thirteen great colonies," now numbering "one million fighting men," and bound together as one.¹⁴ They expressed a willingness to carry out all of Lord Dunmore's promises, and to return his Indian hostages, provided the tribes, and especially the Shawnees, handed over all their captives and the horses they had stolen. These terms the Indians agreed to, and the hostages were returned.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 25-34, 67-127.

The immediate effect of this important conference was to keep the principal Ohio tribes neutral through the first trying years of the Revolution, and thus to give a breathing space until the rapidly increasing settlements in the Pittsburgh and Greenbrier areas, and in Kentucky, had become sufficiently strong to withstand the attacks of Indian forces led by the British. Meantime Congress attempted by various means to win the Indians' friendship. One resolution, early in 1776, proposed to purchase goods worth \$40,000.00 to be sold to the Indians at reasonable prices. At the same time regulations were issued for the Indian trade, while Congress authorized the employment of ministers of the Gospel and school teachers for the Indians. Whenever the latter came to Fort Pitt they were to be entertained, and every possible endeavor was to be made to find out the causes of Indian complaints, and to avoid hostilities.¹⁵

For a time American relations with the Indians of the Ohio country were fairly satisfactory, although there remained an undercurrent of hostility.¹⁶ The Shawnees, especially, professed great friendship, and claimed they had returned all their captives. Almost in the same breath they warned the Americans against any attempt to send an army across the Indian country to Detroit. Even more significant was the statement of a Seneca chieftain, Kiashuta, who had just returned from Niagara. The Six Nations, he declared, would remain neutral, but they would make it their business to prevent either an English or an American army from passing through their country. There were scattered Indian attacks upon the American settlers west of the mountains, although the principal chiefs repudiated such conduct. There were rumors, too, of a general confederacy of the Ohio tribes, in order to attack the American frontier. Finally, late in the fall of 1776, 640 representatives of the Ohio tribes assembled at Fort Pitt, and pledged their neutrality during the war between the United States and

¹⁵ *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, IV, 97, 267.

¹⁶ *American Archives*, ser. 4, VI, 542; ser. 5, I, 351; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, V, 1011; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Revolution on Upper Ohio*, 188-91, 205-6.

Great Britain. As a sequel twelve chiefs visited Philadelphia, and were assured that the safety of their tribes depended upon keeping the peace with the Americans.

It was rapidly becoming apparent that it would be impossible to keep the Indians neutral in the struggle, and even Washington felt it would perhaps be better to engage them on the American side, to prevent their being "poisoned," by "ministerial emissaries."¹⁷ John Adams, also, in view of British "barbarity," believed the Americans should not be so delicate in using the Indians.¹⁸ Finally in May, 1776, Congress and the Virginia convention both authorized the employment of Indians against the British, but Congress invariably included restrictions which showed how reluctantly it had taken this step.¹⁹ Eventually, in view of the expense involved and their general unreliability, Indian allies proved to be of little practical use to the Americans with their large reserves of man power; to the British with their scanty forces they were a necessity.

Just as in the French and Indian War, the one basic need was a strong military force at Fort Pitt under an able officer. But Congress, like the English Government, at first failed to appreciate the situation. After the Indian treaty of 1775, Richard Butler was superseded as Indian agent at Fort Pitt by George Morgan. According to his instructions, Morgan was to cultivate the friendship of the western Indians, acquainting them with plans to supply their necessities and to settle all disputes. He was to "dispose them to introduce the arts of civil and social life, and to encourage the residence of husbandmen and handicraftsmen among them." In addition, he was to regulate the Indian trade, putting an end to exorbitant prices.²⁰ But conditions at Fort Pitt showed little if any

¹⁷ Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, IV, 493-4, 496.

¹⁸ *American Archives*, ser. 4, V, 1091.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, VI, 1532; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, IV, 191, 452; VIII, 221; XIX, 33; Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, I, 481, 497.

²⁰ *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, IV, 294-5, 318.

improvement.²¹ The Delawares, fearing a British attack in retaliation for their friendly attitude toward the Americans, appealed in vain for military assistance. Morgan's appointment was an unfortunate one. He became involved in many local quarrels, notably with Butler, his predecessor, and was even accused of unfriendliness toward the American cause, although Congress later acquitted him of that charge. Meantime the Indians continued to attack outlying settlements, and the need for a larger force under an experienced officer at Fort Pitt became evident. April 9, 1777, Congress ordered adequate military supplies to be sent to this important post, and directed that the force there should be increased to not over 1,000 militia, and at least 200 men of the Continental Line. Brigadier-general Edward Hand was ordered to repair to Fort Pitt, and to adopt the necessary measures for frontier defense.

At first sight the choice of Hand seemed a particularly happy one. A native of Ireland and an experienced soldier, he had been stationed at Fort Pitt from 1767 to 1774. Thus, conversant with local conditions, and with considerable experience in the Revolutionary army, Hand should have been able to cope with the many difficult situations at Fort Pitt. Arriving June 1, he issued a strong appeal to end the unhappy local disputes, and to form "a perfect union and harmony," in order to protect the frontier from threatened Indian attacks. But the local disaffection was not so easily dissipated.²² The boundary quarrels between Pennsylvania and Virginia naturally had stirred up much ill feeling, while the influence of Connolly was felt, even after his plot failed so completely, and he himself was an escaped prisoner with the British army. Hamilton took advantage of the situation to send proclamations from Detroit, promising the frontier inhabitants large bounties in land if only they would come over to the British. The local discontent was increased by the presence in Pittsburgh of three British secret agents, Alexander McKee, Simon Girty, and

²¹ *Ibid.*, VII, 21, 68, 247, 252; IX, 831, 944; X, 313-4; XIV, 669; *American Archives*, ser. 4, VI, 474-5; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Revolution on Upper Ohio*, 242-5.

²² *Ibid.*, 136-42; R. G. Thwaites and L. P. Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778* (Madison, Wis., 1912), 1-3.

Matthew Elliott, all of them influential men of wide experience in Indian affairs. Although they had been under suspicion for some time as ringleaders in extensive British intrigues, their unexpected escape March 28, 1778, caused the utmost consternation.²³ Heading for British headquarters through the Indian country, they carried with them an intimate knowledge of American plans and strength, and their wide acquaintance among the Indians promised to be of great value to the enemy. Nor were these forebodings without a basis. The flight of the three British spies was the signal for much trouble with the Indians, among whom they spread a report that the Americans, defeated on the Atlantic Coast, were now preparing to attack all the different tribes. Even the friendly Delawares were so alarmed that they would have gone on the warpath had not David Zeisberger reassured them.

In other respects Hand found conditions in the Ohio country far from satisfactory. This was especially true of the military situation. Besides Fort Pitt there were six posts on the upper Ohio, the two most important, Fort Henry at Wheeling, and Fort Randolph at the mouth of the Kanawha. Though inadequately manned and supplied, these small posts were expected to support Fort Pitt in holding back the throng of savage warriors.²⁴ Fortunately for the American cause the one really friendly tribe, the Delawares, formed a buffer between the Fort Pitt area and the hostile Indians. To a great extent this situation was due to the influence of the Moravian missionaries, and especially that of Zeisberger. Repeatedly Hand found it necessary to reassure these friendly Indians, usually through Zeisberger, in order to meet British intrigues. Zeisberger's friendship was also of great value to the Americans in keeping them informed of the movements of the other Ohio tribes, notably the Shawnees and the Wyandots.

With the Shawnees, American relations were far different. Always rather lukewarm in their protests of friendship, the Shawnees

²³ C. W. Butterfield, *History of the Girtys* (Cincinnati, 1890), Chapters V-VII; Rufus King, *Ohio* (Boston and New York, 1888), 142-3; E. A. Schweinitz, *Life and Times of David Zeisberger* (Philadelphia, 1870), 463.

²⁴ Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Defense*, 3-5, 86-8, 93-7, 112-4, 164-7.

had become definitely hostile after the murder of Cornstalk, one of their important chiefs. Coming to Fort Randolph voluntarily with a warning that an Indian war was being agitated, Cornstalk was detained as a hostage, while preparations were being made to meet the expected attack. When Indians killed a young Virginian who was hunting deer, the infuriated garrison shot down Cornstalk in cold blood. The sequel was a series of Shawnee attacks upon the rising Kentucky settlements, until by the end of 1777 only Boonesborough, Harrodsburgh, and Logan's Fort survived.²⁵ The other Ohio tribes, the Mingoës, the Wyandots, and the far-away Miamis, were also inclined to be hostile under British influence, and Hand was continually receiving word of raids upon the frontier. These Indian attacks came to a climax with the one on Fort Henry near the mouth of Wheeling Creek. The Indian force, chiefly Mingoës and Wyandots with a few Shawnees and Delawares, included a little over 200 warriors, and with them probably were British rangers. But they retired before the determined resistance by the garrison and the hastily collected militia.²⁶

The failure to take Fort Henry put a damper upon the hostile Indians, and their enmity toward the Americans cooled even more when news came of the Battle of Oriskany, with the defeat of the British and the Iroquois warriors under Joseph Brant. After the surrender of Burgoyne and the consequent brightening of American prospects, the frontier was left in comparative peace, and Hand decided to go into the Indian country and seize British stores which were said to have been accumulated on the Cuyahoga. At the head of about 500 Pennsylvania militia he set out from Pittsburgh in February, 1778. The snow was melting, and heavy rains added to the discomforts of the march. The expedition proceeded approximately to the present site of Newcastle, where they found an Indian camp inhabited by one man and several women and children. At a near-by settlement there were four women and a boy. Enraged, the militia killed several of the women and took

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 157-62; Lewis Collins, *History of Kentucky* (Covington, Ky., 1874), I, 19.

²⁶ Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Defense*, 54-68 (note 30).

one or more prisoners. Hand, disgusted by such "great exploits," hastily returned to Pittsburgh, and the expedition was derisively known throughout the western country as the Squaw Campaign.²⁷

The Squaw Campaign was the forerunner of other expeditions into the Indian country with the ultimate aim of capturing Detroit.²⁸ From the very first the Americans had recognized the strategic importance of this British stronghold, and in September, 1775, Arthur St. Clair, the largest property holder in the Ligonier Valley on the Pennsylvania frontier, had proposed raising a force of 500 volunteers to capture it. A few months later Congress itself ordered that plans be prepared for an expedition against Detroit, but eventually this project was given up. Congress was persistent, and in November, 1777, it authorized the commissioners, appointed originally to deal with the Delawares and the Shawnees, to undertake in addition a campaign against Detroit. Finally this cherished project seemed nearer realization when George Rogers Clark arrived at Pittsburgh in the spring of 1777, ostensibly to go to the relief of Kentucky, but with secret instructions from Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia to march to the Illinois settlements. Clark himself was determined to go still further, and to attack Detroit. To what extent he revealed his secret plans to Hand is uncertain, but the latter gave him much needed aid, in face of the great opposition encountered because of the scarcity of both men and supplies. As a result Clark was able to leave Redstone, May 12, 1778, with 150 frontiersmen, a number of private adventurers, and some 20 settlers with their families. Without the aid furnished by the western Pennsylvania settlements, and especially by Fort Pitt, his subsequent success in the Illinois settlements and at Vincennes would have been impossible.²⁹

Although Hand was able to give Clark effective aid, it was soon evident that his usefulness at Fort Pitt was ended. His personal

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 215-20; Butterfield, *The Girtys*, 47-8.

²⁸ *American Archives*, ser. 4, III, 717; Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, I, 193; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, IV, 268, 301, 318, 324; IX, 943-4.

²⁹ *Ill. Hist. Col.*, VIII (1912), 36-7, 117; James A. James, *Life of George Rogers Clark* (Chicago, 1928), 114-5.

connections had been a leading cause of his undoing, for he had lacked the firmness so necessary in his post.³⁰ It was only with great exertion that he had been able to get out the militia, and the response had been quite unsatisfactory. Washington himself was greatly disturbed over the half-hearted assistance Hand had been given by the frontier inhabitants. The weakness of Fort Pitt itself was an additional cause for alarm, with only 120 men reported in the garrison early in 1778, and serious danger of a British attack from Detroit. The escape of the British agents, McKee, Girty, and Elliott, and the Squaw Campaign brought matters to a climax. A more vigorous policy was needed if the Americans were to hold Fort Pitt, the key to the Ohio Valley, and the one stronghold west of the Appalachians which could counteract the British power at Detroit.

Hand saved his face by resigning, and in May, 1778, Washington appointed as his successor Brigadier-general Lachlan McIntosh, a native Scotch Highlander, an officer of "great worth and merit," and a man of a "firm disposition." In addition to his extensive military experience, Washington significantly added, McIntosh was a "stranger to all parties" in the Pittsburgh area. To give him necessary support Washington transferred two regiments of regulars from the eastern field to Fort Pitt. It was high time for such measures.³¹ Taking advantage of Hand's weak policy, the Indians had been making forays upon the exposed frontier, the boldest one an attack in May, 1778, upon Fort Randolph by a force of Mingoos. Unable to entice the garrison from the protection of the palisades, the baffled warriors had gone up the Kanawha and had attacked Fort Donnally at Lewisburgh where they were finally repulsed. To settle these troubles in the western country, the proposal for an expedition to Detroit was now revived in Congress. This time all the signs were favorable

³⁰ Additional MSS., 21,782; Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, II, 560-2; Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, IX, 108.

³¹ *Ibid.*, II, 379; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Defense*, 15-7, 82-3, 98-9.

for the Americans, and the British themselves expected an attack.³² Apparently the road to Detroit was wide open. The Delawares and the Shawnees, not actively hostile to the Americans, would doubtless remain quiet, and there was little to fear from the approximately 300 unfriendly Mingo and Wyandot warriors. Detroit was reported as practically defenseless with a garrison of only 150 regulars and volunteers, and with much local disaffection, and an American army of 1,200 to 1,500, it was believed, could easily reduce it. Influenced by such representations, June 11, 1778, Congress passed a resolution ordering an attack upon Detroit as soon as possible from Fort Pitt. The resolution provided for the enlistment of 3,000 men, 2,500 of them from Virginia, placing them under the command of McIntosh who had so lately been ordered to Fort Pitt. Congress advanced \$932,743.33 for expenses.³³

As usual, petty jealousies cropped up when success seemed assured.³⁴ The Virginia authorities were not enthusiastic over the proposed expedition, under the direction of Congress, into territory which Virginia itself claimed. Alleging the "dispersed situation" of the militia, the distance of the objective, and the limited time available, the Virginians characterized it as "utterly impracticable." Without the support of Virginia, further preparations were futile, and Congress, bowing to the inevitable, "deferred" the attack upon Detroit. Instead, it directed McIntosh to assemble 1,500 troops at Fort Pitt, and to march against the hostile Indians. He was to "chastise and terrify them in such fashion as will effectually end their ravages against the frontiers." But a rare chance had been lost. Had the expedition against Detroit been undertaken in the spring, while there was still time before fall set in, and had there been full cooperation between Congress and the Virginia authorities, it is quite probable that Detroit could have been taken. Jealous of her claims in the Old North-

³² R. G. Thwaites and L. P. Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio 1778-1779* (Madison, Wis., 1916), 112-3, 129-30; Additional MSS., 21,757; Burnett ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, II, 257-8.

³³ *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XI, 587-9.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, XI, 720-1; *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXIII, 257-8.

west, Virginia preferred to rely solely upon Clark's meager force, and in the end British control continued at Detroit.

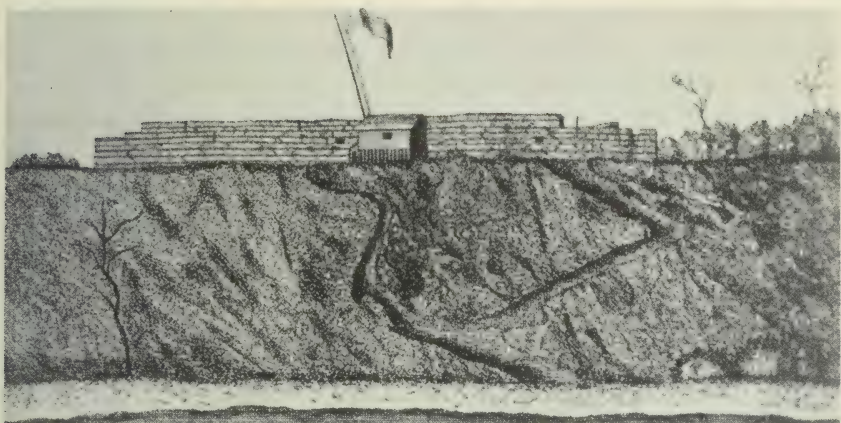
McIntosh arrived at Fort Pitt, August 6, 1778. His first move was to make sure of the friendship of the Delawares before he undertook an advance against the hostile tribes. Already Congress had appointed two Virginians, Andrew Lewis, the hero of Point Pleasant, and his brother, Thomas Lewis, as commissioners to make a treaty with the Delawares, the Shawnees and other Indians at Fort Pitt. When the commissioners arrived at Fort Pitt, they found no Indian representatives there, but McIntosh promptly sent out an official invitation. At first sight the situation appeared to be indeed serious.³⁵ All the Ohio tribes, except the Delawares, had taken the hatchet, it was reported, and the military force in the western country was, as usual, wholly inadequate. Soon the prospect brightened with the appearance of friendly Delaware chiefs at Fort Pitt. September 19 an important treaty was signed which established peace between the United States and the Delawares, and promised mutual assistance in war. One highly significant section guaranteed the American forces free passage through the Delaware country, and promised to furnish them necessary supplies. In return the United States undertook to erect a fort in the Delaware country for the protection of this friendly tribe. This treaty provided also for the punishment of offenders on either side, for fair conditions of trade, and for the guarantee of the territorial rights of the Delawares.³⁶

With the way prepared, McIntosh now undertook an orderly advance into the Indian country. But Washington was unable to support him as he would have wished. Sending all possible aid, he advised McIntosh he must, "to use a vulgar Phraze, shape his boat according to his Cloth or, in other words, if he cannot do as he wishes, he must do as he can."³⁷ Leaving Pittsburgh late in

³⁵ *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XI, 568; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Advance*, 127-8.

³⁶ *Indian Treaties, etc.* (Washington, 1826), 1-3.

³⁷ *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XII, 1059-60; Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XII, 109; XIII, 79-80.



12. FORT McINTOSH

From R. G. Thwaites and L. P. Kellogg, *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, 1916), facing p. 148. Courtesy of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

October, 1778, McIntosh established Fort McIntosh at the mouth of Beaver Creek, leaving approximately 150 men there. With the main body of 1,200 he followed Bouquet's road to the Tuscarawas where he held a council with the Delawares. With insufficient and inadequately equipped troops, and with many of the Delawares even now openly or secretly hostile, like Bouquet, McIntosh put on a bold front and warned the Indians not to be deceived by British lies. To enforce his stand and fulfill the promise in the treaty with the Delawares, he built Fort Laurens, a "good large stockade," sufficiently extensive to hold 200 men, on the Tuscarawas at the present site of Bolivar. But a farther advance was impracticable. The militia were unwilling to extend their terms of enlistment, nor were they to be depended upon to carry out orders. So, leaving only 150 men at Fort Laurens, McIntosh returned to Fort Pitt. There the great scarcity of provisions compelled him to discharge the militia, while he concentrated the regulars at Fort Pitt and Fort Laurens.³⁸

The maintenance of so advanced a post as Fort Laurens became

³⁸ Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Advance*, 178-80, 183-5, 197-9, 201-2, 226-7.

an increasingly difficult problem. Supplies of food and clothing, as well as munitions, had to be carried over the lonely trail through the forest, and often the convoys were ambushed by hostile Indians. Colonel John Gibson, the brave commandant, promised to defend Fort Laurens "to the last extremity," but even he felt a fort nearer Coshocton would be more desirable. Late in January, 1779, warnings came that the hostile Indians were gathering at Detroit and Sandusky to march against Fort Laurens, and about a month later a force of Mingoes and Wyandots actually surrounded this isolated American outpost. Early in April McIntosh arrived with a relief party, only to find the Indians had left, and that for the time being Fort Laurens was safe. The explanation for the sudden disappearance of the Indians was the news they had received that George Rogers Clark had retaken Vincennes. The capture of that post the preceding December by Hamilton had been a severe blow to the American cause. From the Wabash Valley the British could now carry on their intrigues among the Indians to the eastward without hindrance. Even more serious was the probable effect upon the transportation from New Orleans of the military supplies which were now so necessary for the defense of the American frontier. From Vincennes the British could easily stop traffic on the Ohio, and immediately after his capture of Vincennes Hamilton reported that a force of 400 Shawnees, Delawares, Ottawas, and Cherokees had assembled at the mouth of the Tennessee River to intercept American boats.³⁹

The picture changed completely when Clark recaptured Vincennes, and at the same time made a prisoner of Hamilton who had been the directing force in stirring up the Indians against the Americans. The British, now greatly alarmed, made strenuous efforts to rouse the western Indians to take an "active part" in the struggle. But with the Americans firmly planted at Vincennes there was little hope of forming a hostile Indian confederacy, and supplies from the Spanish could now come up the Ohio without hindrance. The time was ripe for an attack upon Detroit by the

³⁹ Additional MSS., 21,782; *Ill. Hist. Col.*, VIII, 182.

combined forces of McIntosh and Clark.⁴⁰ Nor had Washington given up the idea of such an expedition, and repeatedly he urged McIntosh to make the necessary preparations in the spring of 1779. But neither he nor McIntosh made any apparent effort to cooperate with Clark. This was a tragic mistake. When Clark first heard of McIntosh's advance to Fort Laurens in the fall of 1778, he supposed he was headed for Detroit, and awaited official word for a coordinated advance. But no message came, and when Clark learned that McIntosh had withdrawn to Fort Pitt, leaving only small garrisons at Fort Laurens and Fort McIntosh, he contented himself with what was possible, the recapture and holding of Vincennes. Again a favorable opportunity for an American attack upon Detroit had been lost.

Meanwhile the many petty disputes at Fort Pitt had become increasingly disagreeable to McIntosh.⁴¹ In the few months he had spent there the military situation had greatly improved. When he arrived, he found the inhabitants so discouraged that they were seriously discussing the wisdom of withdrawing to the east side of the mountains, abandoning the entire Ohio country to the British. By his energy and practical sense, McIntosh had at least averted such a catastrophe. He had pacified the Delawares, establishing Fort Laurens in their country, and with Clark's aid had prevented a confederacy of the Ohio tribes against the Americans. The expedition against Detroit for which he had planned had not been carried out, partly for lack of troops and supplies, partly because of his own failure to grasp the necessities of the situation and cooperate with Clark. He had been charged with inefficiency, and in disgust, he asked to be relieved of his command. In a resolution of February 20, 1779, Congress complied, appointing in his place as commander of the western forces, Colonel Daniel Brodhead who had been detailed at Fort Pitt since August, 1778.

From a military standpoint Brodhead found the situation on

⁴⁰ Additional MSS., 21,765; *Ill. Hist. Col.*, VIII, 131-2; Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XIII, 232-3, 238-9, 500-1; XIV, 58-62.

⁴¹ *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XIII, 213; XXIV, 52.

the frontier fairly satisfactory, with some 1,000 soldiers of the Continental Line available, 722 of them at Fort Pitt, 106 at Fort Laurens, 123 at Fort McIntosh, 28 at Fort Henry, and an additional 28 at Holliday's Cove between Fort Henry and Fort Pitt.⁴² For the spring campaign of 1779 Washington proposed the plan he had already outlined to McIntosh for an expedition against Detroit. As a necessary preliminary he directed that sufficient canoes, and provisions for 1,000 to 2,000 men, should be collected. Washington favored a thorough exploration of the three possible routes from Fort Pitt to Detroit: one by way of the Tuscarawas, another up the Scioto across the portage to the Sandusky River and then through Lake Erie, the third up the Allegheny to Presque Isle and then through Lake Erie. Ultimately Washington favored this last route, changing his main objective to an attack upon the Iroquois, in conjunction with another force to be despatched up the Susquehanna. While leaving the details to Brodhead's discretion, Washington felt that the attempt to hold too many posts in the rear might seriously weaken the expedition, and perhaps Fort Laurens should be evacuated. Much to Brodhead's disappointment, Washington finally abandoned even the proposed attack upon the Iroquois country. Difficulties in securing supplies, insufficient knowledge of the route from Fort Pitt, and the danger in withdrawing troops from that post, were among the reasons for this change of plans. Instead, Washington merely proposed an expedition against the Indians, "as soon as it may be in our power."⁴³

Brodhead now advanced very ambitious plans. After supplying Fort Laurens, he proposed an expedition with a force of 1,000 men against the Mingo and their allies in the Allegheny Valley who were one of the chief sources of disturbance. So far Brodhead's plans were practical, but from the Allegheny he proposed to go to the Shawnee towns on the Scioto, chastise the Indians there, and then proceed to Detroit which, with an impetuous planning that

⁴² Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Advance*, 411-2.

⁴³ Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XIV, 58-62, 114-8, 194-6, 278-81, 421-2.

might have proved fatal, he declared, would then be only 80 miles distant. Washington cautiously gave only a general approval at first, and not until the middle of July did he give his outright consent to the expedition against the Mingoes. He did not even mention the rather grandiose plan for an advance against Detroit.⁴⁴ The need for some display of American power was constantly growing.⁴⁵ British agents were stirring up the Mingoes, with frequent raids upon the Pennsylvania and Virginia borders as a result. There was danger, too, that the friendly Delawares might be enticed away from their loyalty to the Americans, and their chiefs complained of certain inhabitants of Virginia, who with the usual frontier contempt for Indian rights had crossed the Ohio, and had established themselves in the Muskingum country. The "evil tendency" of such actions, Brodhead pointed out, was evident, and Congress gave orders to expel these lawless settlers, and to prevent similar trespasses in the future, orders which were of course impossible to enforce.

To meet the many threats of an Indian revolt on a large scale, Brodhead energetically made preparations for his expedition against the Mingoes,⁴⁶ ordering the evacuation of the advanced post at Fort Laurens, and collecting the troops from other small exposed forts. He gave peremptory orders for forwarding supplies, and called upon Pennsylvania and Virginia for militia. August 11, 1779, Brodhead started with his little army, 605 strong, for the upper Allegheny. The route lay across a most difficult terrain of "stupendous heights and frightful declivities, with a continued range of craggy hills, overspread with fallen timber, thorns and underwood, here and there an intervening valley, whose deep impenetrable gloom has always been impervious to the piercing rays of the warmest sun." Finally the little army came to seven Indian towns which had been evacuated upon their approach. Burning

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, XV, 302-3; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Advance*, 310-2.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 39-40; Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, IV, 512; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XV, 1249.

⁴⁶ Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XV, 35-8; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds. *Frontier Advance*, 55-6, 66-76, 389-96.

the standing corn and the cabins, the Americans returned to Fort Pitt with booty worth \$30,000, the men practically barefoot from the rough march. This expedition was not without effect upon the general Indian situation. The influence of the Iroquois upon the western Indians had clearly been weakened, and upon his return to Fort Pitt September 14, Brodhead found representatives of the Wyandots and the Shawnees awaiting him with pleas for peace and promises of neutrality. The Delawares who had accompanied them played the role of arbiters, and Brodhead gave reassuring replies to their protests of friendship.

The unstable nature of the newly won American prestige in the Ohio Valley was revealed soon after Brodhead's return to Fort Pitt. Colonel David Rogers, whom Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, had sent to New Orleans with important messages, brought a large cargo of goods and munitions from Pollock on his return. A little beyond the site of Cincinnati a band of Indians, led by Simon Girty, surprised this American party. They killed Rogers, and only thirteen of the seventy Americans escaped. From two of the boats the Indians secured much booty, and, worst of all, important messages which they promptly turned over to the British at Detroit.⁴⁷ This incident was typical, and for the spring campaign of 1780 Brodhead planned an expedition against the hostile Shawnees on the Scioto, probably hoping to join Clark ultimately in an attack upon Detroit. Calling for 800 men, he also asked the friendly Delawares to aid. But as Washington did not feel the time was ripe for extensive operations, Brodhead was forced to give up his ambitious plans.⁴⁸ The frontier situation however was becoming much worse, with the Wyandots, who had signed a treaty the previous fall, now leaders of the hostile Indians. During the early spring the Indians killed or captured 43 persons

⁴⁷ James, *Oliver Pollock*, 188-9; C. T. Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati* (Chicago, 1904), I, 119-20.

⁴⁸ Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XVII, 502; XVIII, 74-5, 112-3, 294-5; *Ill. Hist. Col.*, VIII, 408; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XVI, 372-3; R. G. Thwaites and L. P. Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio, 1779-1781* (Madison, Wis., 1917), 117.

on the Virginia border, and by June they had driven practically all the settlers north and west of the Youghiogheny to the shelter of forts. Desperate, in August, 1780, Brodhead summoned a force of mounted militia to make a dash against the Wyandot villages on the Sandusky. First, Captain Samuel Brady with seven men raided a Wyandot village to secure information, while another small force from Fort Pitt surprised several Wyandots in the act of hiding canoes on the bank of the Ohio. These two advance attacks greatly alarmed the Indians, but lacking sufficient supplies, Brodhead could not follow up his advantage.⁴⁹

Fortunately for Brodhead, a considerable part of the British and Indian strength was now diverted from attacks upon the Pittsburgh region, into a series of conflicts with the rapidly increasing population of Kentucky.⁵⁰ In August, 1777, Colonel John Bowman with 100 militia had been stationed at Boonesborough, and with this force as a nucleus, the Kentuckians had been able to hold their own against the British and Indians. In 1778 they had successfully defended Boonesborough, and the following year they were strong enough to launch an attack into the Indian country across the Ohio, the first in a series of advances that effectually divided the Indian strength, which, united, would in all probability have overwhelmed Fort Pitt. This excursion into what was virtually a new sector in the western campaign was inaugurated in May, 1779, when Bowman crossed the Ohio at the head of 300 volunteers, and took the Indian trail from opposite the mouth of the Licking, his objective being the Shawnee village on the Little Miami about sixty miles away. There the Kentuckians took 170 Indian horses, and plunder averaging \$110.00 for each man. For the remaining months of 1779, the Indians left the Kentucky settlements virtually in peace, and about 200 Shawnees, whom the British had probably collected for an attack upon Fort Laurens, were completely disheartened.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 20-1, 173, 182, 223-7, 234-5.

⁵⁰ Additional MSS., 21,782; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Advance*, 365 (note 1); Cotterill, *Pioneer Kentucky*, 108-49, 153ff.

The increasing settlements in "the hunting ground of Kentucky," greatly aroused Sir Frederick Haldimand, the governor-general of Canada. Foreseeing the trouble they would cause both the British and the Indians, he urged that every possible measure should be adopted to check these people who were coming into Kentucky to escape "the oppression of Congress."⁵¹ This was all the more necessary, in his view, as the friendship of the Ohio Indians for the British was declining every day as a result of American victories, and but for the example of the Five Nations, he feared the Ohio tribes would abandon the British altogether. To add to Haldimand's worries, news came in the spring of 1780 that 150 troops from Virginia had arrived at Fort Nelson, the new American post at the Falls of the Ohio. Greatly alarmed, Haldimand had already proposed an expedition to seize this post, and thus to quiet Indian apprehensions of American advances. Early in May, Colonel Henry Bird marched from Detroit with 150 British, 1,000 Indians and two pieces of artillery, to attack Fort Nelson. Probably news of reinforcements sent from Virginia to Kentucky changed his plans, and instead of an attack upon Fort Nelson, Bird went up the Licking Valley, attacked two small settlements, and returned with about 100 prisoners and much plunder. Retreat was due chiefly to failure to control his Indian allies, who had "perversely abandoned the measures of their leader," thus preventing him from "pursuing his success," reducing his force "to the last extremity" for lack of provisions.⁵²

George Rogers Clark, who was now in command at Fort Nelson, recognized the opportune moment for a retaliatory advance into the Indian country. August 1, 1780, with some 1,000 men he crossed the Ohio at the mouth of the Licking to embark upon an expedition that took him into the interior of the Ohio country.⁵³

⁵¹ Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Retreat*, 122-3; Additional MSS., 21,767, 21,782.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 21,764; James, *George Rogers Clark*, 209-10.

⁵³ Additional MSS., 21,782; *American Pioneer* (Cincinnati, 1842-3), I, 377-8; James, *George Rogers Clark*, 210-2; Edna Kenton, *Simon Kenton* (Garden City, N. Y., 1930), 154-6; B. F. Prince, *History of Springfield and Clark County* (Chicago, 1922), I, 301.

At the present site of Cincinnati his men erected a blockhouse to take care of stores, and to shelter those who had been wounded in a brush with the Indians. Leaving 40 men as a guard, Clark pushed on to a Shawnee town on the Little Miami. Finding it abandoned, he advanced to the Shawnee town of Piqua, on Mad River, near modern Springfield. There, August 6, 1780, the Kentuckians fought the Shawnees with their usual reckless courage, being greatly aided by a small cannon which Clark had brought along on a pack-horse. The Indians fled precipitately, and the Kentuckians returned home after destroying the Indian town and several hundred acres of corn. This Battle of Piqua, like that of Point Pleasant in Dunmore's War, struck terror to the Shawnees. With so large a part of their supplies destroyed, they were now unable to attack the Americans in force. The Indians, and the British as well, were still further alarmed by rumors of Brodhead's proposed expedition from Fort Pitt into the Wyandot country.

Brodhead was unable, however, to take advantage of the favorable opportunity in the Ohio country after Clark's expedition. The unsatisfactory local situation at Fort Pitt, and especially the many petty disputes which had proved the downfall of his two predecessors, continued.⁵⁴ Brodhead himself declared there were "a great number of disaffected inhabitants on this side the mountain," who merely waited for a "fair opportunity to submit to the British government." At times these Tories even refused to serve with the militia, and he considered them a constant source of potential danger. Another grave weakness at Fort Pitt was the usual appalling scarcity of provisions, with little chance to secure them from Washington's scanty stores east of the mountains. Especially was this true during the fall of 1780 and the following winter. On one occasion the non-commissioned officers complained to Brodhead they had been without bread for five days. Washington tried to secure supplies for Fort Pitt from Pennsylvania, for he considered the post of such importance "as not to

⁵⁴ Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XIX, 119-20, 377-8; XX, 176, 231; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Retreat*, 22-8, 306, 332-3, 344.

admit of its being left to any risque, if it can be avoided." Evidently this request elicited little if any response. December 10, Brodhead reported that his men had been without meat for six days, and three months later they had been on a half allowance for more than two and a half months.

With such scarcity of provisions, together with wide-spread disaffection at Fort Pitt, the American prospects for the campaign of 1781 in the Ohio country were far from encouraging. It was becoming obvious, too, that some positive measure was necessary to keep the Delawares on the side of the United States. Several friendly chiefs appealed for a strong American fort at Coshocton, in the heart of the Delaware country. But to comply with this request was impossible. Fort Pitt was in bad condition, and while Fort McIntosh was well constructed, it could not withstand a serious attack, due to a lack of supplies. Another and more advanced post was clearly out of the question. The Board of War recommended that a full regiment should be stationed at Fort Pitt, and the fortifications be put in the best possible condition. Washington strongly seconded this report, but Congress did not adopt it, attempting rather to conciliate the Delawares by mere promises that they would support such of them "as shall voluntarily engage in the service of the United States against the common enemy."⁵⁵ Matters reached a climax when it was reported that the British at Detroit had offered to receive the Delawares under their protection, provided they brought in "live meat" from the Virginia border. Brodhead promptly took up the challenge, starting April 10, 1781, from Fort Henry, with a force of 284 militia and regulars.⁵⁶ At Coshocton in the heart of the Delaware country the Americans surprised the Indians and laid waste their town. The unruly militia killed 15 captive warriors in revenge for the raids upon the border. In addition they captured 20 old men, women and children, together with a large quantity

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 315-6; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XIX, 33, 279-82; Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XXI, 457.

⁵⁶ *Cont. Cong. Papers*, 78: IV, 133; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Retreat*, 348-9, 376-81.

of supplies, and 40 head of cattle. The Christian Delawares, under the influence of the Moravian missionaries, had remained friendly to the Americans, and Brodhead urged them to move closer to the border. After he had left, a band of hostile Indians also tried in vain to persuade them to move, this time farther to the westward. The Moravian missionaries and the Christian Indians were in a difficult situation as allies of the Americans who were too far away to give them adequate protection. Nor did the Americans trust them altogether, and Brodhead had difficulty in restraining the militia who were anxious to destroy their settlements.

Brodhead's expedition against the Delawares had caused great alarm at British headquarters. Ever since Clark recaptured Vincennes there had been rumors that Detroit was the next American objective. Especially during the first few months of 1781, there were many reports that Clark was making preparations in Kentucky for an attack upon Detroit and the Indian country, and the British, thoroughly alarmed, began to line up the Indians to meet the expected onslaught.⁵⁷ Nor did they neglect to stir up the disaffection in the Pittsburgh district, which, it was reported, had become so great that many persons would flee, as McKee, Girty and Elliott had done, if only they were certain the road to Detroit would be open. Haldimand, however, refused to take these rumors seriously. The Americans, he believed, were kept altogether too busy opposing Cornwallis in the South to spare from the Continental Line the forces which would be necessary to take Detroit, and the only attacks to be feared were comparatively weak offensives across the Ohio from Fort Pitt and Kentucky into the Indian country. When Brodhead's expedition stopped at Coshocton, Haldimand's judgment apparently was vindicated, especially as news came from Kentucky that Clark was experiencing great trouble in raising his forces. Altogether, by August Haldimand breathed easily, confident that for the remainder of the campaign of 1781 Detroit was safe from an American attack.

⁵⁷ Additional MSS., 21,761, 21,764, 21,783.

There had been a substantial basis for the alarm at Detroit.⁵⁸ In 1779 Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia, urged the capture of Detroit as the chief aim of the coming campaign. Again, for the campaign of 1781 Thomas Jefferson, now governor of Virginia, proposed the overthrow of the "very extensive combination of British and Indians," which was forming. As he could not divert troops from the southern front, Jefferson proposed that Clark raise a force of 2,000 militia, presumably in Kentucky, for the reduction of Detroit and the conquest of Lake Erie. This accomplished, Jefferson declared, the entire American force could be diverted to the "eastern theatre of war." Washington, too, had persistently urged the necessity of capturing Detroit if peace was to come to the western border, and had already approved an expedition under Clark for this purpose, instructing Brodhead to give him every possible aid.⁵⁹ It was evident that Washington foresaw the difficult situation which later did arise owing to the jealousy on the part of Brodhead, an officer in the Continental Line, toward Clark who was in the military service of Virginia. As a matter of fact, Brodhead had hoped to head the expedition against Detroit himself. Washington flatteringly left to his discretion the particular type and amount of aid, calling attention to his own inability to help either with troops or provisions, and emphasizing the protection which Clark's expedition would give Fort Pitt.

In spite of Washington's tactful appeal Brodhead did not rise above mere petty jealousy.⁶⁰ Stretching his own discretionary powers to the limit, he did not give Clark the necessary cooperation, and even refused to allow the Virginia militia stationed at Fort Pitt to join him according to Jefferson's orders. In his own defense Brodhead alleged that so far as supplies were concerned, he could not have spared them from the scanty store accumulated at Fort Pitt. Had he granted Clark's requests for troops, he maintained, the remaining force would have been inadequate to defend

⁵⁸ Virginia Governors, *Official Letters*, I, 350; II, 245-7, 250-3.

⁵⁹ Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XVI, 487; XXI, 23-6, 33-4, 316, 462.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, XXII, 184-5; XXIII, 396; James, *George Rogers Clark*, 229-53.

a single post, and Fort Pitt would have been left exposed to a British attack from Niagara down the Allegheny River.⁶¹ Brodhead's many enemies, accused him of a deliberate attempt to wreck Clark's proposed expedition.⁶² The "distressed" circumstances which he pleaded as an excuse, they alleged, were the consequence of his own misdoing. The most serious charge was brought by Alexander Fowler, an auditor for Congress, who accused Brodhead of gross favoritism, and of tolerating and even profiting from notorious abuses in the quartermaster's department. Whatever the true cause, Brodhead's failure to cooperate had put an end to Clark's plans. Again a golden opportunity had been lost, and Detroit was still in British hands, a continued menace to American control of the Ohio country.

A number of the citizens of Pittsburgh actually asked that Brodhead be removed, upon the plea that he had illegally put their town under military rule. Another petition, signed by 419 inhabitants of Westmoreland County, complained that Brodhead and David Duncan, the quartermaster, had conspired to further their private interests at the public expense, and to create a monopoly in trade. In spite of the large sums which had been spent, the petitioners represented, the fort and the barracks at Pittsburgh were in a thoroughly ruinous condition. Brodhead and the quartermaster, it was alleged, had frequently employed the garrison in their own private interests, while they completely neglected the defense of the frontier. Such conduct, the petition pointed out, was in contrast to that of General Edward Hand and General Lachlan McIntosh, who "had the public interest warmly at heart." The petitioners asked that both Brodhead and Duncan be removed, and that officers be appointed who had the public interest more at heart.⁶³ The truth of these charges is questionable, but certainly Brodhead had placed his own private interests

⁶¹ Cont. Cong. Papers, 78: IV, 181, 215, 221-3.

⁶² Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XXII, 20-1, 35-7; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Retreat*, 356-60.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 360-70.

foremost, had alienated many officers by his arbitrary conduct, and had failed to secure the cooperation of the citizens of Pittsburgh. His usefulness as commander of the western forces was ended and September, 1781, Washington peremptorily removed him.⁶⁴ The Board of War, agreeing that the disputes Brodhead had stirred up might lead to "the most dangerous consequences," appointed Brigadier-general William Irvine commandant of Fort Pitt.

Irvine, a native of Ireland who had settled in Pennsylvania, and a man of considerable military ability, found a deplorable state of affairs when he arrived at Fort Pitt early in November, 1781.⁶⁵ Although Cornwallis' surrender had virtually ended the Revolution, Haldimand was determined to defend Canada to the last, and in the West he had incited the Indians to attack the frontier. To meet these onslaughts Irvine found very inadequate resources at his command. Supposedly there were two regiments stationed at Fort Pitt, but the men were in a wretched condition, with their numbers much depleted. Public stores were being wasted in the most prodigal fashion, and Fort Pitt was really a "heap of ruins." Indeed, Irvine questioned whether it would not be cheaper to attack Detroit, rather than put Fort Pitt and other frontier posts in adequate condition for defense. But the continued dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania seriously interfered with any calling out of the militia, in spite of the Indian attacks, so that an expedition was out of the question. For the spring campaign of 1782 American prospects were exceedingly dismal.⁶⁶ In the garrison at Fort Pitt, Irvine reported, there were only 230 men, and from them detachments must be sent to Fort Henry and Fort McIntosh. In fact the garrison was too small to repair the fort properly, or to perform other necessary duties; there was no cash to pay either workmen or troops, and discipline remained bad. As usual Irvine's report elicited promises only. Meantime a new

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 32-3; Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, 23, 90.

⁶⁵ Additional MSS., 21,764; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXI, 996; XXII, 163; C. W. Butterfield, ed., *Washington-Irvine Correspondence* (Madison, Wis., 1882), 72-82.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 89-96.

menace had appeared, as the settlers on the American frontier began to display an increasingly independent attitude toward Congress.⁶⁷ It was reported that the inhabitants of western Pennsylvania were openly proposing the formation of a separate state west of the mountains. An advertisement had invited all who wished to form a new state on the Muskingum to assemble at Wheeling on May 20. Irvine feared that the real design of the leaders of this proposed colony in the Indian country was to place themselves under British protection.

The unruliness of the frontier inhabitants had already shown itself in striking fashion in the massacre of the Christian Delawares at Gnadenhutten. Under the guidance of the Moravian missionaries, David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder, these Indians had been consistently friendly to the Americans, and Zeisberger in particular had frequently sent to Fort Pitt important information from the Indian country. But the American settlers distrusted them, and the hostility, which Brodhead had found so difficult to restrain on his Coshocton expedition, continued.⁶⁸ The British on the other hand, convinced that the Christian Indians were too friendly with the Americans, determined to move them nearer Detroit where they could do no harm. In August, 1781, about 250 "British" Indians, chiefly Wyandots headed by Matthew Elliott, forced the Christian Indians and the Moravian missionaries to accompany them to Upper Sandusky, where they left them to shift for themselves. The missionaries were taken to Detroit to be tried for having given aid to the Americans, but as no accuser appeared against them they were dismissed. During the winter of 1781-1782, the refugee Indians were near starvation, and in February, 86 of them were allowed to return to their old homes to harvest the corn which had been left standing in the

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 99-109; Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, IV, 542 (note 2).

⁶⁸ Additional MSS., 21,761, 21,783; E. F. Bliss, ed., *Diary of David Zeisberger* (Cincinnati, 1885), *passim*; Butterfield, *The Girtys*, 132-3; Crumrine, *Washington County, Penn.*, 102-8; Joseph Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania* (Wellsburgh, W. Va., 1824), 257; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Advance*, *passim*; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Retreat*, *passim*.

field. At this time the inhabitants of the Pennsylvania frontier were greatly aroused over a series of Indian raids, which had reached a climax in a Shawnee attack upon the home of Robert Wallace in Washington County, Pennsylvania. The Indians had carried off Wallace's wife and three children as prisoners, and a few days later another party seized John Carpenter, who after he had escaped maintained that two of his captors were Christian Indians who spoke German. The impetuous frontiersmen were now more than ever determined to drive any remaining Christian Indians from the Ohio country.

About 150 mounted militia from Washington County promptly took the direct trail to the settlements of the Christian Delawares. On the way they were still further enraged when they found the body of Mrs. Wallace alongside the trail, impaled on the sharpened trunk of a sapling. March 6 they arrived at Gnadenhutten, where they found many of the refugees who had returned to gather their crops. Ransacking the village, the troops discovered many household articles which they claimed had been stolen from the settlers, although the Indians denied the charge. Finally they found Mrs. Wallace's bloody dress which the Shawnees had sold as they passed through the town. To the frontier militia this was sufficient proof. At a council there was an overwhelming vote that all the Indians should be put to death. The next day, the troops butchered the Indians in cold blood, men, women, and children. The frontier loudly applauded, and so feeble were the protests that Irvine minimized this wholesale murder, and refused to order an investigation.⁶⁹

Among even the friendly Indians the massacre at Gnadenhutten naturally aroused a thirst for revenge. The attacks upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia continued, and the inhabitants clamored for an expedition against the Wyandot towns on the Sandusky, the center from which these marauding parties were coming. Irvine was not enthusiastic. The only possible aid he

⁶⁹ Crumrine, *Washington County, Penn.*, 109-10; Butterfield, ed., *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, 99-100.

could give such a campaign would be a limited supply of ammunition and a few flints. All other supplies and equipment the militia themselves must furnish. Bowing to the public demand, Irvine finally gave his consent. He stipulated significantly that the militia was not being sent to extend settlement, but merely to harass the enemy, and that they must be governed strictly by military law.⁷⁰ Recruiting was an easy task among the Scotch-Irish settlers in the Monongahela and Youghiogheny valleys, and the Virginia "Panhandle." Four hundred and eight men assembled at Mingo Bottom near present day Steubenville on May 24, and elected as their leader Colonel William H. Crawford, a close friend of Washington who had settled on the Youghiogheny. Crawford had seen considerable service on the frontier, and was now in his prime, just fifty. The militia, all mounted, rode through the deep woods, bound for the country of the Wyandots. June 3 they emerged on the Sandusky plain, and the next day they marched to the chief Wyandot settlement, near Upper Sandusky, only to find it deserted.

Indian scouts had followed the American force from Mingo Bottom, and as it approached the Sandusky, the Wyandots had hastily sent runners to Detroit and through the Indian country, calling for aid. The first response was a detachment of about 200 Delawares, which swelled the Indian forces so that they slightly outnumbered the Americans. The Battle of Sandusky, June 4, 1782, ended in a draw, and Crawford was left in full possession of the field. The next day the battle was renewed, and when a body of British rangers from Detroit appeared, together with some 200 Shawnees, Crawford decided to retreat before such superior forces. The Indians hung on his rear, and finally brought the American troops to a stand in present Whetstone Township, Crawford County, where the Battle of Olentangy was fought June 6. The Americans held their own sufficiently to keep the Indians at a respectful distance during the remainder of the re-

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 113-9; C. W. Butterfield, *Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky under Colonel William Crawford in 1782* (Cincinnati, 1873), 49-80, 136-78.

treat, and the main body of the militia arrived at Mingo Bottom June 13. The following day they were discharged after a campaign of scarcely 20 days.⁷¹ The tragic sequel was the fate of the prisoners taken by the Indians, including Crawford who was cut off and captured during the retreat. De Peyster, the commandant at Detroit, had worked persistently to put an end to the Indian custom of torturing prisoners, and had almost succeeded.⁷² But the massacre of the helpless Christian Indians at Gnadenhutten had profoundly stirred the savage instincts of the Indians, and the Delawares, insisting upon revenge, burned Crawford at the stake with the most cruel tortures. Other American prisoners were tomahawked or burned to death, and still others managed to escape. Washington, deeply affected by the tragic death of his friend, was greatly aroused by the failure of this expedition. Irvine, also, was distressed, but both agreed that the massacre at Gnadenhutten was responsible for the cruel treatment of the prisoners. Haldimand, too, was disturbed, and while he rejoiced in the victory, he regretted that it had been "tarnished" by the cruel torture of Crawford and the other prisoners, and sent word to the Indians of his "abhorrence" of such conduct.

The fate of Crawford, and renewed attacks by the Indians aroused the American frontier, and the enraged inhabitants proposed another, and a better organized attack upon the Indians. This time they planned to enlist 600 to 700 men for forty days, and to meet all expenses by public subscription. Irvine, whom they urged to head the expedition, hesitated. Not over 100 regular troops were available, so that if the attack were made, he must depend almost wholly upon the unreliable militia, to face some 500 hostile Delawares, Mingoes, Shawnees and Wyandots, scattered between Lower Sandusky and the headwaters of the Miami. Washington could only extend his "good wishes" and Irvine still hesitated. September 11 saw another attack upon Fort

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 202-28, 233-51.

⁷² Additional MSS., 21,783; Butterfield, *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, 121, 125-8.

Henry, and at length Irvine fixed a rendezvous at Fort McIntosh. But the Revolution was practically over, and the frontier, worn out with incessant fighting, showed little enthusiasm for this expedition. Irvine wisely abandoned the plan, although the Indians continued their sporadic raids against the border settlements.⁷³

Luckily for the settlements in the upper Ohio Valley, during the spring and summer of 1782 the British and their Indian allies were obliged to divert a considerable part of their forces to meet the threat from Kentucky.⁷⁴ In March the Kentuckians had been much disheartened when a band of Wyandots had defeated Captain James Estill and a small party. But the Kentucky militia now numbered some 1,500 men, although they were scattered over a wide area. Once they were assembled, however, they would be a formidable foe, and in the spring of 1782 there were rumors that Clark would attack Detroit, aided by 2,000 French troops. According to another report, the Kentuckians would soon attack the Shawnee villages again, and the British were so alarmed that McKee, with a large body of Indians, abruptly turned back from a raid against Wheeling. In August the British arranged a council of Shawnees, Mingoes, Delawares, Wyandots and Potawatomies, at Old Chillicothe, the chief town of the Shawnees, in order to prepare a general attack upon Kentucky. In the late summer Captain William Caldwell actually marched from Detroit with a force of about 300, chiefly Wyandots and a few picked rangers. Moving down the Little Miami Valley, Caldwell crossed the Ohio at the mouth of the Licking, ascended that river, and then struck across country to Bryant's Station near Lexington. Men from the neighboring settlements hurried to the relief of the small station, and the Indians withdrew. At the Blue Licks on the Licking, Caldwell badly defeated the Kentucky militia, and the Kentuckians planned an attack upon the Shawnees in retaliation. Apparently Clark, at the head of the Kentuckians, expected

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 122-32, 174-6; Butterfield, *Crawford's Expedition*, 278-80.

⁷⁴ Additional MSS., 21,762; Cotterill, *Pioneer Kentucky*, 180-92.

Irvine to advance to the Sandusky, while he himself attacked the Shawnee settlements. Again he was disappointed in cooperation from Fort Pitt. Gathering some 1,050 mounted troops Clark reached the Licking November 1, 1782, and headed for the Shawnee towns. Most of the Indians escaped, but the troops burned their villages and destroyed at least 10,000 bushels of corn and quantities of provisions. They also captured a British trading post, and burned all the stores they could not carry away. By this raid Clark broke up the proposed Indian confederacy, and warded off serious attacks upon the upper Ohio Valley, as well as Kentucky, for the remainder of the fall, and for the winter of 1782-1783.⁷⁵ Peace was now in the offing, and in the fall of 1782, both Haldimand and Washington endeavored to restrict their subordinates in the western country to operations of a strictly defensive nature.⁷⁶ November 30, 1782, England signed a preliminary treaty, and the following spring Washington notified Irvine that hostilities were ended.

The Revolution was over, and the Ohio country had been saved for the United States. The most important factor in this final result had been the tenacious American hold upon Fort Pitt. In spite of local disaffection, of inadequate garrisons and scanty supplies, this stronghold had held out as the center of American strength in the western country. With its dependent posts Fort Pitt had made it possible for an increasing throng of settlers to come into western Pennsylvania and Virginia, as well as Kentucky. It had also supported the campaigns of George Rogers Clark who in turn had given indispensable protection to the entire western country. By holding the Wabash Valley, he had countered British influence on the Ohio Indians, and had kept open the important line of communication between Fort Pitt and the Spanish in New Orleans. Moreover, with other Kentucky leaders he had diverted large Indian forces which, otherwise, would

⁷⁵ James, *George Rogers Clark*, 276-8.

⁷⁶ Additional MSS., 21,783; Butterfield, ed., *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, 141, 149-50.

undoubtedly have been used against Fort Pitt. Yet Clark had failed to secure needed cooperation from either McIntosh or Brodhead, so that at the close of the Revolution Detroit was still in the hands of the British. Elsewhere the American cause was decidedly in the ascendant, and in awarding the Ohio country to the United States the peace treaty merely recognized a *status quo*. The next problem would be to pacify the Indians, and to provide for the orderly settlement and government of these rich lands.

The Americans Triumphant

SUPPOSEDLY, after the ratification of the Peace Treaty in 1783 the Ohio country was under American control. Actually, the British, like the French after 1763, were loath to give up the fur trade of this region. In contrast to the French, who had been ousted completely, they retained their base in Canada, and refused to surrender the western posts, notably the one at Detroit which quickly became a center of intrigue among the Indians. But time favored the Americans in the struggle which arose for the Ohio country. The dependable population of Canada was comparatively small, including in 1791 some 10,000 Loyalists who had fled from the American colonies, and had settled chiefly in Upper Canada, with a few in Detroit.¹ The French population with its center in Quebec was an uncertain factor in case of open conflict with the United States. In contrast, by 1790 the Americans west of the Appalachians, alone, numbered fully 150,000, and their number was rapidly increasing.² The American problem, then, was one of formulating and enforcing a Federal policy suited to the varied problems of the Old Northwest. The conflicting claims of the several states to lands north and south of the Ohio must be adjusted; a colonial system must be devised which would grant the land upon favorable terms to actual settlers, and at the same time a practical scheme of government had to be provided. A sufficiently strong military force had to be organized to overawe the Indians. For accomplishment of these ambitious aims, the American people must rely upon the impotent and unstable Congress of the Confederation. But under the spur of necessity, the seemingly impossible was achieved, and within less than a

¹ W. S. Wallace, *The United Empire Loyalists* (Toronto, 1922), 97-111.

² C. H. Ambler, *History of West Virginia* (New York, 1933), 165.

the annual returns from this rich traffic averaged 3,400 packs, valued at £40,800. In order to hold this trade for Montreal, the British maintained comparatively large garrisons at Niagara and Detroit, and sedulously cultivated the friendship of the Ohio Indians.³ An important asset in these policies was the staunch loyalty of Captain Joseph Brant, the famous Mohawk chief who had moved with his tribe into Upper Canada after the Revolution. He retained to a remarkable degree the confidence of the remaining tribes of the Iroquoian confederacy, as well as that of the Ohio Indians. The British also made constant use of such semi-official agents as Alexander McKee, Matthew Elliott and Simon Girty. Going among the Indians under the guise of traders, these men took advantage of the many sources of irritation from American settlers and Indian traders to stir up trouble. Canadian officials were required by explicit instructions from London to avoid any pretext for open war with the United States. Consequently they consistently posed as protectors of the Indians, and mediators between them and the Americans, avoiding the open conflicts which would have made serious inroads upon the fur trade. Guy Carleton, first Baron Dorchester, as governor of Quebec explicitly ordered his subordinates not to provoke actual warfare with the Americans by their zeal to aid their Indian allies,⁴ and the British adhered to this policy even during the American expeditions into the Indian country.

American plans to hold the Ohio country crystallized rapidly. So far, what fur trade the Americans had secured had gone chiefly across the mountains to Philadelphia. George Washington now proposed a new route, with a canal from Alexandria up the Potomac, and across the mountains to the Ohio which would, he believed, be far easier to use than the one from Philadelphia, and would also constitute an important asset in holding the Ohio Valley. Thomas Jefferson, too, was keenly interested in the project, and like Washington he doubtless supported the schemes

³ C. O., 42.88; W. O., 28.60.

⁴ C. O., 42.50.

of James Rumsey who proposed to build a mechanically propelled boat which would travel fifty to eighty miles a day "against" the current of the Ohio or the Mississippi. To aid Rumsey, a committee of Congress recommended a grant of 30,000 acres in the western country, with the canny proviso that he must navigate his boat for six successive days, fifty miles each day "against" the Ohio.⁵ James Monroe, then a member of Congress, also became interested in the western situation, and in the summer of 1784 he made a journey to Niagara, and as far as Lake Erie, returning by way of Montreal. From his observations Monroe became greatly alarmed concerning British aims in the western country, and especially over the failure to surrender the western posts. On his return he proposed a resolution in Congress to press upon London the American dissatisfaction, and to ask for some definite word as to the "precise time" at which the posts would be surrendered.⁶

Meanwhile the situation in the Ohio country became increasingly unsatisfactory from the American standpoint.⁷ The British Government made it clear that it would not take any immediate steps to comply with the American demand to evacuate the western posts, and Indian attacks upon the frontier inhabitants, along with the many stories of British intrigue, showed that there was serious danger to American prestige beyond the Ohio. Moreover, the increasing emigration across the Ohio created a serious problem, which, it was feared, would hand over the country to a "lawless banditti" who would stir up trouble with the Indians, and found "establishments" contrary to "Republican constitutions." To cope with such alarming conditions the prime necessity was an adequate military force. General Rufus Putnam, destined later to become the founder of the Marietta colony, pro-

⁵ E. C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1921-), VII, 464; *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, 1904-37), XXVIII, 349; J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington* (Washington, 1931-), X, 403-414.

⁶ Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, VII, 609-10, 613; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXVIII, 657-8; S. M. Hamilton, ed., *Writings of James Monroe* (New York, 1898-1903), I, 39-41.

⁷ Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, VII, 365-6, 444.

posed a chain of posts to be located respectively at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, on the portage between the Cuyahoga and the Muskingum, at the forks of the Muskingum, and at its mouth, on the Hocking and on the Kanawha.⁸ But this well devised plan could not be carried out for want of a sufficient force. Finally, after lengthy debate Congress recommended that Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania should raise 700 men from their militia to serve for a year on the western frontier. Pennsylvania responded promptly, and by December, 1784, at least three companies had arrived at Fort Pitt. By June, 1786, recruits from the remaining states had swelled the American force "at the Ohio" to more than 600.⁹ These reinforcements made possible an important forward step for the defense of the frontier in October, 1785, when Colonel Josiah Harmar, in command at Fort McIntosh, ordered Captain John Doughty with his company to establish a post, "at or near the mouth of the Muskingum," about 140 miles below Fort McIntosh, and "to stockade or pallisade himself for his own security." This post Harmar considered especially well situated to expel the increasing number of intruders who were crossing the Ohio, and establishing themselves on the lands claimed by the Indians. Fort Harmar, as the new post was called, was of even greater importance in meeting the Indian menace, for until Fort Washington was founded in 1789, it was the most advanced American fort in the Ohio country.¹⁰

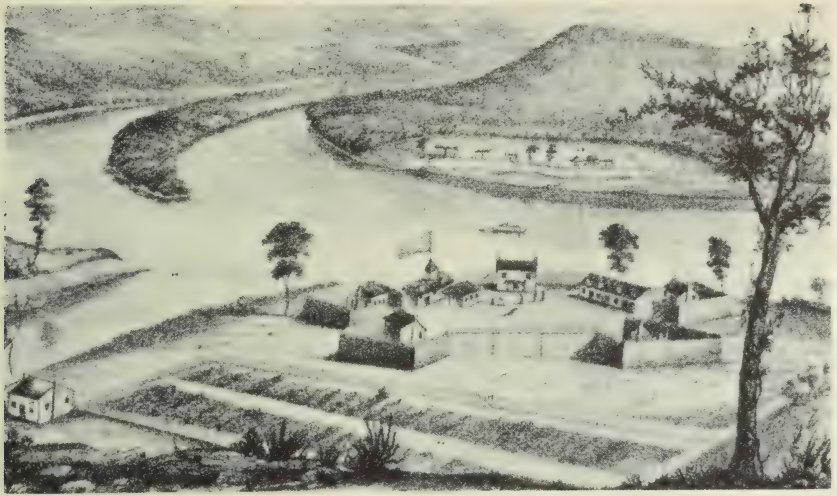
Another important move which was intended to help the situation, was an act passed by Congress in August, 1786, to regulate the Indian trade.¹¹ Following the plan set up under the British régime, this act provided for a northern and a southern district, the two divided by the Ohio River. In each district a superintend-

⁸ Rowena Buell, ed., *Memoirs of Rufus Putnam* (Boston and New York, 1903), 202-3, 215-7.

⁹ Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, VII, 237, 551-2; C. W. Butterfield, ed., *Journal of Captain Jonathan Heart* (Albany, 1885), 46; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXVIII, 223, 329.

¹⁰ Butterfield, *Journal of Jonathan Heart*, 92-3.

¹¹ *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXX, 368-72; XXXI, 490-3, 503, 517; XXXII, 66-9.



13. FORT HARMAR, 1790

From S. P. Hildreth, *Pioneer History* (Cincinnati, 1848), facing p. 317.

ent was to be in general charge of Indian affairs, and trade would be limited to American citizens who had taken out licenses. Richard Butler, the superintendent appointed for the northern district, by birth an Irishman, was well qualified for his post by extensive experience among the Indians. His instructions outlined the chief aims of American policy, namely, to treat the Indians with justice and good faith, but not permit unprovoked aggression on their part. The details of the Indian trade, notably the licensing of traders and the redress of Indian complaints, were to receive his special attention, and he was to ascertain, if possible, the real designs of the Ohio tribes.

But efforts to establish peaceful relations with the Indians were futile, so long as straggling frontiersmen continued to make unauthorized settlements on the lands which the Indians claimed "westward" of the Ohio. Permanently to turn back this wave of restless pioneers was clearly an impossibility, and the one solution was to induce the Indians to give up the Ohio boundary line of

1768, and to accept one which would permit the inevitable American expansion. After considerable agitation, March 4, 1784, Congress appointed five commissioners in order to make peace first with the Six Nations as a necessary preliminary, then with their close friends, the Ohio Indians, and finally to fix a satisfactory boundary line.¹² October 3, 1784, three of the commissioners met representatives of the Six Nations and several Shawnee and Delaware chiefs at Fort Stanwix, and after the usual maneuvering and powwows, they agreed upon a treaty. By its terms a boundary line was established which began at "Johnston's landing place," four miles east of Niagara, ran east of the portage to the mouth of Buffalo Creek, south to the northern boundary of Pennsylvania, thence to the western boundary, and south to the Ohio. The Six Nations yielded all their claims to the country "west of the said boundary," and thus cleared the way for the negotiation of a new boundary line beyond the Ohio River between the United States and the Ohio Indians.

Richard Butler and Arthur Lee, two of the commissioners, then proceeded to Fort Pitt where they met a third commissioner, George Rogers Clark. As the season was so far advanced, it being December, the commissioners gave up their plan for a meeting with the Ohio Indians on the headwaters of the Cuyahoga. Instead, they chose Fort McIntosh, a strong fortification built of well-hewn logs, with four bastions,¹³ and at that time American military headquarters in the Ohio country. The commissioners found that the Indians were greatly disturbed by the recent Treaty of Fort Stanwix, which, they claimed, the Iroquois had signed without consulting them. About 400 Indians were present at the council, "a very motley crew—an ugly set of devils all—very few handsome men or women," according to one of the American officers. At first the Indians insisted that the lands which the

¹² *American State Papers* (Washington, 1832-61), *Indian Affairs*, I, 10; Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, VII, 579-80; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXVI, 124, 134-235; *Olden Time* (Pittsburgh, 1846-8), II, 404-28.

¹³ Butterfield, ed., *Journal of Jonathan Heart*, 53; Arthur Lee, "Journal," *Olden Time*, II, 334-44; Ebenezer Denny, *Military Journal* (Philadelphia, 1859), 259.

United States claimed under the Peace Treaty of 1783 were their own. The commissioners, however, "in a high tone," pointed out that since the Indians had been allies of the British, they were a conquered people, dependent upon the "lenity and generosity" of the people of the United States.

Although the Indians continued to be quarrelsome, making impossible demands, January 21, 1785, Wyandot, Delaware, Chipewa and Ottawa chiefs who were present signed the Treaty of Fort McIntosh. By its provisions the United States set apart a tract of land as a home for the Delawares, the Wyandots and a part of the Ottawas. The boundary line, which began at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, ran thence to the Tuscarawas portage, to the "crossing place above Fort Lawrence [Laurens]," west to the site of Pickawillany on the Miami, over the portage to the Maumee, to Lake Erie, and back to the mouth of the Cuyahoga. Within this boundary line the United States reserved sites for trading posts: at the mouth of the Maumee, at the portage between the Maumee and the Miami, at Fort Sandusky, and on the lower Sandusky rapids. With these exceptions, the land beyond the boundary line which had been agreed upon was to belong to the Wyandot, Delaware and Ottawa tribes, under the protection of the United States. These tribes in turn acknowledged that the lands "east, west and south" of their own tracts were the property of the United States.¹⁴

The Shawnees, who had not been represented at Fort McIntosh, were aroused over the surrender of so much Indian land to the United States.¹⁵ This attitude created a serious situation, for with their considerable numbers and their intelligence, the Shawnees were leaders among the Ohio Indians, and an understanding with them was essential, especially because British agents had been busy among them with stories that the Peace Treaty had merely given the United States jurisdiction over them, and not the right to

¹⁴ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 11.

¹⁵ Richard Butler, "Journal," *Olden Time*, II, 489-90; Butterfield, ed., *Journal of Jonathan Heart*, 90-1; C. O., 42-48.

seize their land without purchasing it. From the reports that reached him, Harmar feared that the Shawnees would attempt to unite with other hostile Indians to form a confederacy, and to forestall such an attempt he proposed a generous distribution of presents, and the despatch of "emissaries" who were well acquainted with their language and customs. March 18, 1785, Congress authorized the commissioners, who had already negotiated a treaty at Fort McIntosh, to hold another conference, this one to negotiate a satisfactory boundary with the Shawnees especially, and with other hostile Indians. The meeting place was first fixed at Vincennes, then on the bank of the Ohio opposite the Falls, and finally it was shifted to the mouth of the Miami.

The actual conference was subjected to the usual delay, although careful preparations were made.¹⁶ Congress added General Samuel Holden Parsons, a Revolutionary soldier now living in Massachusetts, to the peace commission, and Harmar despatched a company of Pennsylvania militia, under Captain Walter Finney, to the mouth of the Miami, with orders to establish fortified winter quarters there, or wherever else the commissioners deemed satisfactory. Two of the commissioners, Butler and Parsons, accompanied the troops, and Monroe went along to discover the actual situation in the western country. But danger from Indians and inevitable delays dampened his enthusiasm, and from Limestone he returned directly to Richmond. Yet even this short journey down the Ohio, together with the earlier one to Lake Erie, gave Monroe an insight into western problems which was eventually to prove of great value. The two commissioners with the troops reached the mouth of the Miami October 22, 1785, and there met the third commissioner, Clark. Finney located the new post about a mile above the mouth of the Miami, on the north bank of the Ohio. By November 8 the troops had completed a substantial square stockade of the type so familiar on the western frontier.

¹⁶ Butterfield, ed., *Journal of Jonathan Heart*, 92; Butler, "Journal," 434-52, 512-53; Denny, *Military Journal*, 262-3, 274-5; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXVIII, 460-2, 476-7; XXIX, 725, 806; Hamilton, ed., *Writings of James Monroe*, 1, 112-3.

The commissioners were now ready to open negotiations, but not until December 18 did messengers arrive with the tidings that the Shawnees were on their way. Already about 100 Wyandots and Delawares had arrived, to play the role of go-betweens in the conference. Finally, January 14 the Shawnees came to the council house. Their approach, 150 men in order, and 80 women behind, was slow and solemn. The chiefs in front beat drums, and the rank and file gave the customary salute of three rounds, which was answered by an American platoon. One of the head chiefs then announced that they had accepted the American invitation, even though they had been warned to stay away. The commissioners, in their turn, told of the desire of Congress to treat with all the tribes between the Ohio, the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, and bade the Shawnees welcome to the "thirteen great fires." There was more handshaking and dancing, together with an abundance of rum for the young warriors especially. In spite of the January cold the negotiations dragged on for more than two weeks. British agents, it was reported, had persuaded the Miamis not to attend the conference, and had tried also to keep the Shawnees away. Some Delaware and Wyandot chiefs who were dissatisfied with the Treaty of Fort McIntosh were soon appeased, but it was more difficult to deal with the Shawnees. They maintained that, "God gave us this country; we do not understand measuring out the lands; it is all ours." The commissioners, however, reminded them that they had sided with the British who had been defeated, and that they must accept the American proposals or else risk a war. These bold words proved effective, and February 1, 1786, the Shawnees signed the Treaty of Fort Finney.

The most important provision of the treaty fixed the boundary line between the Shawnees and the Americans.¹⁷ Beginning where the south line of the Treaty of Fort McIntosh crossed the Miami, it ran down the river to the next fork below Pickawillany, then due west to the "River de la Pense," presumably the west fork

¹⁷ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 11-2; Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, VIII, 335.

of the White River, and then to the Wabash. Beyond this line the Shawnees were to dwell, undisturbed, under American protection. The Shawnees, in turn, surrendered all claims to the lands south and east of this line. Thus, the Treaty of Fort McIntosh, and the Treaty of Fort Finney had compelled the three important Ohio tribes, the Wyandots, the Delawares and the Shawnees, to recognize the sovereignty of the United States. Moreover, they had pushed them back of a boundary which, if it were observed, would free from Indian claims the greater part of the Ohio country east of the Cuyahoga and south of a line a little to the north of central Ohio. The commissioners themselves considered the Treaty of Fort Finney, and the consequent humbling of the Shawnees, the most important which had so far been contracted in the western country. The test would come when actual surveys and settlements began to be made on the lands which the Indians had given away.

Wide-spread Indian dissatisfaction with treaties which had handed over so large an area of the Ohio country, soon showed itself.¹⁸ In the fall of 1785 Thomas Hutchins, as official geographer of the United States, made a futile attempt to survey the Seven Ranges in the upper Ohio Valley. The Indian reaction was a deep resentment which increased the following spring when the survey was again undertaken. Scattered attacks upon frontier settlers increased, although the more moderate minded chiefs attempted to restrain the "foolish men," who preferred to settle matters with the Americans in violent fashion rather than by negotiation. There were, it appeared, two main centers of disturbance. One was a band of renegade Cherokees, settled on Paint Creek near the Ohio, who were the ringleaders in attacks upon boats descending the river and upon outlying settlements. Farther down the Ohio, the Miami Indians still hostile to the Americans were crossing into Kentucky, stealing horses and murdering settlers. The few troops stationed in the Ohio Valley were

¹⁸ C. O., 42.48; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXX, 346-51, 381; R. S. Cotterill, *History of Pioneer Kentucky* (Cincinnati, 1917), 216-7.

“utterly incompetent” to put an end to these raids, but instead of the really adequate force of 1,500 which was recommended, Congress merely directed that two companies should be sent from Fort McIntosh to Fort Nelson at the Falls, relying upon the Kentucky militia to supply any additional troops that were needed. Congress now attempted to conciliate the more friendly Indians.¹⁹ A message to the Wyandots, the Delawares, the Shawnees and the Hurons assured them of the peaceful intentions of the United States, but pointed out that “bad” men among the Wabash and Miami Indians might attempt to stir up trouble. In another friendly gesture Congress tried to induce the remnants of the Christian Delawares to return to their old homes in the Tuscarawas Valley. As an inducement, this resolution directed Harmar to supply the poverty-stricken Indians, numbering about 100, with corn, axes, knives, and blankets out of the public stores. But the situation in the interior Ohio country was so precarious that Zeisberger advised his little flock not to take advantage of this offer.

Since peaceful overtures were in vain, the Kentuckians finally took matters in their own hands.²⁰ In October, 1786, a force of 1,000 men under George Rogers Clark pushed up the Wabash Valley until low water, lack of discipline and desertions forced a retreat to Vincennes. About the same time Colonel Benjamin Logan led an expedition across the Ohio to the headwaters of Mad River. There, in the very heart of the Shawnee country, he burned several Indian towns, destroyed much corn and took a number of prisoners. But these piecemeal expeditions, so typical of others that were to follow, served chiefly to irritate the Indians. What was needed was a force sufficiently strong to compel them to respect American power. This need was all the greater in view of the aims of Joseph Brant, the Mohawk chief who, imitating Pontiac, was planning a confederacy of all the western Indians.

¹⁹ *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXX, 381, 429; XXI, 526, 562, C. H. Knisely, “Moravian Missions in Ohio,” M. A. thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1933, 42-3.

²⁰ J. R. Albach, *Annals of the West* (Pittsburgh, 1857), 446-7; Cotterill, *Pioneer Kentucky*, 218-9; Butterfield, ed., *Journal of Jonathan Heart*, 74-5.

Visiting the Great Lakes region in order to further this scheme, Brant held several conferences, only to discover during a visit to England that he could not count upon active British aid against the Americans. The king, Brant was told, would always be attentive to the welfare of the Indians, but he recommended that they should remain "united," and should endeavor by a "peaceable demeanor" to secure "those rights and privileges which their ancestors have hitherto enjoyed."²¹

Brant nevertheless worked persistently for the proposed confederation. December, 1786, after his return from England, a grand council met at the Huron village near the mouth of the Detroit River. There, representatives of the Six Nations, the Delawares, the Shawnees, the "Wabash Confederates," and other tribes drew up an address to Congress which was a forcible plea for peace. Assuming the position of equals, the Indians asked for a council in the spring to secure a general treaty in place of the separate agreements which had caused "mischief and confusion." Meantime, they asked the United States to keep their citizens from coming to "our side of the Ohio River," and in return the confederated Indians would agree to restrain their people. If these requests were not granted, there was a warning that the Indians would be obliged, with united force to defend their "rights and privileges which have been transmitted to us by our ancestors."²²

The many conflicts with the Indians showed clearly how necessary it was to adopt a strong American policy that would attract to the Ohio country a sturdy and numerous population which would be capable of upholding American rights. For a time the conflicting claims of the states in this region, as a part of the Old Northwest, prevented such an outcome.²³ New York asserted her rights as overlord of the Iroquois. Connecticut claimed a strip of

²¹ W. L. Stone, *Life of Joseph Brant* (New York, 1838), II, 247-8, 253-6.

²² *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 8-9.

²³ T. P. Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution* (New York and London, 1937), 170-7, 243-7, 269-73.

land along Lake Erie, and Virginia attempted to control the entire area. These several claims had become involved in the plans of the Vandavia, the Indiana, the Wabash and other speculative land companies, but Virginia persistently opposed such schemes, insisting that if she surrendered her rights the land of the Old Northwest should be used for the common benefit. The problem was further complicated by the fight of the smaller states, so gallantly led by Maryland, to prevent the overexpansion of the larger ones. The details of this struggle, involving the final ratification of the Articles of Confederation, cannot be followed here, but for years these conflicting interests baffled the Continental Congress in its attempt to find some solution of western problems. After the outbreak of the Revolution public opinion slowly crystallized into definite plans for the Old Northwest.²⁴ In 1776 Silas Dean proposed that a tract of 200 square miles between the Ohio and the Mississippi should be sold as an aid in retiring the debt to the Continental Army, and that the district should be organized into a "confederated" state. Four years later, Thomas Paine, in his pamphlet, *Common Sense*, proposed a new state between the Alleghenies and the Ohio, and at the same time favored the use of the land to retire the public debt. Finally October 10, 1780, the delegates from Virginia proposed a resolution which carried out these and a number of similar proposals. The motion, as it was adopted, gave a pledge by Congress that vacant lands ceded to the Federal Government would be disposed of for the "common benefit," and that these territories would eventually become co-equal members of "the federal union," each with an area not less than 100, nor more than 150 miles square.

The speculative land companies, however, were not idle, supporting such schemes as the proposed new state of Westsylvania and later that of Transylvania. In the struggle the influence of Pennsylvania was thrown decidedly in their favor, but the Virginia delegates led the fight for equal rights of the states in the

²⁴ A. B. Hulbert, ed., *Ohio in the Time of the Confederation* (Marietta, O., 1918), 13; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XVIII, 915-6.

western lands. Arthur Lee even moved, when a resolution involving these lands was being considered, that the roll should be called, and that each member should declare "upon his honor," whether or not he was personally interested in the land companies. On the other hand a committee favoring the speculators besought the Virginia Assembly, as they valued "the peace, welfare and increase of the United States," to give up all lands, "beyond a reasonable Western boundary." There was a general feeling in Congress that the question of the western lands must soon be settled, and February 3, 1784, Congress accepted Virginia's terms for the surrender of the Old Northwest, marking the final victory of the public interests over the land speculations. This action was taken because, in the minds of a number of the delegates, a "composition" was necessary to settle this very difficult problem.²⁵

By the act of cession Virginia made over to the Federal Government her claims in the Old Northwest, with a stipulation that this area should be formed into states, and the land disposed of for the common benefit in accordance with the resolution of October 10, 1780. Another important provision of this cession reserved the Virginia Military Tract between the Little Miami and the Scioto, running north from the Ohio, to satisfy the land bounties which Virginia had promised her Revolutionary soldiers. The principal claims of the other states in the Old Northwest were soon settled.²⁶ New York had already ceded her somewhat shadowy claims in rather general terms which professed a strong desire, "to accelerate the federal alliance," by removing any "impediment" in the form of claims to "waste and uncultivated lands." The Connecticut Act of Cession, September 13, 1786, was very brief, but it reserved a strip, 120 miles west from Pennsylvania, between 41° north latitude and Lake Erie, which as the Western Reserve was destined to play an important role in Ohio history. By this final cession of Connecticut all of the Ohio coun-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, XX, 704; XXI, 1057-8, 1077-8; XXII, 191, 223-32; Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, VII, 300-1, and *passim*.

²⁶ C. E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, 1934-), II, *Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, 1787-1803*, 3-9, 22-4.

try, with the exception of the Western Reserve and the Virginia Military Tract, had come into the possession of the Federal Government, and Congress was pledged to form this vast public domain along with the remaining area of the Old Northwest into states, and to dispose of the land for the common benefit.

While the cession of claims in the Old Northwest was being agitated, numerous definite plans were advanced for the formation of states, and the distribution of the public lands.²⁷ Among them one advanced in 1783 by Timothy Pickering would have established a new state between Pennsylvania and a line running from a point thirty miles west of the mouth of the Scioto to the Maumee. The land in this extensive area Pickering proposed to use for Revolutionary land bounties and for public purposes, with the "total exclusion" of slavery as a notable feature of his scheme. Equally significant was a similar proposal by Washington who, from his own knowledge of the western situation, was convinced that the one practical method of meeting the Indian menace was to settle a considerable population in the Old Northwest. As an initial step he proposed to form a state, of which the boundaries differed only slightly from those of present-day Ohio, except that Washington would have included the Detroit area if it were deemed advisable. By confining population within such a limited area, Washington believed a really substantial state could be developed. Still another important plan was brought forward by Theodoric Bland of Virginia, in a resolution which was seconded by Alexander Hamilton. Essentially it proposed the setting aside of public land in the western country to fulfill all Continental obligations, including land bounties to the Revolutionary soldiers. Out of every 100,000 acres, 10,000 were to be reserved, and the revenue used to pay the civil list, to erect frontier forts, to found seminaries of "larning," and to build a navy. The entire area was to be divided into districts which would become states when they contained 20,000 inhabitants. Bland's

²⁷ Hulbert, ed., *Ohio in Time of Confederation*, 31-5; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXIV, 384-6; W. C. Ford, ed., *Writings of George Washington* (New York and London, 1889-93), X, 310-11.

proposal was of special interest, since it forecast in so many of its details the ultimate plan for distributing the western lands.

The wide-spread agitation for the founding of states in the Old Northwest was soon translated into action.²⁸ October 15, 1783, a committee headed by James Duane proposed that at least one state should be formed within the area which Virginia was about to cede, and that a temporary form of government should be adopted, until the "number" and "circumstances" of the settlers made it possible to form a permanent constitution. This report was the signal for considerable debate in Congress, and some of the delegates wrote home for instructions. The outcome of all this agitation was an Ordinance passed April 23, 1784, for the government of the western lands, both north and south of the Ohio, which were ceded by the individual states. According to this elaborate plan for which Jefferson bore the chief responsibility, there would have been approximately two districts within the Ohio country: one between Pennsylvania, the Ohio River, Lake Erie, and a line north from the mouth of the Kanawha; the other between this last boundary, the Ohio, a line north from the Falls, and 41° north latitude. In each district the Ordinance gave the early settlers the right to adopt the constitution and laws of any one of the original states with necessary alterations, and when the free inhabitants numbered 20,000, they might hold a convention and adopt a permanent constitution. Finally, when in any district there were as many free inhabitants as in "the least numerous of the thirteen original states," it would be admitted into the Union, "on an equal footing with the original states." As it was originally drawn the Ordinance prohibited slavery after 1800, but this clause which had been inserted by Timothy Pickering was omitted in the final draft.²⁹ Although this Ordinance of 1784 was never put into effect, the principles of government it established were included later in the Ordinance of 1787.

²⁸ Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, VII, 467; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXV, 681-95.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, XXVI, 275-9; Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, VII, 499-500.

While Congress was working out the basic principles of government for the Old Northwest, there was increasing pressure for a definite solution of the parallel problem of distributing the public lands. The need was pressing.³⁰ By September, 1783, the illegal settlements on the Muskingum, to which General William Irvine had called attention, were supposed to contain about 400 inhabitants, and Congress issued a sweeping proclamation declaring them "without right or title." But the sturdy frontiersmen continued to cross the Ohio in large numbers and March 12, 1785, John Amberson called for a convention to frame a constitution. The extent of these settlements was shown by the four election places he fixed for the choice of delegates: at the mouths of the Miami, the Scioto and the Muskingum rivers, and opposite Wheeling. Harmar promptly despatched Ensign John Armstrong from Fort McIntosh, to go down the river and drive out these lawless settlers. Scattered through the seventy-odd miles of the Ohio Valley between Fort McIntosh and Wheeling, Armstrong found many squatters. At one settlement where they had elected two justices of the peace, a number of "respectable inhabitants" warned him that unless Congress speedily took action, the west bank of the Ohio would be occupied by a "banditti whose actions are a disgrace to human nature." These same settlers were doubtless among the 175 who petitioned Congress about this time to be allowed to keep their lands. The majority, however, were probably a lawless type, many of them fugitives from justice, and it was becoming increasingly evident that some definite plan must be devised to dispose of the vacant public lands, unless the United States was to lose control of the Ohio country.

Pressure upon Congress for a definite plan to distribute the western lands came also from the holders of Continental certificates who hoped to be paid from this source. Many of them were Revolutionary veterans who looked to the western lands for the land bounties which had been promised them. These interested

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 289; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXV, 602-3; XXVIII, 433 (note); W. H. Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers* (Cincinnati, 1882), II, 3-5.

groups brought numerous reports and resolutions before Congress, among them the plans of Timothy Pickering and Theodoric Bland, which have already been cited. In each instance the western lands were to be used in order to pay the Continental certificates and the land bounties, thus, it was hoped, attracting large numbers of Revolutionary veterans into the proposed new states. The climax of these proposals came in June, 1783, with the drawing up of the Newburgh Petition. The 288 officers who signed this document asked that a tract with approximately the boundaries of the state proposed by Timothy Pickering two months before, should be set aside, primarily to fulfill the Revolutionary land bounties, with the remainder granted to the veterans in exchange for their Continental certificates. Further, the petition asked that the tract should first be organized as "a colony of the United States," and later as one of the "confederated" states.³¹

General Rufus Putnam who drew up the Newburgh Petition, sent it to Washington in order to solicit his support. Representing the pressing need for population in the western country, Putnam outlined the details of a plan which was strikingly similar to the one adopted later. He proposed to divide the land into townships, six miles square, and to reserve in each one, 3,040 acres "for the ministry, schools, waste lands, rivers, ponds and highways." The land which remained after the bounty claims had been satisfied, Putnam proposed to sell to Revolutionary veterans, in exchange for "public security." If the Newburgh Petition was granted, and a chain of posts was established from the Ohio to Lake Erie, Putnam predicted that the petitioners would move to the western lands, and other Revolutionary veterans would follow them.³² Washington heartily approved the Newburgh Petition, and in transmitting it to Congress he predicted that if the Revolutionary veterans should come to the Ohio country, "the settlers, being in the prime of life, inured to hardships and taught by

³¹ A. B. Hulbert, ed., *Records of the Ohio Company* (Marietta, O., 1917), I, p. xxvi-xxvii.

³² Buell, ed., *Memoirs of Rufus Putnam*, 216-23.

experience to accommodate themselves in every situation—going in a considerable body, and under the patronage of the government, would enjoy in the first instance *advantages* in procuring subsistence, and all the necessaries for a comfortable beginning, superior to any common class of emigrants, quite unknown to those who have heretofore extended themselves beyond the Appalachian Mountains. They may expect, after a little perseverance, competence, and independence for themselves, a pleasant retreat in old age—and the fairest prospects for their children.”³³

As usual Congress delayed action, and almost a year later Putnam, doggedly persevering, again called attention to the great advantage of the proposed settlement of Revolutionary veterans in the Ohio country. “Thousands,” he declared, would emigrate from New England, if only Congress would pass the necessary acts. If Congress would definitely offer to exchange the Continental certificates for western lands, Putnam was sure that their value, then only three shillings, six pence to four shillings on the pound, would greatly increase. Washington himself could not promise immediate action.³⁴ In fact, the particular type of land system to be adopted for the western lands had become the subject of heated controversy. During the colonial period there had been two systems in general use. The New England custom of laying out townships to be divided among private landholders was democratic and adapted to smaller holdings and compact settlements. The southern system of issuing warrants to be located at the holder’s option favored larger holdings, land speculation, and scattered settlement. The New England influence, which had been so strong in the Newburgh Petition, was shown in a report presented to Congress, May 7, 1784. In substance, it proposed to lay off the public lands in hundreds, each ten miles square and subdivided into lots one mile square. Payments for either a hundred or a lot were to be made in specie or Continental certificates with additional provision for Revolutionary land

³³ Ford, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, X, 267-70.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, X, 391-3; Buell, ed., *Memoirs of Rufus Putnam*, 223-5.

bounties.³⁵ This report was not adopted, but it pointed to the ultimate triumph of the New England system of townships.

Soon the pressure for a land ordinance received additional impetus from Washington. Upon his journey to western Pennsylvania in September, 1784, alarming reports came to him of the critical situation in the western country. The speculative rage had become so wide-spread, that he was convinced there were scarcely any accessible unclaimed tracts to the north and west of the Ohio. Moreover, the trespassers on the "Indian side" of the Ohio were constantly stirring up trouble. The one remedy, in his opinion, was to purchase from the Indians a sufficient area for one or two states, to fix a fair price for actual settlers, and to nullify all claims which were contrary to Federal laws. A few months later Washington was still of the opinion that "progressive" seating of the western lands alone would hold them for the United States. From another standpoint Hugh Williamson of North Carolina maintained that the western lands constituted "our sheet anchor," and were the possible source of a "fund" by which the greater part of the national debt might be "extinguished."³⁶

March 4, 1785, the draft of a Land Ordinance was read in Congress, and referred to a committee which included a member from each state. The discussions in this committee were lengthy and illuminating, reflecting different points of view with respect to the disposal of the public lands.³⁷ Open sales, it was pointed out, would give each citizen an equal chance, and through competition would recognize variations in the quality of lands. Experience in New England had shown that sales by townships did not favor the land speculator, as had been claimed. From still another standpoint, the support proposed for education and religion would offer inducements for neighbors of the same faith to

³⁵ *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXVIII, 446-53.

³⁶ Ford, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, X, 415-21, 447-8; Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, VII, 563-4, 598.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII, 95-7.

emigrate together. On the other hand, certain members of the committee feared that the proposed law would interfere with the sale of land by the individual states, and that its ultimate effect would be to drain population from the older regions, thus forcing the admission of new states into the Confederation. But these objections, evidently of New England origin, did not prevail. April 12 the committee reported an ordinance which provided for the survey of the public lands in townships, with sales by public auction at \$1.00 per acre, payable either in specie or Continental certificates. Provision was made for the use of part of the land in payment of the Revolutionary bounties, and for the reservation in every township of the four corner sections for the United States, the central section for the "maintenance of public schools," and another section for the support of religion.³⁸

A lengthy debate, which, William Grayson of Virginia, a strong supporter of the proposed ordinance, facetiously remarked, would "fill forty volumes," now arose in Congress with the New England delegates determined to have everything their own way. Rufus King of Massachusetts was accused of being ready with a resolution to prevent slavery in the proposed new state.³⁹ The insistence of public creditors, especially Revolutionary veterans, together with the alarming situation in the Ohio country, finally achieved the seemingly impossible, and May 20, 1785, Congress agreed upon an Ordinance which represented real concessions to conflicting points of view. Its details were really an amplification of the report of April 12.⁴⁰ The land northwest of the Ohio, as it was purchased from the Indians, was to be surveyed in townships of six miles square, which in turn were to be subdivided into lots or sections one mile square. The Ordinance required these surveys to be based upon an east and west line drawn from where the western boundary of Pennsylvania touched the north bank

³⁸ *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXVIII, 114, 165 (note 1), 251-6.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 298-302; Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, VIII, 106, 110, 118, 133.

⁴⁰ *Journals of the Cont. Cong.*, XXVIII, 375-81.

of the Ohio, and from this Geographer's Line, the first seven ranges of townships were to be laid off from the Ohio to Lake Erie. As the land was surveyed, it was to be offered at public auction in the several states, one-half in townships, the other half in sections at a minimum price of \$1.00 per acre payable in specie or Continental certificates, with one-seventh of the total area to be used to fulfill Revolutionary land bounties. In each township the Ordinance reserved four sections for the disposal of Congress, and section 16 for the maintenance of public schools, but it omitted the original provision for the support of religion. Other sections of the Ordinance reserved: three townships on Lake Erie for refugees from Canada and Nova Scotia, the towns of Gnadenhutten, Schoenbrunn and Salem for the use of the Christian Indians, and the Virginia Military Tract between the Little Miami and the Scioto.

Congress promptly adopted measures to put the Land Ordinance into effect, continuing Thomas Hutchins for three years as geographer of the United States in general charge of surveys. This was an eminently wise appointment. Having come to Fort Pitt with Forbes in 1758, Hutchins was thoroughly familiar with the chief trails and waterways of the Ohio country, while his careful hydrographical survey of the Ohio River in 1766 had given him an intimate knowledge of its entire course. For deputy surveyors Congress made appointments from the different states, in order to arouse general interest in the public lands. Foremost among them was Rufus Putnam, the author of the Newburgh Petition, and a man who was destined to play a leading role in the early settlement of the Ohio Valley. Hutchins energetically went to work, starting from the Ohio to survey the basic east and west Geographer's Line. Indian opposition soon forced him to stop temporarily, but not before he had collected the material for an elaborate report to Congress in December, 1785, upon the topography, the quality, and the adaptability to different crops of the public land over which he had passed.⁴¹

⁴¹ Hulbert, ed., *Ohio in Time of Confederation*, 130-7.

Meanwhile the strong opposition to western settlements, which must eventually be organized as states, was becoming vocal, especially in New England. Washington strongly denounced such narrow views. As well try to restrain the "influx of the tides when you had got them into your rivers," he declared, as attempt to put an end to emigration from the Atlantic States to the western country.⁴² There were even proposals to alter the Ordinance, but eventually Congress directed Hutchins to follow its provisions, making surveys for the first seven ranges southward from the Geographer's Line, rather than Lake Erie, to the Ohio River.⁴³ This last change cleared the way for the reservation a few months later of the Western Reserve in favor of Connecticut, and so helped to decrease New England opposition. Hutchins started his survey again in July, 1786, but his work was hampered by inadequate military protection, and frequent lack of supplies. In one instance after the surveying party had penetrated more than thirty-eight miles into the wilderness, its only escort was a subaltern with thirty men, and for more than five days they were without meat. Indian alarms were frequent and experienced men scarce. Yet by December, 1786, Hutchins had completed the survey of the first four ranges of townships from the Geographer's Line southward to the Ohio.⁴⁴

The provision of the Land Ordinance for sales by public auction in the separate states did not prove practical, but sectional jealousies delayed the necessary amendment. Many New Englanders still feared that the western lands would take away "our most valuable and enterprising young men," and thus would materially injure their rising manufactures. Finally, April 21, 1787, Congress amended the Land Ordinance so that, after the quota assigned to the Revolutionary veterans had been filled, the remainder should be sold at public auction, "at the place where Congress shall sit."⁴⁵

⁴² Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, 118 (note), 380.

⁴³ *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXX, 230-1, 248.

⁴⁴ Hulbert, ed., *Ohio in Time of Confederation*, 144-76 *passim*.

⁴⁵ Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, VIII, 562, 746; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXXII, 226.

But the slow progress in surveying the public lands stirred up popular impatience, and the encroachments of "discontented and adventurous people" north of the Ohio were increasing. April 25, 1787, a committee proposed that except for the Seven Ranges, the Land Ordinance of 1785 should be repealed. As a substitute, they advocated the division of the western lands into districts, with a surveyor in each one who would dispose of the land in squares by a system of indiscriminate locations. This report did not pass, but it undoubtedly reflected a strong public sentiment.⁴⁶ The Revolutionary veterans were becoming thoroughly dissatisfied with the delay in surveying the public lands. At the current progress of survey they feared their full claims would only be fulfilled when "very few of those entitled to the land will be living." October 22, 1787, Congress set aside 1,000,000 acres as a Military Tract to satisfy these Revolutionary claims.⁴⁷ But it was too far in the interior to be opened up before the Indian menace in Ohio had been ended. Meanwhile sales had begun under the Land Ordinance, and by the end of October, 1787, a total of 72,974 acres from the four ranges already surveyed, had been sold for public securities of a face value of \$117,108.00.⁴⁸

Now that the survey and sale of public lands had been provided for, there was pressing need for a practical scheme of government. Although the ordinance which Jefferson had drawn up in 1784 was not altogether satisfactory, and its author was in France, Monroe was in Congress to defend its fundamental principle of the development of the western lands into coequal states. Having acquired a practical understanding of conditions in the Ohio Valley from his westward journeys, Monroe criticized severely the provision for the formation of so many states. Much of this territory, he pointed out, was "miserably poor," and there was danger of an indefinite delay of statehood, if the divisions under the Ordinance of 1784 were retained. Monroe quickly became the

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 238-41; Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, II, 27-8.

⁴⁷ *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXXIII, 695-6.

⁴⁸ P. J. Treat, *The National Land System, 1785-1820* (New York, 1910), 44-5.

leader in a movement to secure a really workable Land Ordinance, and March 24, 1786, he brought in a report to Congress which recommended the repeal of the section in the Ordinance of 1784 for the formation of districts which would not for years contain the 20,000 inhabitants necessary to form a local government.⁴⁹

Three days later Congress appointed a committee of five, of which Monroe was chairman, "to consider and report forms of government to be instituted in the Western territory, . . . prior to the institution of temporary government." May 10, 1786, this committee brought in a report of the greatest importance.⁵⁰ During the confusion of early settlement it proposed that the government should be carried on by a governor, a secretary, a council of five, and a court of five judges, all of them elected by Congress. When a district contained an undetermined number of free male inhabitants, it should elect a house of representatives, which with the governor and the council would have "legislative authority in all cases." Following the precedent of the colonial agent who had represented the colonies informally in England, a district thus organized would be entitled to a representative in Congress who would have the right to debate but not to vote. Finally, the report declared, the districts would be admitted as states, "so soon as they shall respectively obtain a common interest in [Federal] affairs, with such mature age and strength as to be able to act for themselves." The test, as provided by the Ordinance of 1784, would come when the free male inhabitants of a district were equal in number to the "least numerous" of the original states.

In this report Monroe laid down principles which were ultimately adopted in the Ordinance, and which, except for the status of coequal states, found their bases in colonial precedent. He himself characterized the proposed plan in notably clear fashion as a "Colonial Government similar to that which pre-

⁴⁹ Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, VIII, 285-6; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXX, 131-5.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, XXX, 139 (note), 251-6; Jay A. Barrett, *Evolution of the Ordinance of 1787* (New York, 1891), *passim*.

vailed in these States previous to the Revolution, with this remarkable and important difference," that each district will be admitted as a member of the Confederacy when it contains a sufficient population. As a further measure, Monroe urged a more practical division of the Old Northwest into not less than two, nor more than five states. The same day, July 7, 1786, William Grayson, likewise from Virginia, supplemented Monroe's motion with one specifying for each of the five states, boundaries which were strikingly similar to the ones ultimately adopted. Grayson's motion was lost, and after much debate Congress passed a more general resolution which pointed out how impractical it was to form states without regard to natural boundaries and physical resources. Therefore the resolution provided that the Old Northwest should be divided into not less than three, nor more than five "distinct republican states . . . as the situation of the country and future circumstances may require." During the debate there had been a persistent attempt to increase the number of inhabitants necessary before a district would be admitted as a state, the real aim, in Monroe's opinion, being to keep the inhabitants of the western country out of the Confederation altogether, which was "a dangerous and very mischievous policy and calculated to throw them into the hands of Britain."⁵¹ A few days later Monroe's committee brought in another report, which was somewhat more definite in details than the one of May 10, but omitted the provision for a territorial representative in Congress. This report seems to have been Monroe's last effort to secure final action upon the troublesome problem of a government for the western country. A few weeks later he retired from Congress, but not until he had expanded Jefferson's Ordinance of 1784, and had formulated the fundamental principles for the administrative organization of the land northwest of the Ohio, and its division into states.

September 18, 1786, Congress appointed a new committee to report on a temporary government for the western territory,

⁵¹ *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXX, 390-5, 402-6; Hamilton, ed., *Writings of James Monroe*, I, 126-7, 140-1.

which included William Samuel Johnson of Connecticut as chairman, Nathan Dane of Massachusetts, two Middle State delegates and only one from a southern state. The report of this committee was partly an elaboration of Monroe's plan, but it also contained a number of important additions. Among them was a guarantee of the rights of *habeas corpus* and jury trial, together with elaborate provisions for the disposal of intestate estates. An important change, showing a decidedly New England influence, stipulated that before a district could be admitted as a state, its total inhabitants must be one-thirteenth of that of all the original states.⁵² Consideration of these proposals for a temporary government in the western country was shelved for several months. Finally the committee brought forward a new report May 10, 1787, which was significantly entitled, "an Ordinance for the temporary government of the Territory of the U. S., N. W. of the River Ohio." It proposed a court of three instead of five judges, and gave the governor and judges power during the earliest period to adopt such laws of the "original states" as were suited to the needs of the territory. The report further provided that a district must have 5,000 free inhabitants of voting age before it could elect a legislative body, in which there would be one representative for every 500 free males of voting age. This report, too, was postponed from time to time.⁵³

Finally, Congress was galvanized into action when Reverend Manasseh Cutler, representing the newly organized Ohio Company, arrived in New York July 5 with a definite proposal to take up a large amount of land in the Ohio country. Cutler made a number of criticisms of the proposed frame of government, and July 11 another committee, headed this time by Edward Carrington of Virginia, presented an amended report which Nathan Dane had drawn up. Including most of the changes Cutler had suggested, this report differed in a number of features from the one

⁵² *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXX, 402-6, 667 (note), 668-73.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, XXXII, 281-3.

of May 10.⁵⁴ The most important addition was a series of five articles, constituting in reality a bill of rights, which were to be "articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said Territory, and forever remain unalterable unless by Common Consent." Besides a guarantee of freedom of religion, the right of *habeas corpus*, jury trial and other usual rights, these articles pledged public encouragement of "institutions for the promotion of religion and morality, schools and the means of education." The status of the public lands, and free navigation of the Mississippi and St. Lawrence and their tributaries, were among the other subjects included in these fundamental articles. Still another important provision settled a long-standing controversy by the stipulation that the Old Northwest should be divided into three states, with a dividing line up the Wabash, and then north, and another one northward from the mouth of the Kentucky. If Congress decided to form two additional states, they should be north of an east and west line through the most southerly point of Lake Michigan. Finally, settling another subject of heated debate, the articles provided that a district should be admitted as a state when it contained 60,000 free inhabitants, although Congress might permit admittance with a less number. Before the third reading of the proposed ordinance, a sixth article was added which abolished slavery in the Northwest Territory. This clause, inserted at the last moment, revived Rufus King's motion of March 16, 1785, that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the states," described in the Ordinance of 1784, "otherwise than in the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been personally guilty." The committee added this resolution to the new ordinance, along with a clause for the return of fugitive slaves, and a recommendation that this prohibition of slavery should remain as a "fundamental principle" of the compact between the thirteen

⁵⁴ J. P. and W. P. Cutler, *Life, Journal and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler* (Cincinnati, 1888), I, 226, 242, 293; Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, VIII, 621-2; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXXII, 313-20.

original states and the settlers who ventured into the Old Northwest.⁵⁵

The antislavery clause completed an Ordinance which set up a government singularly well adapted to the early settlements in the Ohio country.⁵⁶ The first stage, during the confusion of establishing a new population, was necessarily an arbitrary one under a governor and three judges who were subject to Congress alone. Then, when the whole territory had attained a fair degree of stability, as evidenced by a population of 5,000 free white males of voting age, it was entitled to a representative assembly, although the governor and other officials, as in the royal colonies, still represented the outside power, Congress in this instance. Finally, when with 60,000 inhabitants a really established society had been developed in a district marked out as a prospective state, this area would achieve statehood, with all the privileges and powers of other states. Many claims have been put forward as to the particular author of this remarkable Ordinance which Congress finally approved July 13, 1787.⁵⁷ Actually it was the product of a long evolution, going back to Jefferson's Ordinance of 1784, and even to the Resolution of October 10, 1780, with its promise to form separate states from the western lands. Monroe, utilizing his practical knowledge of frontier problems, had had an important part in shaping it, and there had also been a strong New England influence. The Ordinance of 1787, therefore, represented a compromise between varying points of view, and in this general agreement, together with its very practical provisions, lay its strength. Together with the Land Ordinance of 1785, it made possible the orderly settlement and development of the Old Northwest, including of course the Ohio country.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 164, 239; XXXII, 334-43; Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, VIII, 621-2.

⁵⁶ *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXXII, 314-20.

⁵⁷ Barrett, *Ordinance of 1787*, *passim*; Cutler, *Manasseh Cutler*, I, 335-73; B. A. Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest* (New York, 1888), 263-79; C. R. King, *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King* (New York, 1894-1900), I, 268-92; W. F. Poole, "The Early Northwest," in *American Historical Association, Papers* (New York and London, 1885-91), II, 43-50.

The Ohio Company, whose petition to Congress had practically forced the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, was soon making preparations for actual settlement. Not connected in any respect with the Ohio Company which was organized in Virginia in 1748,⁵⁸ the origin of the New England Ohio Company is traced to an "Information" which Rufus Putnam and his friend, Benjamin Tupper, issued January 10, 1786, and published in the Massachusetts newspapers. These two Revolutionary officers called upon all veterans entitled to land bounties, as well as "other good citizens" who wished to become "adventurers" in the Ohio country, to choose delegates who would meet at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston on March 1, 1787, in order to consider a general plan for the projected Ohio Company. Eleven delegates met at the appointed time, and elected Putnam, chairman, and Winthrop Sargent, clerk. In a significant resolution they asserted that their main object was to raise not more than \$1,000,000.00 in Continental certificates "to promote a settlement" in the western country. Each share was fixed at \$1,000.00, although several persons might subscribe for a single share, and as no one person could hold more than five, a democratic organization was assured.⁵⁹

At a second meeting at Brackett's Tavern in Boston, March 8, 1787, subscriptions for 250 shares were reported, with reports of many other persons throughout New England inclined to become "adventurers," but hesitating because of the "uncertainty of obtaining a sufficient tract of country collectively, for a great settlement." Thereupon the assembled stockholders appointed General Samuel H. Parsons, General Rufus Putnam and Reverend Manasseh Cutler as a committee of three to apply to Congress for the purchase of lands suitable to the needs of the Ohio Company.⁶⁰ As Indian commissioner at the Fort Finney conference, Parsons had first-hand knowledge of western conditions, and he was chosen

⁵⁸ Cf. p. 103-5.

⁵⁹ Buell, ed., *Memoirs of Rufus Putnam*, 101-2; Hulbert, ed., *Records of the Ohio Company*, I, 1-4.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 4-13.

to present a memorial to Congress in the name of the Ohio Company. In this document he pointed out that many of the memorialists were Revolutionary veterans entitled to land bounties, and others were holders of Continental certificates. To satisfy these claims Parsons asked for a grant of land in the western country, at a "reasonable price" of not less than \$500,000.00 and not over \$1,000,000.00 in public securities. While he did not mention a definite location, Parsons apparently favored the Scioto-Miami country, because of his personal interest, so it was rumored, in Nathaniel Sackett's petition for an extensive tract between the Muskingum and the Scioto.⁶¹ Parsons' memorial failed to secure any response from Congress, while Putnam and Cutler were determined to locate their colony directly west of the Seven Ranges, in order to secure the protection of Fort Harmar. Evidently another envoy was needed, and these two members of the committee chose Manasseh Cutler, in place of the rather ineffective Parsons, to lay before Congress the aims of the Ohio Company.⁶²

This second choice was a most fortunate one. June 24, 1787, Cutler started from his home in Ipswich, Massachusetts, on his famous drive to New York. A clergyman and a philosopher, he had his full share of native Yankee shrewdness, and was personally interested in exchanging his claims to a land bounty and his Continental certificates for public land of an actual value. July 5, Cutler arrived in New York, armed with numerous letters of introduction to such prominent personages as Timothy Pickering, Henry Knox, William Grayson and Richard Henry Lee of the Virginia delegates, Arthur St. Clair, president of Congress, William Duer, secretary of the Treasury Board, and Benjamin Franklin. The day after his arrival Cutler called on Edward Carrington, chairman of the committee to whom Parsons' memorial had been referred,⁶³ and he met Thomas Hutchins, who advised him to

⁶¹ *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXXII, 311-3; Hulbert, ed., *Ohio in Time of Confederation*, 114-20; Hulbert, ed., *Records of the Ohio Company*, I, p. li-liii.

⁶² Cutler, *Manasseh Cutler*, I, 196-7.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, I, 203-305.

seek a tract on the Muskingum as "the best part of the whole of the Western country."

July 10, Carrington's committee brought in a report which was the basis of the final contract with the Ohio Company.⁶⁴ It authorized a grant of land to be located north of the Ohio, and between the Seven Ranges and the Scioto. In most respects it followed the Land Ordinance of 1785, fixing the price at \$1.00 per acre in Continental certificates, or, with allowances for bad lands and the like, at 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ ¢ per acre net. The report stipulated that not over a seventh of the land should be used to satisfy military land bounties. In each township section 16 was to be reserved for the support of education, and section 29 for religion. Sections 8, 11, and 26 were to be set aside for disposal by Congress, and four complete townships were to be laid off as near the center of the grant as possible for the purposes of a university. But Cutler was not altogether pleased with these terms, and he now found it convenient to take a trip to Philadelphia. When he returned, the Government Ordinance had been passed, but the committee was not inclined to incorporate all his suggestions in the land contract. Shrewdly he threatened to give up the negotiations, at the same time uniting the fortunes of the Ohio Company with the speculative Scioto Company which was headed by the influential William Duer. Alarmed at the danger of losing the sale of so much land, the committee brought in another report, July 23, 1787, which Cutler also considered unsatisfactory.⁶⁵ This time he issued an ultimatum. Wisely providing for the virtual separation of the Ohio Company grant, he proposed to pay \$500,000.00 when the contract was first signed, and a like sum when the land had been surveyed. The Ohio Company would then receive a deed for 1,500,000 acres, and the two townships now agreed upon for a university, would be located in the center of this tract. For the balance of 3,500,000 acres, which of course included the tract for

⁶⁴ *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXXII, 311-3.

⁶⁵ T. T. Belote, *Scioto Speculation and the French Settlement at Gallipolis* (Cincinnati, 1894), 12-21; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXXIII, 399-401.

the Scioto Company, payment was to be made in six equal instalments. These terms were accepted with slight modification, and the Treasury Board, of which Duer was secretary, proceeded to draw up the final contract. Dated October 27, 1787, this document, in consideration of the \$500,000.00 already paid in, granted the Ohio Company immediate possession of 750,000 acres running north from the Ohio between the first Seven Ranges and the fifteenth range of townships.⁶⁶

This final contract with the Ohio Company was substantial evidence of the practical work which the astute Yankee parson had done in the inner circles of Congress. The alliance with the Scioto Company had been an especially wise move, and Cutler himself testified that he never could have succeeded without this connection with a private speculation which included many of the "principal characters in America." In equally astute fashion he had favored the election of the president of Congress, St. Clair, as governor of the new Northwest Territory, and had secured appointments as a territorial judge for Parsons, and as secretary for Winthrop Sargent, both of whom were high in the counsels of the Ohio Company.⁶⁷ These arrangements concluded Cutler's work in New York. Single-handed he had opened the way for actual settlement in the Ohio country. Carrington described the contract the New England minister had secured as a "great bargain" for the United States, and one that would at once introduce into the western country the "best men" in Connecticut and Massachusetts, fixing for years the "character and politics" of this region. Grayson, too, who had had a leading part in the legislation with respect to the western lands, felt that actual settlement was now in sight. In view of the large population in the New England States, he believed that additional purchases of land would soon be made from that section.⁶⁸

The fame of the Ohio lands had spread to other sections of the

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 427-30; Hulbert, ed., *Records of the Ohio Company*, I, 29-37.

⁶⁷ Cutler, *Manasseh Cutler*, I, 298, 305.

⁶⁸ Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, VIII, 631-2.

Atlantic Coast, and before the final grant to the Ohio Company, a group of land speculators from New Jersey had taken advantage of the precedents established through Cutler's shrewd maneuvers. Their leader, Judge John Cleves Symmes, a Revolutionary veteran, a member of Congress, and a rather visionary individual, had received glowing reports of the land between the Miamis from Benjamin Stites, an Indian trader. August 29, 1787, Symmes petitioned for a grant of 2,000,000 acres between the two Miamis, upon the same terms as the grant to the Ohio Company. Like Cutler, Symmes with his two associates, Elias Boudinot and Jonathan Dayton, exerted his strong influence in Congress to excellent effect.⁶⁹ His petition met "entire approbation," and was referred to the Treasury Board to "take orders." That body promptly entered into a tentative contract with Symmes for 2,000,000 acres between the Miamis. The terms of payment in Continental certificates and Revolutionary land bounties followed those in the contract with the Ohio Company. This was true, too, of the different reserves, except that only one "complete township," this one opposite the mouth of the Licking, was to be set aside for the support of a college. Upon payment of \$200,000.00, the contract stipulated, Symmes and his associates would have the right to enter upon 300,000 acres. Another payment would be due a month later, and the balance in six semiannual payments.

There were other proposals during the Confederation period from petitioners both in the United States and abroad to take up large tracts of western land. In France especially there was much interest in the possibilities of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, and in 1783, François, Marquis de Barbé-Marbois, the intendant in Santo Domingo, sent home an elaborate account of the Ohio River with its easy navigation and fertile banks.⁷⁰ Michel-

⁶⁹ B. W. Bond, Jr., ed., *Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes* (New York, 1926), 6-9; Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, VIII, 642; *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXXIII, 509 (note), 512; H. & P. S. of O., *Quar. Pub.*, V, 82-4.

⁷⁰ N. M. Miller Surrey, *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives and Libraries, Relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley to 1803* (Washington, 1926-8), II, 1614-89, *passim*; AE., *Mém et Doc.*, Amér., 8: 4ff.

Guillaume Saint-Jean de Crèvecoeur, French consul in New York, who was already familiar with the Scioto and Muskingum valleys from the French and Indian War, took great interest in the western country, noting in detail the route from Philadelphia to the Falls of "La Belle Rivière." In other letters he commented on the fertility of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, and on the rapid growth and general prosperity of the region beyond the Appalachians.⁷¹ The interest aroused in France by such reports helps to explain the machinations of the Scioto Company, and the pathetic settlement at Gallipolis. Another instance of this French interest was a petition in 1786 from the Comte de Beaufort to found a feudal colony of a commercial as well as an agricultural type. In reply, Beaufort was informed he could have lands in the Federal territory upon the "same footing" as citizens of the United States.⁷²

There were numerous American schemes, also, to take up western lands,⁷³ like that of Nathaniel Sackett in 1785 in which Parsons was supposed to have had a personal interest. Asking for an extensive grant between the Ohio, the Scioto, Lake Erie and the Muskingum, Sackett proposed to pay a peppercorn annually for this valuable tract which commanded the most important Indian paths across the Ohio country. Another outstanding application was from Royal Flint, Joseph Parker and their associates, for a grant of 2,000,000 acres on the Ohio, and one on the Mississippi. Congress referred this request to the Treasury Board, and passed a general resolution October 23, 1787, setting forth the conditions under which tracts of not less than 1,000,000 acres would be granted. While its terms usually followed those of the Ohio Company contract, this resolution did not include reservation of land for a university, and added as a condition limitation of the frontage of such tracts on the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Wabash, or the Illinois rivers, to not more than one-third of their depth.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 14: 317-8; ASH. 66: 32; *Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance Politique, États Unis* (hereafter cited AE., États Unis), sup. 4: 274-80.

⁷² *Journals of Cont. Cong.*, XXX, 68-70, 365.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 695-7; Hulbert, ed., *Ohio in Time of Confederation*, 114-23.

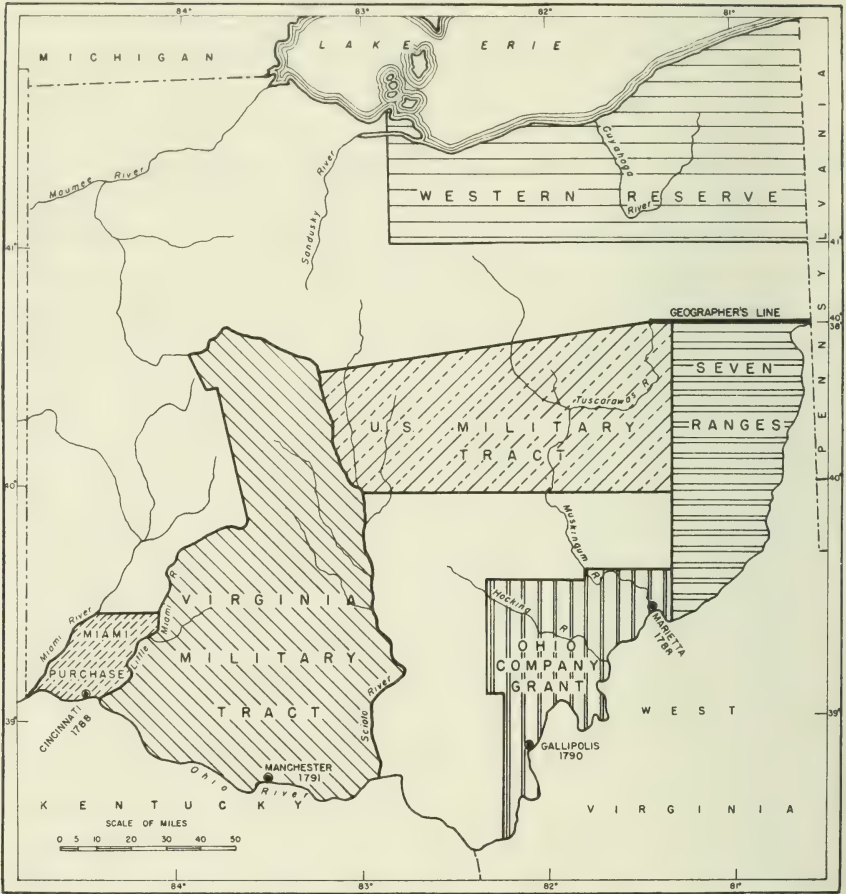
With the adoption of a general plan for granting large tracts, the American colonial system, which had been formulated by the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Government Ordinance of 1787, was now in working order. Hopes ran high that the Ohio country would be speedily settled, and that a large portion of the Federal debt, as well as the Revolutionary land bounties, would be retired.⁷⁴ Especially promising was the outlook in the Ohio Valley. The survey of the Seven Ranges was nearing completion, and immediately to the westward the grant to the Ohio Company would open up a desirable area. Between the Scioto and the Little Miami, the Virginia Military Tract would be available to settlers, and between the Little Miami and the Miami was Symmes' Miami Purchase. In central Ohio the setting aside of 1,000,000 acres to fulfill military bounties would give the immigrant still another area in which to settle. Finally, in the north-eastern corner of the Ohio country Connecticut's Western Reserve had been set aside. Thus the stage was set for actual settlement of the Ohio country in an orderly fashion, which would mark the final triumph of the Americans over the British.

⁷⁴ Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, VIII, 659, 673-4, 740.

The First Settlements

THE year 1787 had been a highly important one for the settlement of the Ohio country, marked by the final passage of a Government Ordinance which supplemented the Land Ordinance of 1785, as well as by the subsequent successful negotiations for extensive grants to the Ohio Company and John Cleves Symmes. The year 1788 was even more significant, for it saw the first legal settlements north of the Ohio River, in which the impatient holders of Continental certificates and Revolutionary land bounties secured actual value in land for their depreciated securities. Yet active and wide-spread Indian opposition to the extensive cessions of land made by the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney greatly handicapped these budding settlements, and restricted them to the Ohio Valley. The pioneers at Marietta, the first settlement, sought the protection of Fort Harmar, and another nucleus of settlement was established around Fort Washington which was founded in 1789 in Symmes' Miami Purchase. Above Fort Harmar a rather irregular group of settlers established themselves around Fort Steuben, and other early settlements included the romantic French village at Gallipolis below Fort Harmar, and Manchester, still farther down the river, which was the first outpost of the hardy Kentuckians north of the Ohio. The survival of these outposts of civilization from the earliest settlements in 1788, in the face of the ever present Indian menace, is one of the most heroic episodes in the American conquest of the western country. Finally, in 1794 Anthony Wayne won the Battle of Fallen Timbers, Indian resistance was broken, and the development of the interior of the Ohio country became possible.

Throughout this early period of settlement, from 1788 through 1794, important influences were at work in the older settlements



MAP 15. CHIEF OHIO LAND DIVISIONS, THE GEOGRAPHER'S LINE, AND THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS

Based upon the map in E. H. Roseboom and F. P. Weisenburger, *History of Ohio* (New York, 1934), p. 93.

along the Atlantic Coast which strongly favored migration to the Ohio country. After the Revolution, the economic situation east of the Appalachians, notably in New England, was decidedly bad with much unrest and unemployment. It was only with great difficulty that the Revolutionary veterans reestablished them-

selves, and Manasseh Cutler, the Ipswich pastor who played so important a role in the Ohio Company, forcibly described his own and his Revolutionary comrades' plight: "I had suffered exceedingly in ye war; and after it was over, by paper money and ye high price of articles of living. My salary small and family large, for several years I thought ye people had not done me justice, and I meditated leaving them. Purchasing lands in a new country appeared to be ye only thing I could do to secure a living to myself and family in that unsettled state of affairs."¹ In this frame of mind Cutler was representative of many another Revolutionary veteran, and many of them emigrated to the Ohio country in order to cash in on their military bounties, and to establish homes under more favorable auspices for their families. Other residents of the Atlantic Coast, owners of depreciated Continental certificates, went west with like motives, the bulk of them from New England and the Middle States. In Virginia the corresponding elements in the population found a frontier outlet chiefly in western Virginia and in Kentucky. Still another important element in the settlement of the Ohio country came from the frontiersmen who had already established themselves west of the Appalachians. A distinctive type of population, restless, individualistic, in short a typical frontier people, they included bold adventurers from western Pennsylvania and western Virginia who, in spite of the Indian menace and Federal proclamations, had squatted on the north bank of the Ohio. Later others came from Kentucky. Bold and accustomed to frontier life, they, too, settled on the north bank in large numbers, but in a more regular fashion. These frontier immigrants contributed to the pioneer settlements in the Ohio country a practical element which combined with the more conservative immigrants from the Atlantic Coast to make up a notably well-balanced population.

An exceedingly important influence in attracting emigrants to the early Ohio settlements was the liberal terms offered prospective settlers by the owners of large tracts, such as the Ohio Company

¹ A. B. Hulbert, ed., *Records of the Ohio Company* (Marietta, O., 1917), I, p. lvii.

and John Cleves Symmes. In order to attract a desirable population as speedily as possible, the Ohio Company offered "donation" lots, *i.e.*, free tracts, to the earliest arrivals, and Symmes and other founders of settlements followed suit.² The vacant lands in Maine and Vermont were attracting emigrants from the older sections of New England, and others were moving into northern and northeastern Pennsylvania. An even larger body was migrating up the Mohawk into the "Genesee Tract," with which so many New England veterans had become familiar during the Revolution. Here exceedingly liberal terms were offered, and many emigrants from Massachusetts and Connecticut were coming in.³ To compete with these various tracts, the owners of lands in the Ohio country must offer equally liberal terms and cheap prices, if they wished to attract immigrants on any extensive scale.

The Ohio country was rapidly becoming comparatively accessible from the Atlantic Coast, with direct routes from New England and the Middle States from which so many westward bound emigrants were to come.⁴ The most popular route, Forbes' Road, later known as the Pennsylvania State Road, ran from Philadelphia through Lancaster, Carlisle and Bedford to Pittsburgh. This road, which had been built by Forbes in order to capture Fort Duquesne, was the main Revolutionary highway for the transportation of military supplies to the Ohio country, and in 1785-1787 it was greatly improved. Another important highway, Braddock's or the Cumberland Road, crossed the Appalachians from Fort Cumberland, the terminus of the road up the Potomac Valley from Tidewater at Alexandria, and thus brought emigrants from Maryland and Virginia to Redstone, modern Brownsville, on the Monongahela, and Wheeling on the Ohio. But unlike Forbes' Road, it was not a direct route from the chief sources of emigration, and it traversed a more difficult terrain. A third route,

² R. C. Downes, *Frontier Ohio, 1788-1803* (Columbus, O., 1935), 60-9.

³ L. K. Mathews, *The Expansion of New England* (Boston and New York, 1909), 140-60.

⁴ A. B. Hulbert, *Historic Highways* (Cleveland, 1902-5), V, Chapter VII.

the Wilderness Road, went up the Shenandoah Valley to the headwaters of the New River, through the Wilderness to Cumberland Gap, then by the Warriors' Path to Lexington and Limestone. This, the chief route from Virginia to early Kentucky, was obviously a roundabout one from the Middle States and New England to the Ohio country, and was little used by travelers from those sections. All of these roads, it is interesting to note, were based upon early Indian trails. Once the emigrant came to the Ohio, or one of its navigable tributaries, the route by water was the only practical one in the earliest period of settlement. The Indian paths in the interior were too narrow, and until the Indians themselves had been subdued it was impossible to construct passable highways across country. The Ohio and its navigable tributaries, therefore, became the main avenues of communication, and upon their banks the early settlements were necessarily located.

The preparations for the first settlement in the Ohio country, at Marietta, were made with characteristic New England energy and practical sense. First the Ohio Company set aside 5,760 acres at the mouth of the Muskingum as the site for the new settlement. The location was well chosen for trade up the Muskingum, and with the Little Kanawha Valley and the near-by settlements on the Virginia side. From the mouth of the Muskingum there was an easy route to Tidewater at Alexandria, over which a road, about 300 miles long, was soon opened.⁵ Still another vital advantage was the protection from the Indians afforded by Fort Harmar. Doubtless influenced by such advantages of strategic location and military protection, the Ohio Company chose for its first settlement a site that was not nearly so fertile as the one farther up the Muskingum which Hutchins had recommended. But settlement in the heart of the Indian country would have been impossible at this time. The directors showed equally good judgment in their detailed plans.⁶ In the new settlement there were to be 60 squares,

⁵ S. P. Hildreth, *Pioneer History of the Ohio Valley* (Cincinnati, 1848), 245.

⁶ Hulbert, ed., *Records of the Ohio Company*, I, 15, 20-1, 25-6.

divided by streets 100 feet wide. Four of the squares were to be reserved for public purposes, and the remainder would be divided into house lots. The balance of the land would of course be used as a town common. Lots of eight acres each were to be laid off



14. RUFUS PUTNAM

From silhouette in Rowena Buell, comp., *Memoirs of Rufus Putnam* (Boston and New York, 1903), frontispiece. Courtesy of the Ohio Society of Colonial Dames of America.

as near as possible to the new settlement. Thus, the Ohio Company closely followed the New England plan, with a commons, house lots commonly known as in-lots, and agricultural lots, the out-lots, near-by. This plan, which meant compact settlement, came into general use in the early Ohio country, where adequate protection against Indian attacks was essential.

Like William Penn in founding his colony of Pennsylvania, the directors of the Ohio Company made eminently practical arrangements for their new settlement.⁷ As a preliminary step they employed four surveyors, with twenty-two men to attend

them, six boat-builders, four carpenters, a blacksmith and four workmen, all of them to go to the site of the new settlement as soon as possible. Each man was allowed his tools, together with an ax and a hoe. He was to furnish himself with "a good small arm, bayonet, six flints, a powder-horn and pouch, priming wire and brush, half a pound of powder, one pound of balls, and one pound of buck-shot." General Rufus Putnam was in general charge of the advance party which started in the winter of 1787-1788 in two groups, one from Danvers, Massachusetts, the other from Hartford, Connecticut, both of them bound for the Ohio River and "Put-

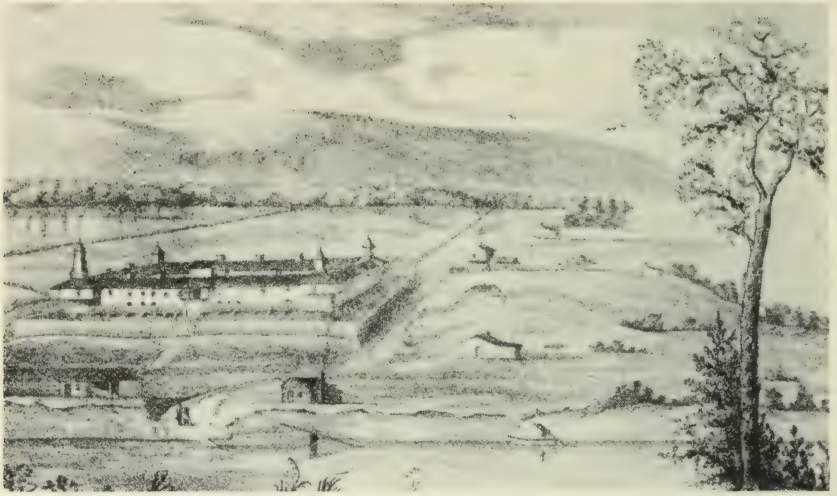
⁷ Hildreth, *Pioneer History*, Chapters VII-IX.

nam's Paradise," as the proposed colony was facetiously dubbed. The attention the New England newspapers gave this expedition showed how wide-spread was the interest in the new western settlement. The boat-builders had gone ahead, and April 2, 1788, both advance parties embarked at Sumrill's Ferry, now West Newton, Pennsylvania, on the Youghiogheny. Their chief boat, the *Adventure Galley*, later fittingly called the *Mayflower*, was forty-five feet long, twelve feet wide, and fifty tons burden. With a deck roof and curved bows, it was typical of the many flatboats which conveyed emigrants down the Ohio. The *Adelphia*, a flatboat of three tons burden, and three canoes completed the flotilla. April 7, the party landed, 48 strong, on the east bank of the Muskingum opposite Fort Harmar. As they came ashore they were warmly welcomed by about 70 Delaware and Wyandot Indians, who had come from their homes on the headwaters of the Muskingum in order to trade furs.

In the practical fashion so characteristic of New England these first settlers in the Ohio country went promptly to work. With boards they had brought along they erected temporary huts, and for Putnam a marquee in which for several months he managed the affairs of the little colony. In spite of the spring rains, one detachment surveyed the city lots, cleared the land, and began to erect log cabins. Others surveyed the eight-acre out-lots, and planted crops, fully 100 acres in corn this first spring, it was estimated.⁸ In laying out the town the surveyors followed roughly the original plan, with wide streets which were soon lined with elms, and a commons, so that the little settlement rapidly took on the appearance of a New England town. July 2, 1788, the directors and agents of the Ohio Company held their first meeting in the Ohio country.⁹ They promptly changed the name of the little settlement from Adelphi to Marietta, in honor of Marie Antoinette of France. With true New England loyalty to the

⁸ J. P. and W. P. Cutler, *Life, Journal and Correspondence of Reverend Manasseh Cutler* (Cincinnati, 1888), I, 379-80.

⁹ Hulbert, ed., *Records of the Ohio Company*, I, 44-54.



15. CAMPUS MARTIUS, MARIETTA

From S. P. Hildreth, *Pioneer History* (Cincinnati, 1848), between pp. 214-215.

classical tradition they named the public square, upon which the local stockade was to be built, the Campus Martius. Another important square, dubbed the Quadranau, was reached by the Via Sacra, a great road leading from the Muskingum, and to other squares these New Englanders gave the classic names, Capitolium and Cecilia.

At this and subsequent meetings of the Ohio Company, a number of regulations for the welfare of the tiny settlement were adopted.¹⁰ Thus, there were resolutions for the prompt clearing and fencing of the city lots, and others to set aside lots for the use of Governor Arthur St. Clair, General Josiah Harmar, and the officers and troops at Fort Harmar. Another interesting resolution was concerned with the details of building the stockade on Campus Martius, and still another provided for a board of police for the "regulation" of the settlement. This body promptly drew up a set of rules, the Marietta Code, which were posted upon the smooth

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 62, 71-2, 76-81.

trunk of a large beech tree, and were in force until St. Clair and the judges issued one more regularly legal. Later meetings of the representatives of the Ohio Company in Marietta dealt in practical fashion with a wide variety of local problems. One especially interesting resolution promised a site, 150 by 200 feet, for a term of twenty years to anyone who would erect a windmill near the junction of the Ohio and the Muskingum. Another significant resolution of the Ohio Company's agents offered a limited number of 100 acre lots free, in order to attract settlers who were not shareholders. The conditions were carefully drawn. Five years after he received such a lot the settler must have erected a dwelling house, at least 24 by 18 feet and eight feet between floors, with a cellar 10 feet square and six and one-half feet deep, and a brick or a stone chimney. Within three years he must set out at least 50 apple or pear trees, and 20 peach trees, and five years after he had taken over the land he must have put 15 acres in fit condition for mowing or pasture, and five acres must be ready for the tillage of corn and other grains. If the settler complied with all these conditions, he would receive a deed after five years to his "donation" lot.

The founding of Marietta was well timed to take advantage of the rapidly increasing emigration down the Ohio. Between October, 1786, and May, 1787, 127 boats passed Fort Harmar, and between February and June, 1788, at least 4,500 persons, it was estimated, went downstream in these boats.¹¹ From this tide of emigration the lands of the Ohio Company soon began to attract a respectable quota. Fifteen families and many single men, numbering altogether 84 men besides women and children, came in 1788, making, with the 48 pioneers who had landed April 7, a total of 132 men in the settlement by the end of the year.¹² The garrison at Fort Hamar was another important factor in the progress of Marietta. Aside from the primary function of defense,

¹¹ J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the U. S.* (New York and London, 1920), I, 517.

¹² Hildreth, *Pioneer History*, 234.

in the officers and men and their families, the fort gave the little settlement the nucleus of a social and commercial life which otherwise would have been impossible in those early days. The community significance of Fort Harmar was well illustrated not quite three months after the first landing at Marietta, when the garrison and the settlers united in an elaborate celebration of the Fourth of July. The Marietta Code was posted up, there was a round of shots from the cannon at Fort Harmar in the morning and the evening, and a "sumptuous dinner" was enjoyed under a "bowery" which stretched along the bank of the Muskingum. The day ended with an oration by James M. Varnum, one of the Territorial judges.¹³

A red-letter day in the progress of the new colony was the inauguration of government under the Ordinance of 1787.¹⁴ July 15, 1788, the governor, General Arthur St. Clair, crossed the Muskingum in state, escorted by the officers of the garrison. At the "bowery," Putnam, the three Territorial judges, and the principal inhabitants received him. Winthrop Sargent, secretary of the Northwest Territory, read the Ordinance and the commissions of the governor and the other officers. Putnam then congratulated St. Clair upon his arrival, and three cheers ended the program for this important occasion. St. Clair promptly took the necessary steps to put the new government into effect, establishing Washington County, to extend roughly northward from the Ohio between the Scioto and the western boundary of Pennsylvania. The appointment of civil and military officers was followed by necessary regulations for the militia, and directions for holding courts of common pleas and quarter-sessions. With the appointment of a sheriff, and of the clerks of the different courts, the basic organization of government was completed for the settlers on the lands of the Ohio Company.

Meanwhile the settlement at Marietta was making really re-

¹³ *Ibid.*, 214.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 215; C. E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, 1934-), III, *Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, 1787-1803*, 278-89.

markable progress. General Samuel Holden Parsons, now a Territorial judge, arrived May 26, and was much pleased with the site of the town, which commanded an extensive view of both the Muskingum and the Ohio. Should peace be made with the Indians, he believed that the "goodness of our lands, and the facility of producing the means of living" would come up to his "most sanguine hopes." Already there was such a great demand for lots that he could sell his eight-acre out-lots at one guinea per acre, and he had sold an 116-acre lot for \$100, to be paid in labor in clearing his other lands.¹⁵ Manasseh Cutler, who arrived in Marietta August 19, 1788, also was pleased with the progress of the little settlement. At the "hall" which had been built for the Company on the Campus Martius, he enjoyed an elaborate entertainment, and after a careful inspection of different tracts of land, and the supervision of many details in the administration of the colony, Cutler departed up the river, September 9, well satisfied with his handiwork.¹⁶

A noteworthy feature of the Marietta settlement was the prompt establishment of the two fundamental New England institutions, the church and the school. According to tradition, Sunday, July 20, 1788, Reverend Daniel Breck, a New England clergyman, preached in the "bowery" on the banks of the Muskingum. This supposedly first sermon to American settlers on Ohio soil, was delivered before an audience made up of many members of the Fort Harmar garrison and their families, of settlers on the Virginia bank of the Ohio, and of the inhabitants of Marietta, altogether about 300 persons.¹⁷ About the same time a certain Rogers arrived to serve as schoolmaster for the children who were coming in with the immigrant families, but apparently he did not stay. Already the Ohio Company had passed a resolution to employ an instructor, "eminent for literary accomplishments, and the virtue

¹⁵ C. S. Hall, *Life and Letters of General Samuel Holden Parsons* (Binghamton, N. Y., 1905), 520-1.

¹⁶ Cutler, *Manasseh Cutler*, I, 413-20.

¹⁷ W. M. Darlington, ed., *Journal and Letters of Colonel John May* (Cincinnati, 1873), 87.

of his character," to have charge of "the education of youth and the promotion of public worship" among the settlers.¹⁸ Under this resolution, Reverend Daniel Story of Boston, whom Cutler had selected, arrived early in the spring of 1789, and took charge of the services in the blockhouse on Campus Martius. Probably in this same room he started a school for the few children of the settlement.

New England ideals were shown in still another fashion when St. Clair followed the example of the Pilgrims in setting aside Thursday, December 25, 1788, as "a day of solemn thanksgiving and praise," when the inhabitants would "unite in humble supplications to Almighty God, that he would be graciously pleased to prosper this infant settlement, & the whole territory, in their husbandry, trade & manufactures, by His own nurturing hand, mature & bring to perfection all seminaries of learning, the promotion & enlargement of piety, & true religion amongst all the nations of the earth." St. Clair closed this proclamation of the first Thanksgiving Day in Ohio, with a typically Puritan admonition, "and I do prohibit servile labour on that day."¹⁹ Another interesting public celebration was inaugurated by a resolution of the directors of the Ohio Company, that the seventh of April should always be a "day of public festival," to commemorate the founding of the first settlement on the lands of the Ohio Company. For the first anniversary, Solomon Drown, M. D., delivered an oration.²⁰ Ninety-nine years later, the inhabitants of Marietta, many of them descendants of the earliest pioneers, held an elaborate centennial celebration of this first settlement in the Ohio country.²¹ In 1938 there was another celebration, this time to com-

¹⁸ Hall, *Samuel Holden Parsons*, 527-530; Hulbert, ed., *Records of the Ohio Company*, I, 40-1; B. W. Bond, Jr., *Civilization of the Old Northwest* (New York, 1934), 425, 467.

¹⁹ Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, III, 289-90.

²⁰ Hulbert, ed., *Records of the Ohio Company*, I, 86, 87 (note 81).

²¹ *O.S.A.H. Quar.*, II, nos. 1 and 2. An important by-product of this centennial year was B. A. Hinsdale's *Old Northwest* (New York, 1888). The author of this work, a pioneer in its field, was himself the son of New England emigrants to the Western Reserve.

memorate the sesquicentennial of the first settlement, in which the Federal Government united with Marietta and the states which had been formed from the Old Northwest.²²

The population of the Ohio Company's grant steadily increased. In 1789, 152 additional men arrived, 51 of them with their families, and in 1790, 200 men came in, of whom 31 had families.²³ Extension of settlement from Marietta now became necessary, in spite of the ever-present threat of Indian attacks.²⁴ With characteristic foresight the Ohio Company sent out exploring parties during the winter of 1788-1789, to the westward from Marietta along the Ohio, to the northward up Duck Creek Valley and up the Muskingum. The reports of these pioneer explorers were useful guides in the location of new outlying settlements, the first one on the rich bottom lands at Belpre, opposite the mouth of the Little Kanawha. Following the precedent at Marietta, about 40 first comers drew lots for the in-lots and the out-lots. In April, 1789, they moved in with their families to form a substantial settlement which had an unusually large proportion of Revolutionary veterans among its inhabitants. The next important migration from the Marietta settlement was made by 39 pioneers who agreed to settle on the rich lands up the Muskingum, which one of the exploring parties had praised so highly. Nineteen of them left Marietta April 20, 1789, in a pirogue, and went ashore the same day near the mouth of Wolf's Creek. There they built a dam, and a grist- and saw-mill, and founded the settlements of Waterford and Plainfield. The following year, 36 associates founded a settlement on the fertile plain at Big Bottom, still farther up the Muskingum, 30 miles from Marietta, and other pioneers established settlements east of Marietta along the Ohio, and to the north up Duck Creek Valley.

²² Northwest Territory Celebration Commission, *Final Report* (Marietta, O., 1938).

²³ H. Z. Williams & Bro., pub., *History of Washington County, Ohio* (Cleveland, 1881), 57-9.

²⁴ Hulbert, ed., *Records of the Ohio Company*, I, 72-3; Hildreth, *Pioneer History*, 349-51, 419-21, 429; Williams, pub., *Washington County, Ohio*, 55-6.

Indian hostility soon put an end to any further extension of settlement from Marietta. Aroused by the Treaty of Fort Harmar, and by the advance of population into lands which they regarded as their own, the Indians threatened to wipe out the outlying settlements.²⁵ For a time there were scattered attacks upon the settlers who ventured too far from the protection of the stockades, but the main outbreak began January 2, 1791, when supposedly friendly Wyandot and Delaware warriors attacked the settlement at Big Bottom well up the Muskingum. The greater part of the settlers, who were wholly unprepared, were killed and their cabins were set on fire. When the news came to Waterford and Plainfield, there was great consternation, but the hardy inhabitants quickly decided to concentrate at a single post and built Fort Frye, a triangular palisade on the Muskingum with the usual blockhouses at each angle. At one time this fort sheltered at least 20 families, in addition to 10 single men and eight or 10 soldiers from Fort Harmar.²⁶ So strongly was it built, and so carefully was it guarded that when the Indian attack came, only a little over two months after the massacre at Big Bottom, the brave defenders of Fort Frye gave such a good account of themselves that their chief loss was their cattle. Gradually, as the Indians became less threatening, additional settlers came in, and in the spring of 1794 about 30 persons moved from Fort Frye into a stockade about four miles up the river.

At Belpre, too, the report of the attack upon Big Bottom caused much alarm, but its sturdy inhabitants did not waste time in vain surmisings. Rather they hastily collected the scattered settlers into an extensive palisade on the Ohio which came to be known as Farmers' Castle. Within its enclosure they built 13 two-story cabins, and here the settlers lived, going each day in groups of 15 or 20 to their fields, some of them three miles away. A small troop of regulars from Fort Harmar guarded Fort Frye, and rangers made a daily circuit through the woods in search of lurk-

²⁵ Hildreth, *Pioneer History*, I, Chapters XVII-XXII.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 442.



16. FARMERS' CASTLE, BELPRE

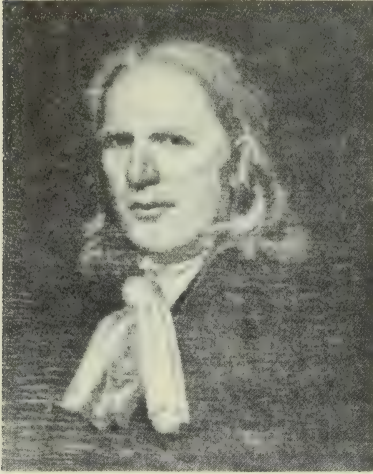
From S. P. Hildreth, *Pioneer History* (Cincinnati, 1848), facing p. 363.

ing Indians. Eventually Farmers' Castle became so uncomfortably crowded, sheltering at one time about 220 persons, that in the spring of 1793 the overflow moved into two near-by stockades.²⁷ Marietta itself was of course well protected by Fort Harmar, but few of the outlying settlements, outside the protection of Fort Frye and Farmers' Castle, were occupied until Wayne's victory put an end to the Indian menace in Ohio.

The noteworthy orderly progress of the Ohio Company settlements was due as much to the high character of the early settlers, who were well able to take advantage of the careful preparations which the Company had made, as to the favorable conditions which the ordinances of 1785 and 1787 had created. The Marietta pioneers were of exceptionally fine caliber, and among them were men of education who from the very beginning insisted upon a recognition of cultural values. In a list of 33 of the most prominent early settlers, 23 had seen active service in the Revolution, and all but four of the remainder, and one of them a clergyman,

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 388.

had been too young to enlist. Ranging in rank from brigadier to private, most of these veterans were in the prime of life, between 30 and 50, when they settled in the Ohio country.²⁸ Washington



17. JOHN CLEVES SYMMES

From B. W. Bond, Jr., ed., *Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes* (New York, 1926), frontispiece. Courtesy of the Macmillan Company.

testified to their fine qualities when he wrote: "No colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices, as that which has just commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property, and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and that there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community. If I was a young man, just preparing to begin the world, or if advanced in life, and had a family to make provision for, I know of no country where I should rather fix my habitation than in some part" of the western country.²⁹

The second nucleus of settlement in the Ohio country, in Symmes' Miami Purchase, was founded late in 1788, the same year as the settlement at Marietta. But there the similarity ends. In place of the well-organized Ohio Company with its ample resources, John Cleves Symmes was the sole agent and representative of a group of New Jersey land speculators. Symmes himself was an incurable optimist and a dreamer, with roseate visions of a teeming and prosperous population between the two Miamis. To such a man mere legal quibbling over titles, or careful preparations, such as the Ohio Company had made, meant little. Even

²⁸ S. P. Hildreth, *Lives of the Early Settlers of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1852), *passim*.

²⁹ W. C. Ford, ed., *Writings of George Washington* (New York and London, 1889-93), XI, 282.

before he had an understanding with the Treasury Board he called upon Revolutionary veterans and the holders of Continental certificates, to join him in his land schemes,³⁰ and once he had secured the tentative agreement with the Board, he offered lands for sale, even though he had not made the first required payment. In the Trenton Circular, Symmes called attention at great length to the advantages of his lands and the terms upon which they could be secured.³¹ An advertisement in the New Jersey papers in January, 1788, was even more optimistic, praising land between the two Miamis as the "best tract" in the "Federal country."³² According to this prospectus, stock could live in the woods, there was an abundance of food, and all types of grain and vegetables found in the Middle States could be grown in this western "Promised Land" with cotton and indigo in sufficient quantity for family use. Millstones and grindstones were found in the Miami Purchase, and the "finest timber" of every type known in the Middle States. Furthermore, with three navigable rivers accessible, vessels of 200 tons burden could be built here, and navigated, fully "freighted," to New York. As a special inducement to secure immigrants, Symmes offered free lots in the city he proposed to found on the point between the Miami and the Ohio, and the necessary timber to build a log house on each one. In addition, he would supply any "industrious, sober person or family of good character," who went out within a year, with sufficient "Indian corn" for six months. Thousands, he prophesied, "would soon emigrate thither, especially young men, and others who have little or no land." To these alluring inducements to come to the Miami Purchase Symmes added the very practical suggestion that land warrants could be secured from agents in Philadelphia, New York and the principal towns of New Jersey.

Symmes' glowing account of his new colony met so enthusiastic

³⁰ Elizabeth Town *New Jersey Journal*, Sept. 12 to Oct. 17, 1787.

³¹ H. & P. S. of O., *Quar. Pub.*, V (1910), no. 3.

³² New Brunswick, N. J., *Brunswick Gazette and Weekly Monitor*, Jan. 8 and 22, 1788.

a reception that by June, 1788, he had turned over to the Treasury Board \$83,333.30 in military bounties and Continental certificates, which he had received in exchange for land warrants. As he was now asking for a reduction of his grant to 1,000,000 acres, Symmes felt that this should be a sufficient first payment.³³ Without any definite agreement whatsoever as to the extent of his grant, Symmes set out early in July, 1788, from his home in Morristown, New Jersey, for his new colony. His party was a large one, including six heavy wagons, a stage wagon, and a chair, thirty-one horses, three carpenters and a mason.³⁴ August 20 he was at Pittsburgh, and from there he continued his leisurely journey by water to Limestone, the important Kentucky port for the Blue Grass region, where he arrived the last of August. This journey was typical of the haphazard fashion in which Symmes founded his colony, and his arrival in the western country so late in the season seriously handicapped his new settlement from the start. Impatient to begin actual colonization he soon undertook a tour of exploration in the Miami country.³⁵ Among the sixty or so members of his party was Matthias Denman, a Revolutionary veteran from New Jersey who had taken out a warrant for 800 acres opposite the Licking, as well as Denman's two partners, Colonel Robert Patterson, one of the founders of Lexington, Kentucky, and John Filson, the Pennsylvania schoolmaster who had written such an alluring account of the Blue Grass region.³⁶ Israel Ludlow, another resident of New Jersey and the chief surveyor for the Miami Purchase, was also in the party. Landing at about the present site of Cincinnati, Judge Symmes with a number of companions, chiefly Kentuckians, rode into the interior to explore. When he encountered a band of Shawnees encamped on the Miami, the

³³ B. W. Bond, Jr., ed., *Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes* (New York, 1926), 10-1, 30-1, 33-4.

³⁴ Cutler, *Manasseh Cutler*, I, 403-4.

³⁵ C. T. Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati* (Chicago, 1904), I, 162-4; Bond, ed., *Symmes Correspondence*, 16, 46-7, 53-6.

³⁶ John Filson, *Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucky* (New York, 1793).

Kentuckians wished to attack, and after Symmes had refused permission for so foolhardy an act part of them deserted, among them John Filson, whom the Indians were supposed to have killed in the woods three hours later.

Symmes soon returned to Limestone, but for some time he did not attempt actual settlement on his lands.³⁷ The delay in St. Clair's negotiations with the Indians at Fort Harmar made the situation a serious one, especially as Symmes found it was practically impossible to secure the military guard which was necessary in so exposed a region as the Miami Purchase. Moreover, his plans had encountered great opposition in influential circles. February 19, 1788, Congress had elected him a judge of the Northwest Territory, and his precipitate start for the Miami country the following July, without a definite contract, had given rise to many whispered stories as to his ultimate intentions. Finally the Treasury Board drew up a definite contract October 15, 1788, for a grant of 1,000,000 acres, but with a frontage on the Ohio of only twenty miles, eastward from the mouth of the Miami. Under its terms, in consideration of the payments he had already made, Symmes was to have immediate possession of 123,297 acres, and after a second payment of \$82,198.00 he would receive a patent for 246,594 acres. Unfortunately Symmes had sold warrants for land beyond these limits, and the result was still more ill will and unpleasant rumors. But he had effective and influential advocates in Jonathan Dayton and Elias Boudinot, and after much wire-pulling, in 1792 Congress was persuaded to pass an act which extended the southern boundary of his grant all the way along the Ohio, from the mouth of the Miami to that of the Little Miami. Two years later September 20, 1794, the President signed a patent for the 311,682 acres for which Symmes had actually paid. This tract, the Miami Purchase, extended north from the Ohio between the Little Miami and the Miami. But Symmes, in his usual haphazard fashion, had sold much land beyond its

³⁷ Bond, ed., *Symmes Correspondence*, 15-21, 49 (note 46); Greve, *Cincinnati*, I, 167.

northern boundary, and the adjustment of these claims was to be the source of much difficulty.

The method, or rather the lack of method in making land grants in the Miami Purchase, was also in strong contrast to the systematic procedure under the Ohio Company.³⁸ Although in practise the danger of Indian attack forced what settlement there was in the interior to be made in groups, Symmes allowed purchasers to locate their warrants wherever they saw fit. Customarily his New Jersey agents, notably Dayton, sold warrants directly, while Symmes also offered them, with much confusion as a result in locations and in overlapping claims. The situation was further complicated when Symmes himself, in partnership with Boudinot, reserved more than 40,000 acres of fertile land between the Ohio and the Miami as the basis for a proprietary venture which was split into twenty-four shares. The lands were of course sold for as much as could be secured, and the entire speculative scheme aroused much ill-natured comment, which was increased by Symmes' failure to set aside the college township which had been included in his first contract. Eventually Congress located the township west of the Miami, and it became the foundation of Miami University, stirring up still more ill feeling among the inhabitants of the Miami Purchase, who felt they had been deprived of the publicly supported college to which they were justly entitled.

The earliest settlements in the Miami Purchase were essentially disconnected speculative undertakings by individuals, in contrast to the cooperative enterprise of the Revolutionary veterans at Marietta. The first one, at the junction of the Ohio and the Little Miami, was founded by Benjamin Stites, the fur trader from New Jersey who had first called Symmes' attention to these lands.³⁹ Leaving Limestone November 16, 1788, Stites and his party of twenty-six, including a number of women and children, landed on

³⁸ Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 61-5; Bond, ed., *Symmes Correspondence*, 39 (note 27), 54.

³⁹ Greve, *Cincinnati*, I, 175-80.

the bank of the Ohio, just below the mouth of the Little Miami, November 18, and founded a settlement which they called Columbia. After they had built a blockhouse for protection, these pioneers erected log cabins for themselves and their families, using the timber from their flatboats. During the winter the problem of food became a pressing one; there was an abundance of fish and game, but the supplies of bread stuffs and salt soon gave out. With the coming of spring the early settlers planted crops in the rich bottoms, and the food question was soon solved. The majority of them were from New Jersey, friends and relatives of Stites, and at least six of them, including Stites himself, were Baptists.⁴⁰ Thus, Columbia was a notable example of the tendency of emigrants connected by family



18. COLUMBIA BAPTIST CHURCH

Claimed to have been the first house of worship in Ohio. From the *American Pioneer* (Cincinnati), vol. 1 (1842), p. 41.

ties and by religion to form communities in the western country. Symmes sent a sergeant with six men to protect the little settlement, and Columbia prospered until eventually it was swallowed up by near-by Cincinnati.

The second settlement in the Miami Purchase was known at first as Losantiville, literally Le-os-ante-ville, the town opposite the mouth, *i.e.*, of the Licking, a fanciful name which is supposed to have originated with John Filson. After Filson's death, Israel Ludlow, the New Jersey surveyor, took his place as a partner of Matthias Denman and Colonel Robert Patterson in their 800-acre tract opposite the mouth of the Licking, and he was in the

⁴⁰ Bond, ed., *Symmes Correspondence*, 50-1; A. H. Dunlevy, *History of the Miami Baptist Association* (Cincinnati, 1869), 16-7.

party which left Limestone December 26, 1788, under the leadership of Patterson.⁴¹ Including at least 23 men, they landed opposite the Licking December 28, 1788. First using the boards from their flatboats to build shelters, these pioneers erected more permanent cabins, and Ludlow surveyed the site of the proposed town. Already the three partners had offered settlers who came before April 1, 1789, 30 donation lots, including in each case an in-lot of half an acre and an out-lot of four acres, with the usual elaborate conditions to ensure speedy settlement.

The third settlement in the Miami Purchase was led by Symmes himself. Encouraged by the successful settlement at Losantiville, and finding adequate military protection was available, he decided to go without further delay to his lands. Embarking at Limestone January 29, 1789, with his family and furniture, he took along Captain Kearsy with a small force of regulars. At Columbia he found the settlement practically under water from a remarkably high flood, and so he gave up his original plan to establish himself at the "Old Fort," as he fittingly called Fort Finney, at the junction of the Ohio and the Miami. Instead, he went ashore February 2, at the most northerly bend of the Ohio in this region, to establish his new settlement where there was a short and easy road across the ridge to the Miami.

In a detailed description of his first home at North Bend, as this settlement was fittingly named, Symmes gave a vivid picture of pioneer hardships.⁴² The cabin was built "by setting two forks of saplings in the ground, a ridge-pole across, and leaning boat boards which I had brought from Limestone, one end on the ground, and the other against the ridge pole; enclosing one end of the camp, and leaving the other open to the weather for a door where our fire was made, to fence against the cold which was now very intense." In this hut Symmes lived six weeks with his family through the late winter. By the middle of the following May,

⁴¹ Bond, ed., *Symmes Correspondence*, 60-1; Greve, *Cincinnati*, I, 184-92, 186-7; B. W. Bond, Jr., ed., "Dr. Daniel Drake's Memoir of the Miami Country, 1779-1794," *H. & P. S. of O., Quar. Pub.*, XVIII, 57.

⁴² Bond, ed., *Symmes Correspondence*, 60-73, 79-80.



19. LANDING OF THE PIONEERS, CINCINNATI, DECEMBER 28, 1788
From the collection of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

incoming settlers had taken up 24 donation lots, and North Bend now extended a mile and a half along the Ohio, with a "comfortable log-cabin built and covered with shingles or clapboards" on each one of forty lots, and others "still on hand." Relations with the Indians had been fairly satisfactory, although Kearsy had departed from the Falls with the greater part of his force, leaving Symmes with only five men and not even a blockhouse. But so optimistic a pioneer was not easily discouraged, and he soon laid off a settlement at South Bend several miles up the river and another one, Sugar Camp, below North Bend.

Owing to especially favorable circumstances Losantiville soon became the most important settlement in the Miami Purchase. Strategically it was ideally situated to command an extensive trade. To the northward the Miami Valley, with the long-established Miami-Maumee trail, was easy of access. The Little Miami Valley, also, led into the interior, while Mill Creek, between the two rivers, gave an outlet from the hinterland. To the southward the Licking afforded a highway to the rich Blue Grass lands of Kentucky. Losantiville was also an ideal site for the military post

which was so necessary to these advanced settlements in the Miami Purchase. A semicircular depressed area which rose by two stages from the Ohio extended to a range of densely wooded hills. These obvious advantages of the Losantiville site for defense were soon utilized. Even before Symmes left Limestone, Harmar had recognized the necessity of a strong military post in the Miami Purchase. After some delay he sent Captain Strong from Fort Harmar with two subalterns and a full company of 70 men. This small force embarked August 9, 1789, for the Miami country. Major John Doughty, who had laid out Fort Harmar followed, and arrived at the Little Miami on August 16. After three days' reconnoitering, he decided that the natural basin of Losantiville opposite the mouth of the Licking, high and healthy, with "never failing" springs, was "the most proper position" for the proposed fort, and the new stronghold on the Ohio was built according to his plans.⁴³ Substantially constructed of hewn timbers, it had blockhouses, approximately 20 feet square at each of the four corners, with a row of palisades, about 180 feet long, on each side. Extensive barracks and other buildings made this fort the strongest by far in the western country. December 24, 1789, Harmar left Fort Harmar, and established his headquarters at the new fort, which he christened Fort Washington, "on account of its superior excellence."

Like the pioneers of Marietta, the early settlers at Losantiville soon agreed upon a code of laws. They also organized a court, electing William McMillan, judge, and John Ludlow, sheriff. But serious conflicts with the military authorities undermined the influence of this citizens' court, and civil government in the Miami Purchase was not effective until a court of quarter-sessions was organized under the Territorial code with McMillan as judge.⁴⁴ January 2, 1790, St. Clair arrived at Losantiville, and promptly organized Hamilton County, running north from the Ohio be-

⁴³ Ebenezer Denny, *Military Journal* (Philadelphia, 1859), 337, 433, 439, 448; R. R. Jones, *Fort Washington* (Cincinnati, 1902), 11-8.

⁴⁴ Jacob Burnet, *Notes on the Northwestern Territory* (Cincinnati, 1847), 57-8.



20. FORT WASHINGTON

From R. R. Jones, *Fort Washington at Cincinnati, Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1902), facing p. 14. Courtesy of the Ohio Society of Colonial Wars.

tween the Little Miami and the Miami. The fanciful name, Losantiville, he changed to Cincinnati after the Society of the Cincinnati, at the same time designating this settlement as the county seat.⁴⁵ Cincinnati, as Denman's new station was henceforth called, rapidly forged ahead as the most important settlement in the Miami Purchase. The several military expeditions and the needs of the garrison at Fort Washington gave it an exceptionally good start commercially. Moreover, the many passing boats on the Ohio, and the trade of the increasing frontier population south of the Ohio in Kentucky, as well as in near-by settlements in the Miami Purchase, greatly swelled the profits of its merchants, and incidentally helped to increase the number of its inhabitants. According to one visitor, by July, 1792, there were 354 surveyed lots in the Cincinnati area which were selling for \$30.00 to \$60.00 each. More than 200 houses renting for \$50.00 to \$60.00 annually had been built, a church was under construc-

⁴⁵ Bond, ed., *Symmes Correspondence*, 123; Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, III, 294-6; Greve, *Cincinnati*, I, 294-306.

tion, and about 30 warehouses had been erected. In fact Cincinnati was passing through a typical American boom period, and one observer described the town as "overrun with merchants and overstocked with goods."⁴⁶

As population increased, settlement began to spread from Cincinnati, following the chief watercourses.⁴⁷ In the spring of 1790 John Dunlop built a stockade at Dunlop's Station, later Colerain, on the Miami, which would protect some 30 persons in its enclosure. On Mill Creek Israel Ludlow founded Ludlow's Station, later Cumminsville, about five miles beyond Fort Washington, and on the Little Miami Captain Abraham Covalt, a Revolutionary veteran from New Jersey, laid out a settlement of 17 cabins in 1789. Other smaller outlying settlements were founded, until increasing Indian hostility put an end to this expansion into the interior, for after the virtual failure of Harmar's campaign in 1790 the Indians became much bolder. In January, 1791, a considerable force led by Simon Girty attacked Dunlop's Station, but eventually the inhabitants beat them off with the help of a few soldiers sent from Fort Washington. Even the presence of the fort did not always protect the more venturesome inhabitants of Cincinnati, and late in the spring of 1791 the Indians fired upon John Van Cleve, who was working upon his out-lot on the outskirts, and captured Joseph Cutler who was near-by. The alarm was given, and a party of the inhabitants vainly pursued the Indians to the top of the hills. Nine days later Van Cleve was killed and scalped.

After St. Clair's defeat the Indians became even more venturesome, and the interior of the Miami Purchase was increasingly unsafe until Wayne's victory in August, 1794. But the settlements along the Ohio had been firmly planted, and this was especially true of Cincinnati under the shadow of Fort Washington, which with its growing trade had made remarkable progress. As

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 339-40.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 280-3; B. W. Bond, Jr., ed., "Memoirs of Benjamin Van Cleve," H. & P. S. of O., *Quar. Pub.*, XVII (1922), 20.

at Marietta, the early settlers of the Miami Purchase were for the most part a fine sturdy lot, with many Revolutionary veterans among them who had followed their comrade, Symmes, to his new colony west of the Appalachians. In contrast to the pioneers of Marietta they were mostly from the Middle States, and were consequently more cosmopolitan and more easy-going than the austere Puritans of the Ohio Company's settlements. But Symmes' careless methods were responsible for many irregularities in titles, and the early settlements in the Miami Purchase suffered from a lack of the orderly system and careful preparation which had characterized the policies of the Ohio Company.

The next settlement in the Ohio country, the French colony at Gallipolis, traced its origin to the Scioto Company which Colonel William Duer had fathered. Manasseh Cutler had cannily kept the Ohio Company grant separate from the one to the "Scioto Tract," the latter including a tract of 3,500,000 acres which stretched between the seventeenth range of townships, the western boundary of the Ohio Company's lands, and the Scioto.⁴⁸ Duer held thirteen shares in the Scioto Company, Cutler and Sargent, thirteen, and four additional shares were set aside to be disposed of in Europe. While the details of this venture were kept as secret as possible, the real purpose in organizing the Scioto Company was to carry on speculation in western lands by European investors, with Duer in general charge. In contrast to the Ohio Company, when the Scioto Company offered its lands for sale, it had not met any of the six payments to Congress, and actually had preemption rights only. The European stage, however, was favorably set. Especially in France and Holland there were considerable holdings of the Continental certificates, and many of the owners, it was hoped, would be willing to exchange them for fertile western lands at a considerable discount. In France, too, political conditions favored any form of outside investment which promised even a small degree of security. The Revolution was

⁴⁸ T. T. Belote, *Scioto Speculation and the French Settlement at Gallipolis* (Cincinnati, 1894).

beginning, and with true Gallic optimism the thrifty bourgeoisie would probably react as favorably to the Scioto scheme as they had to John Law's Mississippi Bubble. Joel Barlow, a Connecticut poet, was sent to Paris as agent with full authority to act. Armed with letters of introduction to prominent personages, he arrived about the last of June, 1788, but for a time he made no headway. Indeed this choice of an agent was an exceedingly unfortunate one, for Barlow was altogether lacking in the keen practical sense so necessary in carrying on such a mission.

Duer's speculative scheme was finally put in actual operation.⁴⁹ Ten months after his arrival Barlow met William Playfair, an Englishman of rather shady reputation who had lived in Paris for a number of years. Barlow guilelessly put entire confidence in his new-found friend, and together they formed a new organization, the *Compagnie du Scioto*, with 8,000 shares, each one valued at 1,000 livres or about \$50.00. The funds from the sale of these shares were to be deposited with a Paris banker, but under conditions that left Playfair in actual control, a provision which Barlow was to regret bitterly. To the new company Barlow sold 3,000,000 acres of the "Scioto Tract," under a rather complicated arrangement, whereby the *Compagnie du Scioto* turned in the proceeds of its sales, and these funds in turn might be used by the parent Scioto Company to meet the instalments due Congress. The *Compagnie du Scioto* soon embarked upon an extensive advertising campaign. In a widely circulated *Prospectus* they praised in exaggerated fashion the lands which were being offered to the French public. This pamphlet called especial attention to the fertility of the soil and the excellence of the American Government, as conditions that would attract so many immigrants that the value of these lands would undoubtedly double within a short time. The Company offered to accept American securities at ninety per cent. of their par value, although they could readily be bought at a discount of seventy per cent. Only half the pur-

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 25-32; T. T. Belote, "Selections from the Gallipolis Papers," H. & P. S. of O., *Quar. Pub.*, II (1907), 48-57.

chase money was to be paid down, and the remainder, according to the *Prospectus*, could be settled from the returns from the land. Cotton, tobacco, and wheat would be the chief crops, and on the uncultivated lands hogs could be fed to such advantage that starting with 3,000 sows, it would be possible to export 30,000 barrels of pork the first season.

Launched with such flowery promises, the Scioto scheme came before the French people at an opportune psychological moment. The meeting of the Estates General had been followed by the organization of the National Assembly and the fall of the Bastille. Thoroughly alarmed, the thrifty French thronged the office of the *Compagnie du Scioto*, hoping to find in the Ohio country a safe investment and perhaps a home free from the disturbances in their native land.⁵⁰ The results were so satisfactory that by December 8, Barlow reported sales of the company's Ohio lands, totaling at least 1,000,000 livres. But the increasing violence of the Revolution, and unpleasant rumors regarding the Scioto scheme soon ended the popular craze, just as John Law's Mississippi Bubble had blown up two generations before. The money which had been so trustfully paid in, never found its way to the treasury of the Scioto Company, although there is no proof that Barlow had profited personally. His fatal mistake had been his too great confidence in Playfair who had charge of the funds.

The speculation in France had a pathetic sequel in the Ohio country. In February, 1790, several hundred French *émigrés* embarked at Havre, in trustful confidence that their land warrants would give them comfortable homes in the Ohio Valley. Early in May they landed at the Virginia port of Alexandria, only to discover that their deeds were practically worthless, as the Scioto Company had failed to meet the stipulated payments on their lands. Thoroughly disillusioned, a few of them refused to go on, but the greater number persisted. The first party left Alexandria June 29, 1790, crossing the mountains in wagons, and

⁵⁰ Edward Naret, *History of the French Settlers at Gallipolis* (Cincinnati, 1899), 1-6; Belote, *Scioto Speculation*, 35, 44.

then embarking on the Ohio for their new homes at Gallipolis, three miles below the mouth of the Kanawha. The prospect, when they arrived, was dismal indeed. Their lands were not even within the bounds of the Scioto Tract, and they were dependent upon the Ohio Company for their very shelter. Putnam had allotted to each head of a family the usual in-lot and out-lot, and under his direction homes had been prepared for them, four rows of log cabins, each with a door, a window and a chimney, with a blockhouse at each angle of the rectangle.⁵¹

It would scarcely have been possible to have found a group of settlers less fitted for the hardships of frontier life than these French *émigrés*.⁵² Recruited chiefly in Paris, few of them were accustomed to farming or hard labor. They included a Catholic priest, several noblemen, a number of doctors and an array of army officers, shipowners, manufacturers, lawyers and tradespeople. Yet they possessed the Gallic common sense and cheerfulness. Soon after their arrival they brought out their musical instruments, converted a room in the blockhouse into a ballroom, and had numerous parties. They organized a local government, after some discussion with St. Clair, and protected themselves from the Indians with the aid of a company of regulars. At first their most pressing problem was a sufficient supply of food. But soon they had excellent gardens, filled with artichokes, flowers, almond trees and the like, and for more substantial supplies they relied upon the river boats. In quite practical fashion they made use of their own particular skill to make matches, sun-dials, compasses, beautifully carved mantels, and the finer type of glassware, establishing in a short time a thriving trade on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. By the end of 1790, it was estimated, the French population at Gallipolis numbered between 300 and 400, and the settlement had become an established one. But as an

⁵¹ J. L. Vance, "French Settlements and Settlers of Gallipolis," *O.S.A.H. Quar.*, III (1891), 57-9; Mary Le Clerq-Ford, *History of the Settlement of Gallipolis* (Columbus, O., 1890), 9-10.

⁵² Naret, *History of the French Settlers*, 17-25; W. G. Sibley, *The French Five Hundred* (Gallipolis, 1901), 79-81; Vance, "French Settlements," 64.

important influence in the development of Ohio it may practically be disregarded. The French emigration to Gallipolis was merely a romantic and somewhat pathetic episode in the early history of the Ohio Valley. Based upon the gullibility of a desperate population, it brought out, nevertheless, the inherent French pluck and common sense under difficult conditions. As a speculative scheme the Scioto Company was probably as sound as John Cleves Symmes' plans, but it suffered from the incompetence of its agent, the poet, Joel Barlow, and his mistaken confidence in the Englishman, Playfair.

In contrast to Gallipolis, Manchester, the fourth nucleus of settlement on the north bank of the Ohio, was typically American, but its founders were chiefly Kentuckians, Virginians by birth, in contrast to the New Englanders and natives of the Middle States who went to Marietta and Cincinnati. From Manchester, settlement spread into the Virginia Military Tract between the Little Miami and the Scioto, which Virginia had reserved in her cession of western lands in order to fulfill her promise of land bounties to her Revolutionary veterans. Even before the grant to the Ohio Company the Virginia veterans had taken practical steps to secure their claims, and Colonel Richard Clough Anderson was appointed in 1783 to take charge of the location and survey of the bounty lands which had been promised in the western country.⁵³ Anderson established his home at "Soldier's Retreat," and opened his land office in Louisville in July, 1784. As the desirable lands set aside for the veterans in Kentucky were soon used up, he sent two surveyors, Major John O'Bannon and Arthur Fox, to explore the southern section of the Virginia Military Tract. Beginning August, 1787, Anderson began to record entries in this region, chiefly in the valleys of the Ohio, the Scioto and the Little Miami. Congress, however, called upon the governor of Virginia for definite details to prove there was an actual deficiency in the Kentucky lands which had been set aside to satisfy the Virginia veterans. At the same time it declared invalid all grants which had so far been

⁵³ John McDonald, *Sketches* (Cincinnati, 1838), 22-7.

located in the Virginia Military Tract. But the settlements in the near-by Ohio Company's grant only served to intensify the demands of the Virginia veterans. Meanwhile Congress had received proof of the deficiency in the Kentucky lands, and August 10, 1790, it passed an act opening up the lands in the Virginia Military Tract, and also confirming the entries which Anderson had made.⁵⁴

The way was prepared for the location of claims, and for actual settlement in the Virginia Military Tract, and Anderson completed the preliminaries by the appointment of Nathaniel Massie as deputy surveyor. Born in Goochland County on the then frontier of Virginia, Massie had enlisted in the Revolution when he was only seventeen. The son of a prosperous landowner, he had had a substantial education, and in 1780 he settled in Kentucky where there promised to be greater opportunities for a young man.⁵⁵ Brave, an experienced surveyor accustomed to the hardships of frontier life, he literally opened up the Virginia Military Tract to civilization. The system of indiscriminate survey and location which was now established there, was in complete contrast to the customary setting off of townships in the Ohio Company lands and in the Miami Purchase. The first step for the Revolutionary veterans, or for those persons who had bought up military bounty rights, was to file certificates which set forth the number of acres to which they were entitled. Next they received land warrants, which called for actual surveys by Anderson or, customarily, by one of his deputies. Thus, the precise location of a tract was left to the owner of the warrant, which frequently meant the surveyor. Usually the surveyors were paid in land, from a quarter to half of the warrant, and often they bought up the remainder. Many warrants also were bought from the Revolutionary veterans, with a prevailing price in Virginia of from 20¢ to \$1.00 per acre.⁵⁶ This last custom, added to the method of in-

⁵⁴ *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, 1904-37), XXXIV, 332-4; *Annals of Congress* (Washington, 1834-56), 1 Cong., Appendix, 2362-3.

⁵⁵ D. W. Massie, *Life of Nathaniel Massie* (Cincinnati, 1896), 14-7.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 27-9.

discriminate location, led to much speculation in the Virginia Military Tract, and the result was a land system characterized by scattered and irregular grants. The surveyors, however, as in the case of Massie and of Duncan McArthur, acquired as fees extensive tracts of fertile land.

Even before his appointment as deputy surveyor Massie had done some exploring in the Virginia Military Tract, and now that Congress had opened it up, his first move was to establish a general headquarters for surveys which would later become a nucleus of settlement. The site he selected was on the Ohio, about twelve miles above Limestone. December 1, 1790, Massie signed a contract with nineteen men who proposed to settle there, assigning to each one of them donation lands which included an in-lot, an out-lot of four acres, and a tract of 100 acres.⁵⁷ By the middle of March Massie's Station, or Manchester as it was later called, contained a number of cabins enclosed by the usual square of pickets, with a blockhouse at each angle. The entire population in the early days went to work to clear the land and plant corn. In the surrounding country they found an abundance of game, such as deer, elk, buffalo, bear, and turkey, and there were many types of fish in the river. Although Massie's settlement lacked the military protection which Fort Harmar gave at Marietta, and Fort Washington at Cincinnati, it managed to hold its own against the Indians.

From Manchester as a center Massie made numerous surveys in the Virginia Military Tract and explored the hinterland.⁵⁸ The perils he and the other surveyors in the interior Ohio country faced have been strikingly described: "Every creek which was explored, every line that was run, was at the risk of life from the savage Indians whose courage and perseverance were only equaled by the perseverance of the whites to push forward their settlements. It was a contest for dominion; and the bravery, the stratagem, and the boldness displayed by the Indians in executing their

⁵⁷ *American Pioneer* (Cincinnati, 1842-3), I, 71-2; McDonald, *Sketches*, 31-2.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 29, 34-41, 81.

plans, could only be equaled by their fearless onsets in attacks and their masterly retreats when defeated." Usually Massie worked in the field, surveying, while the Indians were in their winter quarters. Even exposure to the hardships of severe weather did not daunt him, and in the winter of 1791-1792, he went up the Scioto, and a considerable distance up Brush Creek. The following spring he explored the Little Miami Valley as far as Xenia. In the fall of 1793, Massie again went up the Scioto and Brush Creek into the very heart of the Indian country. This time he had a party of thirty which included Duncan McArthur who now had his first glimpse of a region, in the development of which he was destined to take so leading a part. From these and other expeditions Massie acquired an intimate personal knowledge of the topography of the Virginia Military Tract, which was to be of great value after Wayne's defeat of the Indians had opened up the interior to settlement. His post at Manchester was the opening wedge for an extensive immigration of Kentuckians, the greater part of them native Virginians, which brought an important southern element into early Ohio.

Still another distinctive area of settlement was that section of the upper Ohio Valley which was included in the Seven Ranges.⁵⁹ In spite of Federal proclamations, irregular settlement had persisted here from the time of the Revolution, and in 1786 the Government decided to erect a blockhouse below Fort McIntosh in order to protect the surveyors in the Seven Ranges, and doubtless also in an effort to drive out the squatters. Fort Steuben, named in honor of Baron von Steuben, was completed in 1787, but it was soon abandoned, and it was destroyed by a fire in 1790. From the cabins in the shelter of the fort, Steubenville developed. Below Fort Steuben the irregular settlers were more firmly established, regardless of Federal opposition, and the squatters made many improvements upon the lands which spread along the Ohio and its tributaries. Finally, after the survey of the Seven Ranges,

⁵⁹ J. A. Caldwell, *History of Belmont and Jefferson Counties, Ohio* (Wheeling, W. Va., 1880), 164, 462-3.

and the establishment of a land office at Pittsburgh in 1796, they gradually acquired legal titles, and their settlements became the nuclei of a sturdy population of frontiersmen who came across the Ohio from western Pennsylvania and western Virginia.

During this early period of settlement, it would seem that these Ohio pioneers would have been fully occupied with the prosaic tasks of clearing the land, building their cabins, and protecting themselves from the Indians. Yet, busy as they were, they managed to establish the basis of a civilization which quickly reproduced the life of the established areas east of the Appalachians. The problem of transportation was of course a pressing one. The usual emigrant traveled across Pennsylvania in one of the rough wagons of the period, or else he came over Braddock's Road. Embarking at Brownsville, Pittsburgh or Wheeling, he went down the Ohio in a flatboat which was usually from 20 to 60 feet long, by 10 to 20 feet wide, with a hull three or four feet deep, and a roofed deck for shelter. Customarily the flatboat held the emigrant, his family, and all his worldly belongings, including even the domestic animals. In summer-time the trip down the river was tiresome, and frequently it was necessary to tie up at night, in order to avoid the dangerous obstructions in the channel, or attacks by the Indians. In the winter floating ice added to the perils of the voyage, and in the spring and fall high water was still another danger.

The return trip from the new settlements to the Atlantic Coast was even more difficult and tiresome. At first the mails and official communications came from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, or else from Baltimore or Richmond by way of the Wilderness Road to Danville, Kentucky. As there was no regular service from Pittsburgh or Danville, mail was sent by chance travelers. Just at the close of the period of early settlement the Government arranged for a mail line down the Ohio, from Pittsburgh to Fort Washington.⁶⁰ Already, as a result of the rapid increase in population, regular boats for passengers and freight were running on the

⁶⁰ Bond, *Civilization of the Old Northwest*, 377-9.

Ohio.⁶¹ In 1791 a boat was advertised to leave Limestone for Pittsburgh, and certainly by September, 1793, there was weekly service on this route. Late in 1793 a fortnightly service was inaugurated between Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. The boats were quite elaborate for those days, with separate cabins for men and women, and "provisions and liquors of the first quality at the most reasonable rates possible." For security against the Indians, the cabins were bullet-proof, and each boat was in reality a floating fort, with six pieces of artillery, numerous firearms and an abundant supply of ammunition. A considerable trade soon sprang up among these pioneer settlements on the north bank of the Ohio. In the earliest days, the floating store was in general use. Housed on a flatboat which had been roofed over and furnished with shelves and counters, this novel store met the few needs of its customers.⁶² With the increase in population, general stores were established at such centers as Cincinnati and Marietta which, besides a thriving river and local trade, carried on an increasing business with the Kentuckians across the Ohio, and with the different outlying "stations."

Nor did these early settlers neglect cultural and social institutions. The early establishment at Marietta of the two fundamental New England institutions, the school and the church, has already been noted. In the Miami Purchase a school was started at Columbia in 1790, and one in 1793 in near-by Cincinnati. Likewise at Columbia, a Baptist congregation of 30 members, organized in 1790, had increased its membership to such an extent that by 1793 it became necessary to build a meeting-house. In Cincinnati a Presbyterian congregation, which at its start, in the summer of 1789, had worshiped under the trees, managed by 1792 to collect \$300.00 in subscriptions for a church building.⁶³ An especially interesting organization in the early Ohio country was the Amer-

⁶¹ *Lexington Kentucky Gazette*, Jan. 29, 1791, Jan. 4, 1794; *Cincinnati Centinel of the North-Western Territory*, Nov. 23, 1793.

⁶² Fortesque Cuming, *Sketch of a Tour to the Western Country* (Pittsburgh, 1810), 98.

⁶³ Bond, *Civilization of the Old Northwest*, 425, 467-71.

ican Union Lodge at Marietta which was established in 1790, and was soon followed by another lodge in Cincinnati.⁶⁴ At Cincinnati, too, the first newspaper in the Ohio country, the *Centinel of the North-western Territory*, appeared November 9, 1793. The aims of this small weekly sheet of four pages, according to William Maxwell, the publisher, were to give the news, to furnish an advertising medium, and to make public, local grievances. Its motto, printed at the top of the front page, was typical of the frontier, "Open to all parties—but influenced by none."⁶⁵

All these beginnings of a civilized life were evidences of the inherent strength of the settlements which were planted on the north bank of the Ohio in this early period, from the landing of the first pioneers at Marietta in 1788, until Anthony Wayne defeated the Indians so decisively in August, 1794. Going down the Ohio there were, first, the rather irregular settlements in the upper Ohio Valley of the hardy frontiersmen from western Pennsylvania and western Virginia. Then came Marietta and the outlying stations on the Ohio Company lands, veritable Puritan outposts in this frontier country. Next, Gallipolis was a colorful Old World community set down in the wilderness, but as a permanent influence it was negligible. Manchester, the first settlement in the Virginia Military Tract, introduced an important southern element, and last of all, Cincinnati and the near-by settlements in the Miami Purchase were settled chiefly by emigrants from the Middle States. These early settlements, formed by emigrants from such diverse regions with their different characteristics, were nuclei from which the interior would be settled if only the Indian danger was ended. Moreover, once the foundations of government, of the land system, and of the school and the church were established, the dominant features of Ohio civilization would be fixed.

⁶⁴ Williams, pub., *Washington County*, 416-20; Daniel Drake, *Natural and Statistical View; or, Picture of Cincinnati and the Miami Country* (Cincinnati, 1815), 165-6.

⁶⁵ *Centinel*, Nov. 23, 1793.

The Indian Wars

THE founding of settlements on the north bank of the Ohio inevitably forced the United States to make a final adjustment of the Indian problem in the Ohio country. The chief tribes, the Delawares, the Shawnees, the Wyandots and the Mingoes, had not supported whole-heartedly the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney with their extensive land cessions, and they became greatly agitated when Hutchins began his surveys in the Seven Ranges. They were still more disturbed over the early settlements on the north bank of the Ohio, which had traditionally been theirs ever since the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. Thus these Ohio tribes were ripe for British intrigues of which the obvious aim was to hold the rich fur trade, and not, like the American policy, to establish settlements. Moreover, in the western posts, especially Niagara and Detroit, which they still retained in disregard of the Peace Treaty of 1783, the British possessed exceedingly favorable centers for intrigue and trade with the Indians of the Ohio country. They could also rely upon the Miami Confederacy in the Wabash Valley to favor the English, while to the eastward the Iroquois, under the leadership of Joseph Brant, were apparently definitely inclined toward the British cause.¹ Small wonder then that the Ohio Indians under such influences turned to the British for protection in face of the continual encroachments of the Americans upon their lands, and the Ohio country became the coveted prize in a war of wits between the British and the Americans.

Indian hostility steadily grew, as the tribes realized the true import of American claims under the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney, along with the Peace Treaty. A general council, which assembled on the Detroit River late in 1786, voiced a wide-

¹ AE., États Unis, 33: 275-6.

spread Indian point of view when it demanded that the United States should treat the Indians as equals, not as subjects, and should negotiate treaties with the entire confederacy, rather than with separate tribes. The Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant, as the prime mover for the council strongly supported this rather arrogant attitude, relying upon vague British assurances of aid. In a letter which Congress received in July, 1787, he announced in quite independent fashion that the Indians northwest of the Ohio had formed a confederacy, "offensive and defensive," and that the surveys of land, *i.e.*, the Seven Ranges, which had been started on the "Indian side" of the Ohio, must cease.²

The wiser American policy would have been to meet this bold defiance with a display of military power. But the financial situation was so bad there was not even an adequate force to protect the frontier, and Congress decided to adopt the weaker policy of conciliation, and to hold a conference with the Indians as the Detroit council had requested.³ Meantime, until civil government was organized northwest of the Ohio, it was apparent that the situation was a very precarious one, and a strict watch was necessary for all persons who were allowed to go into that region. Other precautionary measures were the outcome of this policy, to avoid trouble with the Indians if possible. October 22, 1787, Congress directed Arthur St. Clair, now governor of the Northwest Territory, to hold a general conference with the Indians in the spring, appropriating for this purpose \$14,000.00 which was later increased to \$20,000.00. In general, St. Clair was to use his discretion in an attempt to remove all causes of controversy with the Indians, and especially to secure an agreement upon a boundary line. As a suitable boundary Congress suggested the east and west Geographer's Line of the Ordinance of 1785, provided it was extended to the Mississippi. If St. Clair could secure the consent of the Indians to

² *American State Papers* (Washington, 1832-61), *Indian Affairs*, I, 8-9; E. C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1921-), VIII, 624; W. L. Stone, *Life of Joseph Brant* (New York, 1838), II, 267-72.

³ *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, 1904-37), XXXIII, 327-32, 385-91, 410-1, 477-81, 611, 696, 711-3.

this line, he was to purchase their lands south of it whenever the opportunity offered.

St. Clair and General Richard Butler, the latter superintendent of Indian affairs for the Northern Department, promptly made arrangements for the proposed conference, inviting the different Indian tribes to meet the first of May at the Falls of the Muskingum, about seventy miles above its mouth. From the many alarming reports he had received, St. Clair was greatly disturbed, and he was convinced that the success of the proposed government for the Northwest Territory, as well as continued sales of the public lands, was dependent upon a "solid peace with the Indians."⁴ General Henry Knox, too, in charge of military affairs under the Confederation was much alarmed, and felt that American posts on the Maumee and Cuyahoga were desirable. But in view of the strong confederation the Indians were forming, such a plan was impossible, and the American position, that their lands had been taken over by right of conquest, Knox believed, could only be maintained by an "extensive Indian war." In view of the "exhausted" public treasury, such a course would be attended with "unlimited evil." Instead, Knox proposed that the Americans should follow the British example, and purchase lands from the Indians as they were needed.⁵ But the situation was not nearly so bad as it seemed.⁶ Brant soon discovered that the different tribes were by no means united in an unfriendly attitude toward the Americans. Among the Iroquois, only the Mohawks could be relied upon as wholly loyal to the British. The western tribes, also, were divided. Apparently the Wyandots favored a separate conference in order to settle matters with the Americans for themselves. The Delawares, the Hurons, and the Potawatomes were anxious for a general council which would agree upon a definite boundary line, but the Shawnees and the Miamis, still strongly against any land cessions,

⁴ C. E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, 1934-), II, *Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, 1787-1803*, 89-91.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 100-5.

⁶ Stone, *Joseph Brant*, II, 274-9; R. C. Downes, *Frontier Ohio, 1788-1803* (Columbus, O., 1935), 6-9.

opposed any negotiations whatsoever. Brant himself began to favor a peaceful adjustment of affairs between the Americans and the Indians, sensing the difficulties in the way of a really strong confederation, and the obvious advantage this situation gave the Americans.

St. Clair arrived at Fort Harmar July 9, 1788, and from the very start he advocated peace with the Indians, if it could be secured without the surrender of American rights.⁷ But the extravagant demands of Congress, doubtless under pressure from the land speculators, put him in a difficult position. He was now asked to secure 41°, northern parallel, the southern line of the Connecticut reserve, as the boundary line with the Indians. This proposal St. Clair considered impossible, for it would shut out the Indians from their principal hunting grounds, and would hand over to American settlers the greater part of the Wyandot lands. Nevertheless, he promptly sent messengers to the Indian chiefs, reminding them that "the council fire has long been kindled at the Falls of the Muskingum." At the same time he called attention to many acts of hostility, and demanded the return of all prisoners. Finally St. Clair bluntly told the Indians that in their hands lay the decision for war or peace. This message was much delayed, being eleven days on the way to Sandusky alone. When it finally reached the hastily assembled Indian council, the different tribes could not agree upon an answer. Brant even refused to attend the proposed conference, chiefly, it appeared, because the Americans had rejected his proposed boundary line, which would have run up the Muskingum from the Ohio, thence to the headwaters of the Cuyahoga, and across to Venango at the mouth of French Creek. St. Clair wisely determined to use these dissensions among the Indians "to the best advantage of the United States."

In the end, except for those from the Delawares and the Wyandots, few important chiefs came to the council which met December 13 under the protection of Fort Harmar, rather than at the

⁷ Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, II, 117-8, 127-8, 130-2, 140-3; W. H. Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers* (Cincinnati, 1882), II, 93-4.

Falls of the Muskingum which was in the heart of the Indian country, and therefore was considered too dangerous.⁸ The chiefs were soon quarreling with Cornplanter, the Seneca chief, who acknowledged the American rights over their lands, while the Wyandots stubbornly insisted upon the Ohio as the rightful boundary between the Indians and the Americans. Ultimately St. Clair managed to conclude two separate treaties,⁹ one with the few Iroquois present which confirmed the boundary fixed in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, and promised the Indians goods worth \$3,000 in exchange for their land. The other, concluded on the same day, January 9, 1789, with the Delawares, the Wyandots, the Ottawas, the Chipewas, the Potawatomes and the Sacs, confirmed the boundary line in the Treaty of Fort McIntosh, running up the Cuyahoga, across to the Big Miami, and then to the Maumee and Lake Erie, with the reservations in favor of the United States within the Indian country. In payment for their lands these Indians were to receive \$6,000 in goods. Other provisions of this treaty had to do with the better regulation of trade and the punishment of crimes committed against the Indians.

St. Clair was greatly pleased with the results of the council at Fort Harmar, especially as he felt that the negotiation of two separate treaties had destroyed Brant's influence, and had thus effectively ended the danger of a really strong Indian confederation.¹⁰ The good feeling between the Indians and the earliest settlers lent support to this conclusion. At Marietta Captain Pipe and his followers had greeted the pioneers with great friendliness, and this same attitude had been shown in the Miami Purchase.¹¹ At Columbia the Indians had been exceptionally friendly, and there had been much sociability between the two races. Out in the wilderness American hunters frequently spent the night in Indian camps,

⁸ Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 8-10, 12-5; C. S. Hall, *Life and Letters of General Samuel Holden Parsons* (Binghamton, N. Y., 1905), 522.

⁹ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 5-7.

¹⁰ Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, II, 108-9, 111-3.

¹¹ B. W. Bond, Jr., ed., *Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes* (New York, 1926), 58-9, 74-6, 78-9, 128.

and the Indians had stayed "whole days and nights at the block-house, regaling themselves with whiskey." At North Bend, too, relations with the Indians had been friendly at first, and they had come to trade in such large numbers that Symmes complained they almost stripped him of the linen and cloth he had brought for his own party, not to speak of what they received, "at their pleasure, gratis." But this friendly attitude soon disappeared. Within less than eighteen months after the first settlement in the Miami Purchase, the Indians had killed nine men, taken three prisoners, and stolen fifty horses. At Marietta, also, they began to steal horses.

At the root of this increasing trouble with the Indians was the inescapable fact that while St. Clair had concluded a fairly satisfactory treaty with the Delawares and the Wyandots, he had not secured an agreement with the Shawnees and the Miamis. It was soon evident that these two tribes, which had refused to come to Fort Harmar, were determined to resist American encroachments upon their lands. Some of them even began to move nearer the British stronghold at Detroit, although the Americans, anxious for peace, offered to guarantee their lands beyond a fixed boundary line. But the hostile Indians would not accept such an offer, even though it was evident the Americans must win in the end. Brant especially was convinced that the Indians must make some concession, inasmuch as Great Britain was "neither able nor willing" to give them the necessary assistance.¹² But the Shawnees and the Miamis, doggedly refusing to recognize facts, looked increasingly to the British for aid, and became the center of Indian resistance to American advance in the Ohio country. On the upper Ohio the Shawnees were now the chief disturbing influence. A band composed chiefly of warriors of this tribe had been established for a long time at the mouth of the Scioto, and they soon became a dangerous menace to the increasing river traffic. Moreover, the

¹² Miscellaneous British Official Correspondence, 1787-1793 (in British Museum and British Public Records Office), especially Additional MSS., 27,736; C. O., 42.65, 83, 92, 96, 317; Foreign Office Papers (in British Public Records Office; hereafter cited F. O.), 4.12, 16.

Shawnee influence made itself felt over the other Ohio tribes, and there was evidence that even some of the Delaware and Wyandot warriors, who had been present at the conference at Fort Harmar, were taking part in scattered attacks upon American frontier settlements.¹³

Far more important as a continual source of trouble were the Miamis on the Wabash, who by their raids into Kentucky were inciting the Ohio tribes to the eastward. As the garrisons at Vincennes and the Falls were apparently unable to keep these hostile Indians in check, the self-reliant Kentucky frontiersmen soon organized sporadic raids across the Ohio into the Indian country. The Indians retaliated, and a bad matter rapidly became worse.¹⁴ Knox, still hoping to settle matters in peaceable fashion, planned to hold a conference with the hostile tribes and to offer to purchase whatever lands should be taken from them. But the impatient Kentuckians upset these carefully laid plans for peace by their unauthorized raids across the Ohio. Meanwhile the outlaw band at the mouth of the Scioto continued to attack boats going down the Ohio, and to capture much property. In April, 1790, General Josiah Harmar made a fruitless attempt to break up this nest of marauders. The Indians merely retreated before him, and returned when he was gone, so that in the end nothing was accomplished.¹⁵ Emigrants going down the Ohio now found it necessary to band together for protection, as on one such occasion when sixteen "Kentucky" boats and two "keels" were grouped as a flotilla, the former lashed three together and kept in line. The women and children, and the stock were all put in the middle boats, and the men in each block of boats were placed under a separate commander. The keel-boats were appropriately placed on each flank, and in this fashion the flotilla safely passed the Indian stronghold at the mouth of the Scioto.¹⁶

¹³ Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, II, 293-4.

¹⁴ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 12-4; Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 17-21; Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, II, 137.

¹⁵ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 91.

¹⁶ Ebenezer Denny, *Military Journal* (Philadelphia, 1859), 341-2.

Finally St. Clair came to the reluctant conclusion that the use of military force was the only possible solution of the Indian problem in the Ohio country. For this purpose he proposed to add to the few regular troops available, sufficient levies from the Pennsylvania and Virginia militia, and October 6, 1789, Washington gave him permission to raise not over 1,500 militia from Pennsylvania and Virginia.¹⁷ First, however, he was to exhaust every possible means to form just and liberal treaties with the Indians, which both the Americans and the Indians would carry out. At the same time Knox strictly forbade expeditions from Kentucky into the Northwest Territory without the approval of St. Clair and the officer in charge of the regular troops stationed there. Following these instructions, St. Clair decided to send a messenger to the Indians of the Wabash Valley, but he had little hope of satisfactory results. He had confidence in the Wyandots, and felt they had a good influence over the other tribes. But the Miamis, and the "renegade" Shawnees, Delawares and Cherokees were, he feared, "irreclaimable" by gentle means. St. Clair's fears were confirmed by Antoine Gamelin, who had delivered his message to the Indians of the Wabash and Maumee valleys. Gamelin reported that he had been repeatedly put off, with the excuse that the Indians could not give a definite answer until they had first consulted the other tribes and the British, and he had finally returned without even a formal reply.

Since any prospects of peace had gone glimmering, St. Clair promptly repaired to Fort Washington, now military headquarters for the western country, in order to make preparations for the necessary expedition against the centers of Indian hostility in the Wabash and Maumee valleys. He called for 1,000 militia from Virginia and 500 from Pennsylvania, most of them to rendezvous at Fort Washington in September, 1790. Washington gave these plans his approval although he felt that the expedition must be an "effectual" one, even if it became necessary to raise addi-

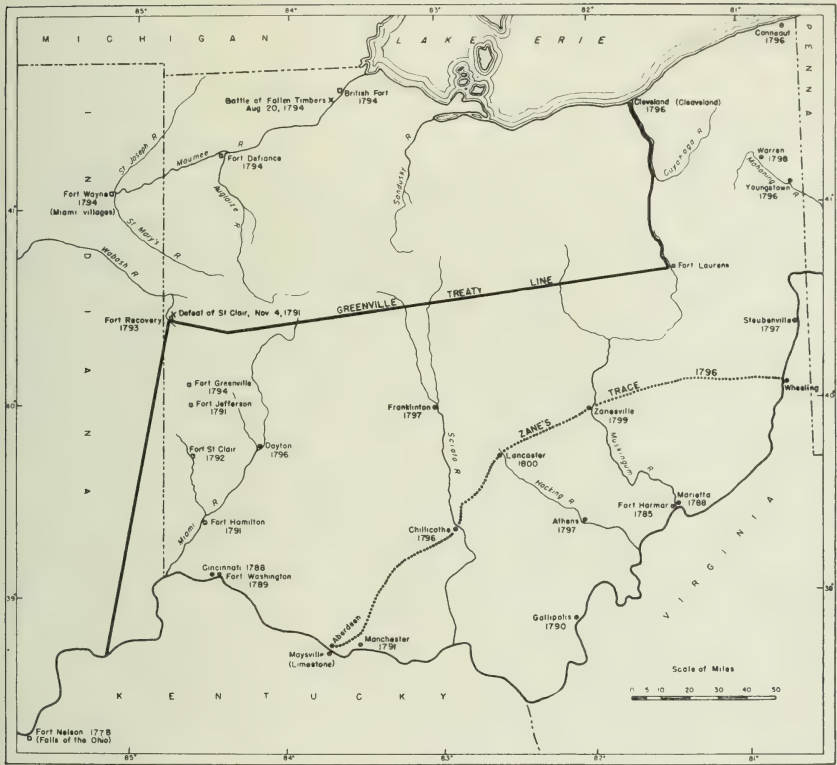
¹⁷ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 58, 93-4, 96-7; Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, II, 224-5; Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, 130-3.

tional militia in Kentucky.¹⁸ Washington felt that it was of utmost importance that St. Clair should reassure the British at the same time as to the American plans. This the Scotch governor did in clever fashion, disclaiming pointblank any intention of attacking Detroit, although he pointedly hinted that of course the hostile Indians would not receive assistance from British officials, and that the latter would restrain the traders "from whose instigations there is too good reason to believe, much of the injuries committed by the savages has proceeded."

St. Clair's plans did not work out in an altogether satisfactory fashion. The Pennsylvania militia were short 200 men, and many of the levies from Kentucky were unused to the woods, and had no guns. Harmar, who was to lead the expedition, was much disheartened even before he started, and the sequel showed that his fears were not without foundation.¹⁹ September 30 he got under way on his march to the Indian villages at the headwaters of the Maumee, and by October 13 his army of 1,133 militia and 320 regulars had marched 135 miles from Fort Washington. October 17 the main army arrived at the confluence of the St. Joseph and the St. Mary's to form the Maumee, only to find the Miami villages deserted. After a stay of four days, during which the Americans plundered and burned the Indian headquarters, as well as a number of traders' houses, the army started back for Fort Washington. Just before he left, Harmar sent out a force of 400 to surprise any Indians who lingered around. But the militia scattered, leaving the regulars to bear the brunt of the attack which followed. Indeed, but for the courage of the regular troops, the expedition would have been a flat failure. Harmar had found it was an "arduous task" to hold the militia under any slight degree of control, and once they considered themselves virtually secure, they became altogether "ungovernable." Although this entire situation was due in part to too great "forbearance" on Harmar's part,

¹⁸ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 92-9; C. O., 42-72.

¹⁹ *Am. State Papers, Military Affairs*, I, 354; Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, II, 306-7; Denny, *Military Journal*, 344-54.



MAP 16. THE INDIAN CAMPAIGNS

Important forts, the Treaty of Greenville line, Zane's Trace and the chief early centers of settlement; based upon the maps in E. H. Roseboom and F. P. Weisenburger, *History of Ohio* (New York, 1934), pp. 93, 140.

it was typical of the difficulties encountered in these western campaigns. With the limited Federal financial resources, alone, was out of the question, and the American Government was obliged to place its chief reliance upon the badly trained and unstable militia, until a series of disastrous campaigns forcibly showed the danger of such a policy, and led to Wayne's really systematic and carefully planned campaign.

Harmar arrived at Fort Washington with his troops November 3, about a month after he had left, and made an optimistic report of

his campaign which the facts by no means justified.²⁰ The Indian "headquarters of iniquity," he reported, had been broken up, 100 to 120 Indians had been slain, and 300 log houses and wigwams had been burned. The army had destroyed 20,000 bushels of corn and "vegetables in abundance." St. Clair, too, reported that Harmar had conducted a very successful campaign. But the comparatively large number of slain or missing, 183, and persistent stories of the insubordination of the militia caused much criticism, and a court-martial was called at Fort Washington, September 15, 1791, to inquire into Harmar's personal conduct in the campaign. While the decision fully upheld him, no official white-washing could hide the fact that his campaign had failed in its chief objectives; and had merely succeeded in stirring up increased Indian hostility. To be sure Harmar had destroyed the Miami villages, the principal trading posts in the Maumee Valley, and had taken much plunder. But this was little real gain, for the traders had been striving to keep the Indians peaceful in order to avoid large personal losses. Then, too, the Indian warriors had merely retreated, and Harmar had not been able to inflict the heavy blow upon their main force which Washington had considered so necessary. The attack upon Big Bottom in the Muskingum Valley early in 1791, was a direct result of this fruitless campaign, and with the approach of spring there were many reports of war parties abroad in the Ohio woods. Rufus Putnam, the patriarch of the Ohio settlements, felt that matters were in an exceedingly critical state, and that unless really effectual measures were adopted, the increasing stream of settlers would come to an end, and the sales of the public lands would suffer accordingly.

The situation demanded vigorous and immediate action. March 3, 1791, Congress authorized a force of approximately 3,000 men to march under St. Clair against the hostile Indians, its main purpose to establish a strong American post at the Miami villages, with posts in the rear to protect the communication with Fort

²⁰ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 104; Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers* II, 313, 337-9; C. O., 42-73.

Washington. Also, if St. Clair approved, General Charles Scott was to lead 3,000 mounted Kentucky volunteers against the trading post of Ouiatenon in the heart of the hostile Wabash Valley area.²¹ Meanwhile, as a last move for peace Congress appointed Colonel Thomas Proctor to go on a mission to the Maumee and Wabash Valley Indians, securing if possible the support of the Iroquois. Proctor, a native Irishman with an excellent Revolutionary record and now a Philadelphia politician, seems to have lacked altogether either the experience or the qualifications for successful negotiations with the Indians.²² According to his meticulous journal he set out from Philadelphia early in March. Soon after he arrived in the Iroquois country, these Indians became greatly disturbed over a message from the New York authorities which invited them to a peace treaty, and another one from St. Clair which asked them to take up arms against the western Indians. Suspecting that these conflicting requests in reality represented an American attempt to create dissensions, they turned a cold shoulder to Proctor, and were probably responsible for the refusal of the British commandant at Niagara to arrange his transportation to the Ohio country. Easily discouraged, Proctor abandoned his peace mission, and returned to the comforts of Philadelphia.

All hope of a peaceful settlement had now vanished, and St. Clair promptly approved Scott's plans, while he himself began preparations for the main campaign. Scott was off in record time.²³ Starting May 23 from the north bank of the Ohio, his troops rode over an exceedingly difficult terrain, crossed by numerous streams with high muddy banks and with many bogs. Torrents of rain added to his difficulties, but by June 1 he had penetrated 155 miles to the Wea country and Ouiatenon. The Indians in their usual fashion fled at his approach, and he followed Harmar's example, burning the important Indian town at the mouth of Eel River as well as the post of Ouiatenon. At the latter he found

²¹ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 131-2, 171-2.

²² *Ibid.*, 145-7, 149-62; Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 27-8.

²³ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 129-32.

about 70 cabins, and a number of French inhabitants, chiefly traders. Here the troops destroyed a large quantity of corn, much household goods, peltry and other articles. June 14, within a little more than three weeks, Scott was back at the Rapids of the Ohio without the loss of a single man, and with only five who were wounded, although he had killed Indian warriors, and taken prisoners, chiefly women and children. Like Harmar, he had merely stirred up the Indians without really decisive results.

St. Clair now decided to despatch a second expedition of mounted volunteers from Kentucky, this time to strike directly at the Miami town at the mouth of Eel River. This force set out from Fort Washington under Colonel James Wilkinson, and reached Eel River August 7.²⁴ As usual the greater part of the warriors had fled, and Wilkinson captured prisoners, again women and children for the most part, and burned the Indian cabins and the cornfields. Next he started for a Kickapoo town, about sixty miles to the westward. The many bogs made the march a very difficult one, and at length, with more than half of his horses lamed and with barely five days' provisions on hand, Wilkinson decided to turn back, and reached Louisville, having ridden with his men altogether 451 miles within two weeks. But like Harmar and Scott, he had merely irritated the Indians by the ruthless destruction of their property. Once the Americans were gone, the Indians promptly returned to their villages to salvage whatever possessions remained.

After three practically fruitless expeditions it was quite apparent that only a really formidable force, which could crush the main body of the Indian warriors, would bring lasting peace to the western frontier. Congress, by the act of March 3, 1791, had seemingly made ample provision for the proposed expedition, and Knox, now secretary of war, sent detailed instructions.²⁵ The enlistment of an additional regiment of infantry for the regular army

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 133-5; Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, II, 227-9.

²⁵ *Annals of Congress* (Washington, 1834-56), 1 Cong., Appendix, II, 2415-8; *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 171-4, 193.

was authorized, together with a sufficient force of cavalry from the western militia, and still another corps of not more than 2,000 men who were to serve for six months. For expenses Congress appropriated \$312,686. By July 10, the Federal Government assumed there would be collected at Fort Washington, an effective force of approximately 3,000 men. Once they were assembled, St. Clair, who was placed in command, was directed to construct a chain of forts leading from Fort Washington to the Indian settlements on the upper Maumee. Above all, he was to strike the hostile Indians "with great severity"; although he was given much discretion in the conduct of the campaign and in the peace negotiations which would follow. Samuel Hodgdon, the quartermaster-general, also received detailed instructions, and was especially charged to provide horses for the cavalry, pack-horses to transport the baggage by land, and boats to bring troops and equipment down the Ohio.

As usual the plans that appeared so convincing on paper, did not work out so easily in actual practice.²⁶ By July 10, the day Knox had promised St. Clair that his troops would be at the rendezvous at Fort Washington, only a few straggling detachments had come in, and neither the quartermaster nor the commissary had arrived. This delay was typical of many similar ones which St. Clair faced in the course of the campaign. As the troops gradually came in, they were put in a camp at Ludlow's Station, a few miles from Fort Washington. But they arrived in such irregular fashion that it was impossible adequately to organize and train them. September 7, Butler, second in command, and the quartermaster-general, Hodgdon, appeared. Meantime St. Clair, impatient to start, had chafed at the delay. He well knew that to reach the Maumee from Cincinnati it was necessary to march before the fall rains began, and while there was forage along the road to take care of the many pack-horses. He sent a considerable detachment to construct the first post in the proposed line of communication with the Maumee, and on the east bank of the Miami these troops built Fort Hamil-

²⁶ Denny, *Military Journal*, 356-74; Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, I, 171-80.

ton, a strongly fortified stockade which was destined to become the nucleus of the city of Hamilton.²⁷ Even before the actual campaign began, there was trouble among the troops, and there were deserters among the 300 Kentucky militia immediately after their arrival at Fort Washington. The bulk of the troops got under way October 4, but the force of 3,000 which had been promised St. Clair had now dwindled to only 2,699, and part of them were detached to garrison Fort Washington and Fort Hamilton.

The army moved so slowly that by October 13 it had gone forward only about seventy miles from Fort Washington. Here Fort Jefferson, the second post in the line to the Maumee, was constructed just south of present day Greenville. The weather steadily grew worse, with heavy frost and much rain, while the supplies of food became increasingly irregular, with much dissatisfaction as a result among the six months' levies and the militia, although the two regiments of regulars, about a third of the army, were "tolerably well disciplined." St. Clair himself was now so ill with gout he had to be assisted on and off his horse. October 31 the contractor had only three days' supplies on hand, and when between 60 and 70 of the dissatisfied militia deserted, St. Clair incautiously despatched his best trained regiment of regulars to force them to return. The climax of this ill-prepared expedition was not long delayed.²⁸ November 3, St. Clair and his army camped upon the bank of a small branch of the Wabash, 98 miles from Fort Washington. The next morning at sunrise the Indians charged the troops from the woods. The militia fled, their officers attempting in vain to rally them. The Indians captured the artillery, and the American forces retreated in the utmost confusion. But the Indians did not pursue them, and the survivors managed to retreat safely to Fort Jefferson and Fort Hamilton. Altogether, 37 officers, including Butler, and 593 privates were among the killed

²⁷ B. S. Bartlow [and others], eds., *Centennial History of Butler County, Ohio* (Indianapolis, 1905), 88-9.

²⁸ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 136, 140; B. W. Bond, Jr., ed., "Memoirs of Benjamin Van Cleve," *H. & P. S. of O., Quar. Pub.*, XVII, 24-8; Denny, *Military Journal*, 375.

and missing, and 31 officers and 252 privates had been wounded.

St. Clair's defeat was a forcible illustration of the results of weak military policy in the western country.²⁹ St. Clair himself declared his defeat was due primarily to the lack of discipline among troops who had been in service for only a short time. His own illness, too, had interfered with the efficiency of his army, and he was convinced that his troops had been overwhelmed by superior numbers. Major Ebenezer Denny, St. Clair's aide-de-camp, agreed in general with this analysis. The American forces had been reduced to about 1,400 when the Indians attacked, according to Denny, and the brunt of the fighting had fallen upon a single battalion of the inexperienced regulars and upon the artillery. In Denny's opinion, too, the personnel of St. Clair's little army was decidedly below par, for its rank and file had been hastily collected for the most part "from the streets and prisons of the cities," and "hurried out into the enemy's country" with officers in command who were "totally unacquainted with the business in which they were engaged." The quartermaster and the contractors had not been sufficiently prepared, and Denny was convinced the army had suffered greatly from lack of an adequate force of scouts to discover the enemy's presence.

Public opinion was so strongly aroused over this unexpected debacle that St. Clair asked for a court of inquiry, at the same time resigning his commission as major-general, in order to open the way for another officer to lead a new expedition against the western Indians.³⁰ Finally, May 8, 1792, a committee made a report to the House of Representatives which exonerated St. Clair, with complimentary references to his zeal in the preliminary arrangements and his bravery under fire. But the report scored the delay in supplies and equipment, and the insufficient time allowed to recruit and train the army. This report the House ordered printed, and later a committee carefully examined a number of

²⁹ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 138; Denny, *Military Journal*, 374-5.

³⁰ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 36-9, 41-4; Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, II, 383-4, 386-7.

protests, especially those from the secretary of war and the quartermaster-general. The committee acknowledged certain mistakes in details, but it refused to alter the report in its essentials.

St. Clair's defeat focused attention upon the general Indian problem in the Ohio country, and the closely related one of relations with the British in Canada. Knox was greatly alarmed at the large Indian force, reported to have been about 3,000, which had attacked St. Clair. Besides the traditionally hostile Miamis and Shawnees, it had included Wyandots, Delawares, and warriors of other tribes who had not hitherto been wholly unfriendly, and such a varied force, Knox feared, was excellent proof that Brant's plans for a western confederacy had been at least partially realized. Consequently he felt that an adequate military force upon the frontier had become a vital necessity, and that so long as the British held Detroit, a strong American post upon the Maumee was also necessary, in order to counteract the British influence among the Indians.³¹ Knox was not mistaken. The British, alarmed at American aggressions along the Ohio, were strenuously working to attach the Indians to their own side, and Detroit was a veritable hotbed of intrigues against the Americans.

Indeed the British were now thoroughly aroused over the threats to their influence among the western Indians.³² The Ordinance of 1785 especially had aroused British fears for, according to one confidential agent, its provisions were such, "as have never yet been offered to mankind," and would attract men who had never before owned property or enjoyed freedom. After St. Clair had put its provisions into effect, another British agent reported that if the new government should work satisfactorily, there would be a very extensive emigration from the northern states. There were hints, too, that these western settlers, with their "determined manner of acting in every respect, the most conducive to their interest," might form new states and break away from the Atlantic Coast. With the advance of American settlers north of the Ohio

³¹ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 197-8.

³² *F. O.*, 4.3, 8; *Chatham Papers*, G. D. 8; *Additional MSS.*, 21,737.

in ever increasing numbers, British fears for their own trading interests naturally increased. Some of the more hardy Americans even ventured to Detroit and Upper Canada, taking with them, as one irate British officer complained, the "licentious and republican" principles which had brought about actual rebellion in 1776.

The American military advance down the Ohio, with the construction of Fort Harmar in 1785 and Fort Washington in 1789, had greatly increased British alarm. These fears grew with the successive expeditions into the Maumee-Wabash region which were launched from Fort Washington.³³ Although St. Clair specifically stated that Harmar's expedition was directed solely against the Indians, Guy Carleton, first Baron Dorchester, suspected that the real object was to seize Detroit, and to divert the fur trade from Lake Erie to the Ohio, and across the Appalachians to the Potomac. The preparations for St. Clair's expedition aroused fresh British fears for Detroit, and again American assurances were given that the campaign was directed solely against the Indians. But the Indian victory undoubtedly brought great relief to British officials in Detroit and Upper Canada, especially as it had apparently made a general Indian confederacy, "an event not wholly improbable." Nevertheless British nervousness continued as American aggressiveness increased. The truth was, Detroit was comparatively weak from a military standpoint, with only 145 of the local militia fit for service in 1790, and the remaining 596 men apparently unorganized. Two years later, in spite of this inadequate local force, the garrison included only 20 officers and 341 rank and file.³⁴

Meanwhile the British were carrying on numerous intrigues among the Indians of the Ohio country, through such well-known agents as Alexander McKee, Matthew Elliott, and Simon Girty. An inkling of their close relations with the Indians was given in 1792, when a proclamation from Washington fell into British

³³ F. O., 4.11, 12, 14; C. O., 42.73, 89.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 42.83, 97.

hands after the Indians had killed the American messengers.³⁵ Nor did the British neglect the settlers west of the mountains.³⁶ Early in 1788 Lord Dorchester appointed a confidential agent with headquarters in Detroit, whose duty it was to travel through the American settlements, securing all possible information with regard to the number of inhabitants, their resources and their views. This agent was no doubt Dr. John Connolly, who at the beginning of the Revolution had caused so much trouble at Pittsburgh. By his knowledge of the country and his wide personal acquaintance, Connolly was well suited for such a mission, and he was in Kentucky before the year was up, plotting, according to rumor, to induce the inhabitants to join with Great Britain. He was also carrying on an extensive correspondence throughout the western country. Connolly was probably the author of two secret reports to Lord Dorchester, in 1788 and 1789 respectively, which gave warning that the "perseverance" of the Americans was such that eventually they would spread over all the area between the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Great Lakes. Evidently the writer had had numerous personal contacts, for he gave many details of current happenings, and had carried on an extensive correspondence with a number of leading Americans in the western country. But all of those whom he had approached with British overtures, including John Cleves Symmes who had just come to his new settlement, had insisted that their interests were inseparably bound up with those of Kentucky.

In 1791 British policy in the western country was much strengthened by the appointment of George Hammond as the first accredited British minister to the United States. His instructions regarding western affairs were definite.³⁷ So far as the western posts were concerned, he was given discretionary power to negotiate their surrender, provided the Americans enforced the clauses of the Peace Treaty with respect to debts due British creditors

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 42.92.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 59.65; Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, II, 166-7.

³⁷ F. O., 4.11, 14.

and Loyalist losses. In "the most equivocal manner," he was to deny the charge that Lord Dorchester had "encouraged" Indian hostility to the Americans, and he should call attention to the strong British interest in preserving peace between the Indians and the Americans. Furthermore, if it was desirable, Hammond was to offer British mediation in the troubles between them, upon the basis that both Great Britain and the United States should give up all claims to the western posts, and should create a neutral Indian country in the Old Northwest. From these instructions it was evident that British policy had two somewhat contradictory aims, to keep the peace with the United States, yet at the same time to retain the influence over the Indians which meant control of the western fur trade.

The British cause in the western country was still further strengthened when Upper Canada was set off in 1791 as a separate province, and Colonel John Graves Simcoe arrived July 8, 1792, as lieutenant-governor under Dorchester. Colonel Simcoe had been with the British army during the Revolution, and had already gained an insight into western problems. There was a dramatic touch, too, in his arrival in Upper Canada so soon after St. Clair had begun to establish orderly government in the Northwest Territory, for like St. Clair, Simcoe was an able administrator and empire builder, and a man in the prime of life. His voluminous correspondence shows how closely he kept in touch with affairs in the western country, although his superior, Lord Dorchester, frequently overruled him.³⁸ As proof of his excellent judgment, Simcoe did not underrate the military strength of the hardy backwoodsmen in whom the Americans, in his opinion, possessed a force "as expert and more savage" than the Indians themselves in fighting in these wooded regions.

However efficient Simcoe might be in administrative details, to Hammond fell the main task of directing British policy in the Ohio country. Soon after he arrived in Philadelphia in 1791, Thomas

³⁸ C. O., 42-316, 317, 318, 319; E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe Papers* (Toronto, 1923), I-V.

Jefferson as secretary of state called his attention to the "inexecution" of the article in the Peace Treaty for the surrender of the western posts. In return Hammond stressed the American failure to make possible the collection of British debts and the redress of Loyalist claims.³⁹ It was soon evident that behind this diplomatic sparring was a grim determination on each side to uphold its own particular interests. Memorials from Montreal merchants trading with the western country excitedly declared that the surrender of the western posts would be fatal to the growing prosperity of Canada.⁴⁰ On the other hand, it was plain that the Americans had no intention of fulfilling their obligations under the Peace Treaty. In this impasse Hammond revived the plan which had been brought forward during the negotiation of the Peace Treaty, to create a neutral Indian territory between the British and the Americans, in which neither nation would be permitted to hold land, yet both would have equal trading rights.⁴¹ But he soon became convinced that American public opinion would not permit any outright territorial concessions, and would in any case demand an "ascendancy" over the Indians. The utmost concession apparently would be provision for the free entrance of British traders into the Indian country, with reciprocal arrangements for Americans in Canada, and this only if Great Britain would surrender the western posts.

With a neutral Indian territory definitely out of the picture, the problem of a definite boundary between the American lands, and those assigned the Indians was a pressing one which received much attention from British officials.⁴² Apparently inspired by McKee, the Indians had proposed a line up the Muskingum, across to the Cuyahoga, and then to Venango. This boundary, commonly known as the Muskingum-Cuyahoga-Venango line, would have saved British control of Lake Erie. Dorchester favored it, and

³⁹ F. O., 4.11.

⁴⁰ C. O., 42.316.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 42.89, 316; F. O., 4.15, 16.

⁴² C. O., 42.83, 88, 96, 316; F. O., 4.11.

Brant insisted upon it, but the Americans persistently demanded the line agreed upon in the Treaty of Fort Harmar. After St. Clair's defeat efforts spurred on by British officialdom continued to be made to fix a new boundary, and one individual, evidently a Canadian fur trader, even proposed the Ohio River as the line of demarcation. A number of Montreal merchants favored the Muskingum-Cuyahoga-Venango line, or if that proved impossible, the Maumee-Wabash or even the Chicago-Illinois line. From another angle, an army officer pointed out that with the existing boundary Upper Canada would always be open to invasion, and Great Britain should demand a new one before the United States became too powerful.

These proposals for a neutral Indian state and adjustment of the boundary line were mere incidents in the general British policy in the Ohio country. The authorities in London would not permit open war with the United States in aid of the Indians, but at the same time British traders and agents were continually trying to win the favor of the Ohio tribes.⁴³ These rather opposing points of view placed the Canadian officials in a position which grew increasingly more difficult. Posing as protectors of the Indians, they must avoid the open assistance which would provoke American hostility, yet at the same time they must retain the friendship of the Indians. The difficulty in upholding so contradictory a policy, was forcibly shown soon after Dorchester arrived in Quebec, when he issued orders that the Indians must be made to understand that the Canadian authorities did not have the power to start a war in their behalf. At the same time they should have strong assurances of British friendship, and should be sent away "warmly clothed," and "bountifully supplied." As a natural outcome of this two-sided policy, there were persistent British efforts to secure a lasting peace, a move in which they were supported by an influential element in the United States.⁴⁴ With the amazing growth of the Ohio settlements, however, and the con-

⁴³ Additional MSS., 21,868, 21,881; C. O., 42.46, 50.

⁴⁴ F. O., 4.11, 12; C. O., 42.73, 83.

tinued Indian raids, American public opinion overwhelmingly insisted upon the use of military force against the Indians, and Dorchester's efforts to prevent St. Clair's expedition were fruitless. The coming of Hammond, coinciding approximately with St. Clair's defeat, seemed to present an exceptionally favorable opportunity to secure peace between the Indians and the Americans. In a confidential conversation with Alexander Hamilton, Hammond was told that the United States had no intention of extending its territories beyond the boundaries guaranteed in the Peace Treaty, and if British intervention could induce the Indians to fulfill their obligations, the Americans would be grateful.

The role of mediation proved to be an increasingly difficult one, for the Indians naturally looked to their friends, the British, for actual aid at critical moments, rather than mere professions of friendship.⁴⁵ Shortly after the Peace Treaty was signed, official British representations had been made to the Six Nations and to the western Indians that if they would not accept reasonable terms from the Americans, their only recourse was to settle in Canada. In any case they must understand that the British would not take their part in a quarrel with the Americans for fear it might lead to a general war. Yet at the same time the too zealous traders and agents were representing the British role as that of protectors of the Indians. When rumors of American attacks began to run through the Ohio forests, the Canadian officials were obliged to weigh the "expediency" of giving the Indians open aid, or of supplying them with ammunition and other necessaries "in a private manner." In short, the London officials were unwilling to sanction "open and avowed assistance," yet neither did they care to abandon the Indians to the "mercy" of the Americans. To their subordinates in Canada they delegated the difficult task of judging what assistance, short of open war, should be given in any particular instance.

This middle-of-the-road policy became increasingly difficult.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Additional MSS., 21,723, 21,783; C. O., 42-48, 49, 87.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 42.65, 83, 90, 317.

In the spring of 1789 Indian delegations, chiefly Miamis, came to Detroit to present the war pipe to the commanding officer, but for the time being an actual showdown was avoided. The erection of Fort Washington and the subsequent expeditions against the Miamis made the British position still more difficult. At a conference with Dorchester at Quebec in August, 1791, chiefs of the Delaware, Shawnee, Miami and other western tribes, and of the Six Nations pointed out that their utmost concession would be the Muskingum-Cuyahoga-Venango boundary. In the Revolution they had aided the King against the United States, and they could not understand the American assertion that he had handed over the Indian country to them. The Indians were anxious, therefore, to know exactly what assistance they could expect in case the Americans attacked them. Evading a direct answer, Dorchester assured the chiefs of British friendship, but urged them to come to an understanding with the Americans. By 1792 Brant was bluntly declaring that the Indians must take immediate steps to defend themselves, and if Great Britain intended to aid them she must say so in "plain language." To make matters worse, the increasing lack of confidence in British promises was having its effect upon the fur trade. But the Canadian officials did not dare risk war with the United States, and Simcoe gave the Indians what assistance he dared without open violation of the principles of neutrality. The Indians even dared bring into the British posts pictures and emblems, "at once scurrilous and disrespectful," representing the ascendancy the Americans had gained. Finally, the British took a decisive step in Indian eyes when, alarmed at Wayne's approach, Dorchester ordered the restoration of the abandoned fort at Maumee Rapids where McKee maintained an important trading post,⁴⁷ claiming that it was within the area in their possession ever since the Peace Treaty. Washington, greatly aroused, sent a special message to Congress regarding this "encroachment," and hinted that war might be the outcome. But to the Indians the restored fort at Maumee Rapids was proof positive

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 42-98, 99, 100; W. O., 1.14; *Annals of Cong.*, 3 Cong., 1 Sess., 713.

of the active British assistance for which they had waited so long.

The British role of protector of the Indians naturally had its repercussions in the United States, where there were many rumors that their agents had played a leading part in stirring up Indian hostility. St. Clair, too, complained that the posts at Detroit and Mackinaw were really responsible for the many outrages in the Ohio Valley. Dorchester indignantly denied such "insinuations," and apparently with sincerity, in view of the positive orders he had given to restrain the Indians. William Wyndham, Baron Grenville, likewise, denied a similar charge "to the utmost extent," giving warning at the same time that Great Britain would not look with indifference upon the "total extirpation" of the Indians.⁴⁸ Soon there were reports that British agents were actually supplying the Indians with the arms which they used in attacking the American frontiersmen. Finally, when in the course of a debate in Congress the British were openly accused of giving aid to the Indians, Hammond complained officially, denying the charge in the "most equivocal fashion." Jefferson, in his reply, reminded Hammond that public criticism should not be taken too seriously, but he significantly pointed out that a "due execution" of the Peace Treaty, including of course the surrender of the western posts, would remove the basis for such accusations.⁴⁹

Mere British denials did not suffice in face of the many stories current on the American frontier, and especially those which came from American prisoners who had been captured by the Indians and had later been released. A typical account which had wide circulation in the western country was the narrative of Thomas Rhea, who was captured on the Pennsylvania frontier May 5, 1791, and taken to the Maumee Rapids. Here, Rhea testified, he saw McKee, the well-known British trader, give out arms, ammunition, clothing and provisions destined for the Indian forces which had assembled at the Miami towns to await an expected American attack. Rhea was purchased by a British officer and

⁴⁸ C. O., 42.50, 61, 67, 83; F. O., 4.12.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.14.

taken to Detroit, then to Fort Erie, was released, and finally returned to Pittsburgh June 30. During these travels of not quite two months, he heard many threats against the Americans, notably at Maumee Rapids and Detroit, and he had seen many evidences that McKee, Elliott and Girty were leading Indian war parties. He had also seen much ammunition and other military supplies destined for the Indians. Sir George Beckwith, then British representative in the United States, denounced Rhea's affidavit as "diametrically opposed" to his own communications with Dorchester, and "totally devoid of truth."⁵⁰ Nevertheless, it was generally accepted by the American people, and the western settlers in particular.

On the other hand, British officials strenuously denied these wide-spread accusations in the United States that they were stirring up the Indians. One valiant defender of British activities insisted that many of the reports regarding the undercover activities of traders were the result of French "machinations." He declared that the British had not given presents to the Indians from hostile motives at the time of Harmar's campaign, and that no officer of the Indian Department would dare act "so opposite to his instructions," in view of the positive orders, in effect since Lord Dorchester arrived, to preserve peace on all occasions. But such denials failed to convince American public opinion and by the late summer of 1792, Simcoe was certain that there was no possibility that Great Britain could mediate between the Indians and the United States.⁵¹ Dorchester and the higher British officials were probably sincere in their protests that they had used their influence in the interest of peace, and had not themselves ordered military supplies sent to the Indians for use against the Americans. This conclusion is supported by the files of official correspondence, much of it confidential, of General Frederick Haldimand, Dorchester and Simcoe, the responsible Canadian officials at this

⁵⁰ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 196-7; F. O., 4.112.

⁵¹ C. O., 42.73, 92; F. O., 4.11.

time.⁵² Furthermore, the instructions to Hammond show that the British officials in London were anxious to restrain the Indians. Hammond himself, in the most positive fashion, denied insinuations that Dorchester had "encouraged" Indian hostility, citing as proof the British Government's "strong commercial and political interest" in peace. But in spite of these official declarations it must be acknowledged that the responsible Canadian authorities had not adequately restrained such zealous subordinates as McKee and other British agents, while the very retention of the western posts was bound to influence Indians who were naturally hostile to the advancing American settlements. Indeed, strict neutrality was almost impossible for the British, however strong the official desire, and with the approach of Anthony Wayne's army it was clear that the Canadian authorities must exercise the utmost vigilance to avoid any acts which might arouse American suspicions.

Meanwhile, public opinion in the United States was demanding with increasing warmth a really effective attack which would convince the hostile Indians that they could not "with impunity" continue their outrages against the inhabitants of the American frontier.⁵³ But even while careful preparations were being made for such an expedition, last-minute efforts were put forth for a peaceful settlement, in the spring of 1792, and the American Government sent several messengers to the hostile Indians.⁵⁴ One of them, Captain Alexander Trueman of the regular army, left Fort Washington May 22 bound for the Miami villages, but he was murdered on the way. Another messenger, Colonel John Hardin, who left for Sandusky the same day, met a similar fate. The one American emissary who finally reached the hostile tribes was General Rufus Putnam, and his extensive dealing with Indians now stood him in good stead. According to his instructions, Putnam was to attend an Indian council which, it was reported,

⁵² Additional MSS., Haldimand Papers, 21,723, 21,724, 21,735-7, 21,783, 21,868, 21,881; C. O., 42, *passim*; F. O., 4, *passim*; Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe Papers*, I-V, *passim*.

⁵³ Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, II, 359-66.

⁵⁴ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 229-30, 234-5, 538.

would be held on the Maumee during the summer. There he was to insist upon the boundary line in the treaties of Fort Harmar and Fort Finney, offering if necessary additional compensation for the lands which had been taken over. To the Wabash Valley Indians, who so far had refused to hold a council with the Americans, he should give assurance that an equitable boundary line could still be arranged. Above all, these instructions directed Putnam to point out that the American desire for peace was sincere, and did not come from fear, as a comparison of the strength and resources of the United States and the Indians would show. Putnam left Marietta June 26, but from reports he received at Fort Washington he wisely concluded not to attempt the journey to the Maumee. As it was extremely doubtful if he could persuade the hostile chiefs to meet him at Fort Washington, he finally determined to go to Fort Knox at Vincennes. There he signed a treaty with 31 chiefs, which merely guaranteed the Indian lands in general terms, without naming a definite boundary, and stated that the Indians were under American protection. The vast majority of the western tribes repudiated the treaty, and the Senate refused to ratify it, so that Putnam's mission was a mere hopeless gesture.

The Indian council which Putnam had originally been instructed to attend met at the junction of the Auglaize and the Maumee where Wayne was soon to build Fort Defiance. Seemingly Brant's dream of a strong Indian confederation had come true, for representatives were present from the Six Nations, from all the important western tribes, from the Canadian tribes, and from two southern tribes, the Creeks and the Cherokees. Again the Ohio Indians insisted that inasmuch as they had taken part in the Revolution as the allies of England, the King did not have the right to hand over their lands to the United States in the Peace Treaty. Doubtless still elated over St. Clair's defeat, they insisted upon the Ohio as a boundary line, but the more realistic representatives of the Six Nations finally persuaded them to propose a conference with the Americans at Sandusky in the spring

of 1793. Throughout these proceedings it was evident that the Indians expected Simcoe to mediate between them and the Americans.⁵⁵

Anxious to make one final move for peace, March 1, 1793, Washington appointed Benjamin Lincoln, Timothy Pickering and Beverly Randolph as commissioners to meet the Indians at Sandusky.⁵⁶ Their detailed instructions, like those to Putnam, upheld the boundary line in the Treaty of Fort Harmar, but offered to relinquish the reservations within the Indian country for trading posts, except for the western posts which the British still held. In addition, wherever possible the United States would surrender the land between the grants already made and the Fort Harmar boundary line. The offer of additional compensation for Indian lands was repeated. As for the region north of the Ohio and west of the Miami, the commissioners were unrestricted in their commitments, but a definite boundary line was proposed as a desirable goal. Evidently the American Government was not optimistic, for the commissioners were directed to keep in touch with Wayne who was then preparing for his campaign, and to conclude the negotiations by August 1. Meanwhile all offensive movements north of the Ohio would be suspended. While the negotiations were to be undertaken openly with the cooperation of Simcoe, and British agents might be present, no one not specially authorized by the United States would be allowed to take an active part in the proceedings. By May, 1793, the commissioners had all arrived at Niagara on their way westward.⁵⁷ Outwardly they were in harmony with the British officials, but beneath the surface there were many mutual suspicions. Simcoe feared that the true American purpose was to "seduce" the Indians from the British alliance, nor did he believe the Americans would offer "equitable" proposals. Rather he suspected the conference was intended merely

⁵⁵ C. O., 42.317; Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe Papers*, I, 227, 229; *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 323-4.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 340-2.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 342-60; J. R. Albach, *Annals of the West* (Pittsburgh, 1857), 612-31; C. O., 42.93, 96, 97, 317; F. O., 5.1.

“to adjust the ceremonial of the destruction and predetermined extirpation” of the Indians. The three American commissioners, for their part, were on their guard, chiefly no doubt because the Indians, apparently after considerable prompting, had proposed that Simcoe should attend the conference. But Hammond found that the United States would not accept open British mediation, and Simcoe decided he did not care to go as a mere unofficial observer. The incident, however, left its sting with both Americans and British.

Whatever his private views, Simcoe treated the commissioners with utmost courtesy, making preparations for their voyage through Lake Erie and detailing several army officers to accompany them, together with John Butler and Alexander McKee, two British agents of many years' standing among the Indians. To them Simcoe pointed out that their mission was to induce the Indians to accept the American offers, if they were consistent with the safety of the tribes, and to reject them if they were injurious. In view of American suspicions he advised them to communicate privately with the Indian chiefs, and whatever the outcome of the conference, they should see that the American commissioners returned in safety. Head winds detained the commissioners at Niagara, and July 7 a deputation of Indians, headed by Brant, arrived from the council then sitting at the Maumee. When these Indian representatives bitterly complained of the warlike preparations under Wayne, the commissioners assured them that peace would be maintained during the negotiations. They satisfied the Indians that they had full power to adjust the disputed boundary line. The Indian deputation claimed that already representatives had assembled at the Maumee Rapids, from the Six Nations, the Delawares, the Wyandots, the Miamis, and many other western and southern tribes. But when the commissioners arrived at the mouth of the Detroit River, July 21, they were not allowed to go nearer the council place.

Actually serious dissensions had broken out among the Indians. The Six Nations under the leadership of Brant, advised the west-

ern tribes to accept the Muskingum-Cuyahoga-Venango boundary, and in this stand they were strongly supported by McKee. But the Ohio Indians, aroused by the increasing American settlement north of the river and the warlike preparations which were being made, insisted upon the impossible Ohio line. According to British reports the Americans took full advantage of these dissensions, sending numerous "emissaries" to divide the Indians still further. The chiefs of the western tribes doggedly maintained their position, and evidently looked to the British for active aid in obtaining their "just rights," the Ohio boundary line. To them the reconstruction of the British fort at the Maumee Rapids appeared to be a sure pledge of good faith. August 17 the three commissioners, recognizing that the situation was hopeless, left the mouth of the Detroit River, and a few days later they despatched messengers to Wayne to inform him that the last hope for peace with the Indians had vanished.

Practically ever since St. Clair's defeat, preparations had been going ahead for the decisive blow against the Indians which popular opinion in the United States was demanding. Thoroughly aroused over the situation, Washington sent Congress a special message, December 12, 1791, with news of St. Clair's defeat. A month later he sent another message urging legislation to authorize an adequate force on the western frontiers. Finally Congress passed an act, signed March 5, 1792, which provided that the battalion of artillery and two regiments then in the Federal service should be filled up, and that three additional regiments should be enlisted for three years, or until the termination of the Indian war. At his discretion the President might employ auxiliary forces of cavalry and Indians.⁵⁸ This act ensured a strong force, and one which was enlisted for sufficient time to permit adequate training, in contrast to the six months' levies and the undependable militia which had been St. Clair's main army. The officers in charge, relieved from pressure to organize the expedition in an impossibly

⁵⁸ *Annals of Cong.*, 2 Cong., 1 Sess., 64, 242, 1343-6; *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 197-9.

brief time, could plan in far more efficient fashion. Washington promptly galvanized the act for an enlarged army into action when he appointed Wayne commander-in-chief, because he "appeared most eligible" for the task.⁵⁹ Wayne, the hero of Stony Point, had a brilliant Revolutionary record. Dashing and somewhat reckless, actually he was an excellent disciplinarian, a careful and able leader, and a courageous soldier. With characteristic energy he proceeded to Pittsburgh. There he received recruits and trained his army until December, 1792, when he moved to a camp, Legionville, about twenty-two miles down the Ohio. Here Wayne was busy, drilling his men and making preparations for his campaign until April 30, 1793, when he descended the Ohio to Cincinnati, and established a base camp at Hobson's Choice near Fort Washington.

Early in the fall the peace commissioners to the western Indians notified Wayne of the breakdown in their negotiations. Just at this time his army had been debilitated by fevers and other disorders, especially by a malady "called the influenza," so that he could not count upon more than 2,600 effective troops, in addition to about 360 mounted volunteers from Kentucky and 36 guides and spies. Nevertheless, fearing that the Indians, driven by desperation, might attack the American settlements, Wayne decided to push forward, even though it



21. ANTHONY WAYNE

From portrait by Trumbull in Washington Irving's *Life of Washington*, edition 1859, reproduced in R. R. Jones, *Fort Washington at Cincinnati, Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1902), facing p. 42. Courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons and the Ohio Society of Colonial Wars.

⁵⁹ W. C. Ford, ed., *Writings of George Washington* (New York and London, 1889-93), XII, 142.

was so late in the season.⁶⁰ October 7, 1793, he led his army northward, and by October 13 he had reached a strong position six miles beyond Fort Jefferson. Here he went into winter quarters, establishing Fort Greenville. Altogether, by December, 1793, his troops numbered 3,229, including the garrisons left behind in the posts at his rear: Fort Washington, Fort Hamilton, Fort Jefferson, and Fort St. Clair which, erected in the winter of 1791-1792 near present day Eaton, had already proved its worth in protecting the convoys to more advanced posts.⁶¹ One more post, Fort Recovery on St. Clair's battlefield, marked a menacing advance toward the Indian country.

The progress of Wayne's army greatly alarmed the British representatives in America.⁶² Hammond, still minister to the United States, considered Wayne "the most active, vigilant and enterprising officer in the American service," although he questioned his "more solid qualities." In his opinion, the American Government would not take the initiative in seizing the western posts, but it would doubtless join in the "popular approbation," if the army should make so rash a move. The reportedly large force with Wayne was another source of Canadian alarm. Rumor had it that under him were 3,000 regular soldiers, 2,000 militia and 200 Indians, and the prospect of collecting an adequate force to meet him was dismal indeed, in view of the collapse of the Indian council at the Maumee Rapids. As Wayne marched northward unhindered, there was a "universal concurrence" in Canadian official circles that the United States was determined to wrest the western posts from Great Britain, and that many Americans even expected to conquer Canada.⁶³ Dorchester, aroused over the weak military situation and the fickleness of the Indian tribes, recklessly hinted that the British would aid them if necessary, and the re-establishment of the fort at Maumee Rapids was, in Indian eyes,

⁶⁰ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 360-1.

⁶¹ R. E. Lowry, *History of Preble County, Ohio* (Indianapolis, 1915), 106-11.

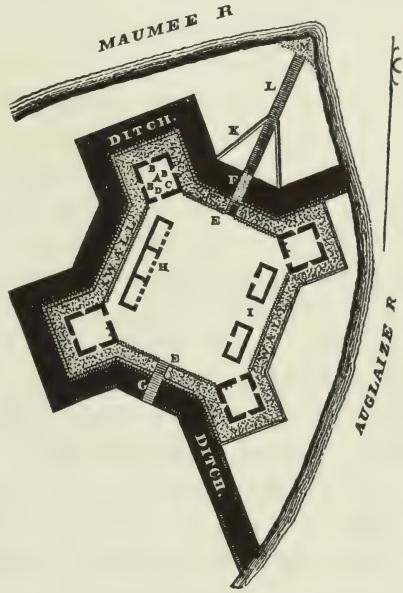
⁶² F. O., 4.14; C. O., 42.98, 316.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 42.317, 318; Adams Transcripts (in Library of Congress), Hammond 1794-1795; Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 38-41; Cruikshank, ed., *Simcoe Papers*, II, 300.

proof positive that the long promised active military aid would be forthcoming. But the London authorities soon intervened. John Jay landed in England, June 12, 1794, and both Dorchester and Simcoe were pointedly reminded that during the negotiations with him the *status quo* must be maintained. Furthermore, they were told, the western posts were only "temporary objects," and would probably be evacuated, once a treaty had been agreed upon.

Divided as they were, the Indians were ill prepared to meet Wayne's advancing force, and they collected very slowly.⁶⁴ Their one possible chance was to cut off his rear line of communication. Neglecting this opportunity the Indians attacked Fort Recovery, the most advanced American post, but they were compelled to retreat. From the available information Wayne estimated the Indian force opposed to him at

1,500 to 2,000, not counting their British auxiliaries. Wayne was joined by some 1,600 mounted Kentucky volunteers, and July 28 his army began its inexorable advance from Fort Greenville. August 8 it had reached the junction of the Maumee and the Auglaize, and here Wayne established Fort Defiance as an exceptionally strong post. From here he made one final appeal to the Indians to send their representatives to meet him and agree upon a lasting peace. With an unmistakable reference to the British fort at Maumee Rapids, he warned them not to be led astray by the "false



22. PLAN OF FORT DEFIANCE
From the *American Pioneer* (Cincinnati), vol. II (1843), p. 386.

⁶⁴ C. O., 42.99, 318; W. O., 1.14; *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 487-8, 490; *American Pioneer* (Cincinnati, 1842-3), II, 387; Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 44-5.

promises" of "bad white men," who had "neither the power nor the inclination to protect you." The Indians in reply asked for a ten days' delay, and Wayne resolutely pushed on. Panic-stricken, the Indian chiefs sought British aid, but again they were put off with vague and misleading promises. Their supply of provisions was scarce, and only with the greatest difficulty was McKee able to hold them together to meet Wayne's advancing force.

August 20 Wayne caught up with the main body of Indians, in an open space covered with fallen timber. This time the Indians faced disciplined troops, rather than raw militia. Wayne's first line easily overwhelmed their front rank which was stretched out for about two miles. In the battle the Americans lost only 33 men killed and 100 wounded, while the Indian loss was twice as large, and their forces were completely demoralized. Wayne and his army encamped on the battlefield for three days, destroying cabins and cornfields, both above the British fort and lower down the Maumee, and not neglecting the extensive trading post of the renegade, McKee, who had witnessed the struggle "at a respectful distance." October 27 the victorious army returned to Fort Defiance, after having forcibly demonstrated the American military power to the Indians.⁶⁵

This Battle of Fallen Timbers had an important sequel, so far as the relations between the Indians and the British were concerned. In the fort at the Maumee Rapids there was a British force of some 400 officers and men with an abundant supply of arms and ammunition. Yet the commander, Major William Campbell, held his men within the stockade, even when the American army was destroying Indian property under his very guns. Nor did he dare open the gates to give refuge to the fleeing Indians. There was, to be sure, a heated exchange of notes between the two leaders, in the course of which Campbell curtly demanded an explanation of the presence of an American force so close to a British fort. In equally bold language Wayne requested the withdrawal of Campbell and his forces from American soil. Obviously the

⁶⁵ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs, I, 491-4.*

British commander had been held back only by his positive instructions not to take the initiative in what might easily have become an open conflict with the Americans.

Wayne, likewise, not wishing to risk open conflict, withdrew to Fort Defiance, and then marched up the Maumee Valley to the Miami villages which had for so long been a center of disturbance. After constructing a stockade there, which was fittingly christened Fort Wayne, Wayne returned to his headquarters at Fort Greenville. Meantime he cleverly took advantage of the situation to impress upon the Indians the hopelessness of seeking British aid.⁶⁶ In the most public fashion he called attention to the fact that in spite of the wide-spread destruction of Indian property under the very British guns at the Maumee Rapids, the garrison had not dared come out and support their supposed Indian allies. Also, through a number of agents, chiefly traders and French *habitants* in Detroit, Wayne spread a report among the Indians that they could not expect actual aid from the English. In face of this American propaganda the British were helpless. Simcoe strove valiantly to keep up the Indian courage, and McKee took pains to supply with provisions a considerable force which was encamped on the Maumee. Finally, several representative Indian chiefs asked outright for the military supplies and equipment for which they had waited eleven years. But Simcoe, not daring to go so far in view of his instructions, could give merely vague promises of mediation between the Indians and the Americans.

The Indians, led by the Wyandots living near Sandusky, now came to Wayne in order to find out his terms of peace.⁶⁷ November 4, he announced that the Treaty of Fort Harmar, which had been founded upon "principles of justice and equity," must be the basis for a permanent peace. The crestfallen Indians finally came to Greenville for negotiations which began June 16 and ended August 10, 1795. The conference was thoroughly representative, including delegations from the Wyandots, the Dela-

⁶⁶ C. O., 42.101, 318, 319; Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 48ff.

⁶⁷ *Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 528, 564-83.

wares, the Shawnees, and the Ottawas, as well as the Miamis and the chief Wabash Valley tribes. Wayne called their attention to the terms of the Peace Treaty, by which the British had surrendered the territory south of the Great Lakes at the end of a "long and bloody war," because the French and the Americans had proved too strong for them. He read them the first two articles of Jay's Treaty, in which the British had agreed to surrender all the western posts within the American boundary line by June 1, 1796. Convinced at length that the British had forsaken them, August 3, 1795, the Indians signed the Treaty of Greenville.⁶⁸ Its most important article fixed a definite boundary line between the Indians and the Americans. Running up the Cuyahoga River from its mouth, it followed the line of the Treaty of Fort Harmar to the portage of the Tuscarawas, then to the forks above Fort Laurens. There this new boundary line deviated somewhat from the former one, running across to Loramie's Store on a branch of the Miami, then to Fort Recovery, and from there in a direct line to the north bank of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Kentucky. Like the Treaty of Fort Harmar, the Treaty of Greenville reserved strategic sites in the Indian country for posts and for roads. Moreover, it promised to pay the tribes which had complained of the former payments an additional \$20,000 and \$9,500 in annuities, the total amount to be distributed in goods. Additional clauses provided for trade between the Indians and the Americans.

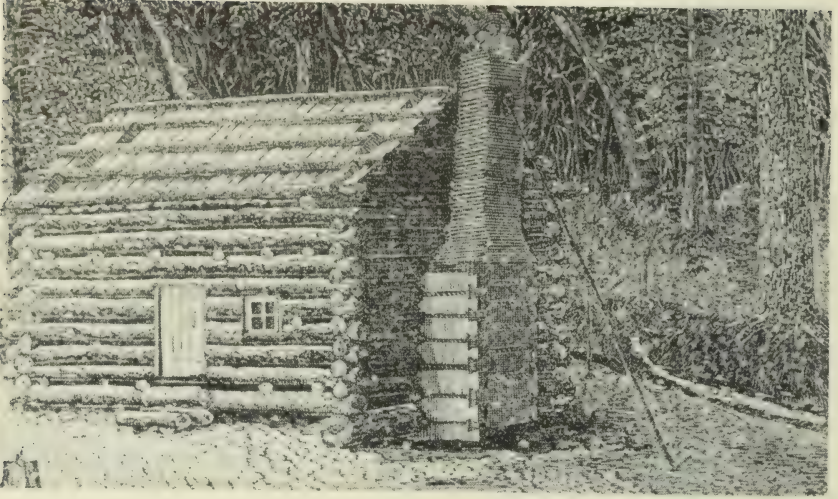
This treaty really settled the Indian problem in the Ohio country. The boundary line left them only a comparatively small strip, running west from the Cuyahoga, between a line veering southward from the Geographer's Line, and Lake Erie and the southern boundary of Michigan. Wayne's carefully planned campaign, followed by the surrender of the western posts, had shattered the British prestige, and the rapidly increasing tide of settlers could now go into the Western Reserve and up the tributaries of the Ohio into the interior without fear of Indian raids.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 562-3.

The Spread of Settlement

BESIDES giving the signal for the spread of settlement into the interior, the Treaty of Greenville radically changed the pattern of rural life. So far the Ohio frontiersmen, like the pioneers of New England, had settled in groups with in-lots and out-lots for mutual protection. Now, with the Indians overwhelmed, the situation was completely changed, and the greater part of the Ohio country became safe for the owners of isolated farms. In the first rush immigrants naturally turned to the Virginia Military Tract, the Miami Purchase and the Ohio Company grant which private owners had already opened up. As the survey of the Seven Ranges progressed, public lands became available in that area, and more favorable land laws soon threw open to settlement large additional areas of public lands. Lastly, the many fertile tracts in Connecticut's Western Reserve still further increased the supply of available lands, holding down the prices demanded by private landholders who so often were mere speculators. Thus, with an abundant supply of land and marked improvements in transportation to make it available, an ever increasing throng of immigrants sought the interior of the Ohio country.

An especially important phase of this expansion of settlement took place in the Virginia Military Tract. From his headquarters at Manchester, Nathaniel Massie, the practical pioneer in this region, had continued his surveys and explorations, pushing ahead in spite of the constant menace of Indian attacks and the many seasonal problems. His enthusiastic interest had been aroused by the many possibilities of a settlement on the rich bottom lands at the junction of the Scioto and Paint Creek, and after Wayne's victory, even this region in the very heart of the Shawnee country appeared to be safe. Late in 1794 Reverend Robert W. Finley, a



23. PIONEER CABIN

From the *American Pioneer* (Cincinnati), vol. II (1843), p. 434.

Presbyterian minister of Bourbon County, Kentucky, wrote asking for information regarding these lands, evidently hoping for a considerable tract upon which the two congregations which he served could settle.¹ In response, Massie promptly led a surveying party across country to the Little Miami, and up to the headwaters of Caesar's Creek and Paint Creek. But the deep snows and unexpected Indian threats forced him to return to Manchester. By the spring of 1795, conditions seemed much more favorable for establishing a settlement at the junction of the Scioto and Paint Creek. With General Anthony Wayne at Fort Greenville dictating peace terms to the crestfallen chiefs, there seemed little danger of Indian attacks, and many of the Kentucky settlers were favorably inclined toward emigration into the Virginia Military Tract. The wide-spread speculation in lands in Kentucky had brought much confusion in titles. Many settlers had been com-

¹J. B. Finley, *Autobiography* (Cincinnati, 1858), 100; John McDonald, *Biographical Sketches* (Cincinnati, 1838), 46-51.

pelled to pay two or three times over for their lands, and others had been turned out of the homes they had labored so hard to establish. Disgusted, they turned to the fertile lands north of the Ohio where prices were low, and titles secure. Other Kentuckians, including Finley, were influenced by the antislavery clause of the Ordinance, since they wished to move into a region where slavery was banned.²

Finally Massie left Manchester again in the spring of 1795, this time accompanied by a company of 40 which included Finley and several members of his congregation. The main object of this second expedition apparently was to choose a site in the Scioto Valley for the proposed settlement by the Kentuckians. But after a skirmish with a band of hostile Shawnees on Paint Creek, Massie wisely decided to return to Manchester.³ Early in March, 1796, another party assembled at Manchester, with definite plans for a settlement somewhere near the junction of the Scioto River and Paint Creek.⁴ One division, going by water, took along farming implements and other articles needed for a permanent settlement, the others followed the Indian trail through the forest. The two parties met at "Station Prairie" on the Scioto, about three miles south of present-day Chillicothe. There they ploughed up 300 acres, planting corn, and securing an abundant crop the first season. Massie, meanwhile, with characteristic thoroughness was making extensive preparations for his new settlement in the rich valley between the Scioto and Paint Creek, where the remarkably large crops of hickory nuts presented an abundant proof of the fertility of the land. Following the usual custom Massie laid off his new town site in 287 in-lots, each 102 feet in front by 204 feet deep, and 169 out-lots of four acres each. The streets as he planned them were exceptionally wide, two of them 102 feet, the others either 66 or 82½ feet. Just as at Manchester, he offered 100 in-lots and out-lots as donation lots, free to the first settlers. Massie

² Finley, *Autobiography*, 99-100, 110-1.

³ *Ibid.*, 100-2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 102-3; McDonald, *Sketches*, 60-4.

also offered outlying tracts of 100 and 200 acres at low prices and with easy terms of payment, including fine bottom land at \$1.00 and \$2.00 per acre. These liberal terms soon attracted settlers to the new settlement, which Massie fittingly called Chillicothe, since it was situated in the very heart of the Shawnee country.⁵ By the winter of 1796 it boasted several stores, taverns and shops for mechanics, and had made considerable progress in the ways of civilization.

Farther up the Scioto, Lucas Sullivant, another Virginian whom Colonel Richard Clough Anderson had appointed deputy surveyor, had been greatly hindered in his work of survey and exploration by the serious Indian menace in the northern section of the Virginia Military Tract which was his particular field. This situation had continued after Wayne's victory, and had forced the retreat of a party which Sullivant led in the spring of 1795 to survey along the headwaters of Deer Creek. Upon a later expedition Sullivant established headquarters upon a site favored by the Indians for their temporary villages, at the junction of the Scioto and the Whetstone, the latter to be known later as the Olentangy. There, on a navigable stream in the midst of rich valley lands, Sullivant was determined to found a new settlement in the central section of the Ohio country.⁶ Like Massie, Sullivant acted as agent for several owners of Virginia military warrants, and had picked up a number of them on his own account. Using these land claims for his speculative venture, he laid out his new town on the west bank of the Scioto, naming it Franklinton in honor of Benjamin Franklin. In the usual fashion he divided the town site into in-lots and out-lots, offering donation lots free to the first settlers. In the fall of 1797, at least one family came to

⁵ In the Shawnee tongue Chillicothe signified a council place, hence a town, and a number of sites in early Ohio were given this name, among them: the Indian town on the site of Piqua, "Old Chillicothe" three miles north of Xenia, another "Old Chillicothe" two miles south of Circleville, and two early settlements of minor importance. With the gradual disappearance of these settlements the confusion in the name, Chillicothe, of course disappeared. See R. W. McFarland, "The Chillicothes," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XI (1902), 230-1.

⁶ Alfred E. Lee, *History of the City of Columbus* (New York and Chicago, 1892), I, 135-40, 149.

this outpost in central Ohio, and in the following spring a number of other immigrants settled at Franklinton, most of them from Kentucky, with a few from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. In 1798 a small store was opened, and Franklinton became an important center from which settlers spread through the northern section of the Virginia Military Tract, just as they had gone into the southern area from Manchester, and into the central region from Chillicothe. Sullivant's foresight in the location of his new settlement was pointedly supported in 1812, when the legislature located the permanent capital of Ohio on the plateau across the Scioto from Franklinton.

The expansion of settlement in the Virginia Military Tract, after the Treaty of Greenville had put an end to the Indian danger, was duplicated across the Little Miami in the Miami Purchase. Judge Symmes testified that after Wayne's victory the cabins in Cincinnati were deserted "by dozens in a street."⁷ This migration naturally followed to a large extent the course of the Miami, the one navigable waterway which led to the hinterland. Especially rapid was the growth of the little settlement which had sprung up under the protection of Fort Hamilton.⁸ As early as 1794 Israel Ludlow had surveyed much of the land around the fort, and realizing its possibilities he bought it himself in the summer of 1795 and laid out the town of Hamilton. After Wayne ordered Fort Hamilton dismantled, a number of the discharged soldiers remained as permanent settlers, other inhabitants moved in, a general store was opened in the spring of 1796, and a ferry was inaugurated across the Miami. In a short time Hamilton was the prosperous trading center of a rich agricultural region.

To the northward up the Miami Valley from Hamilton, lay a fertile region which the Shawnees had used chiefly as a hunting

⁷ B. W. Bond, Jr., ed., *Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes* (New York, 1926), 172.

⁸ S. D. Cone, *Biographical and Historical Sketches; a Narrative of Hamilton and Its Residents* (Hamilton, O., 1896), 5-7; Western Biographical Pub. Co., pub., *History and Biographical Cyclopedia of Butler County, Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1882), 4-7, 19; W. C. Miller, "History of Fort Hamilton," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, XIII (1904), 97-111.

ground. Its natural center, at the junction of the Miami and the Mad River, was an ideal site for a town which would command the Miami-Maumee trade route to the north, as well as the rich Mad River Valley.⁹ Already Clark's Revolutionary expeditions into this section of the Ohio country had revealed the strategic importance of this site, and in 1789 Benjamin Stites, John Stites Gano and William Goforth agreed to purchase the land from John Cleves Symmes who claimed it. They proposed to found a settlement, Venice, at the mouth of Mad River which in classic fashion they dubbed the Tiber, but due to Indian outbreaks their plans did not progress beyond a plat on paper, with two principal streets crossing at right angles. The desirability of a settlement at the junction of the Miami and Mad rivers was not lost sight of. Seventeen days after the signing of the Treaty of Greenville, three men of great local influence, Governor Arthur St. Clair, Jonathan Dayton and Israel Ludlow, agreed to purchase from Symmes the seventh and eighth ranges of townships between Mad River and the Little Miami. In September, 1795, they sent out a surveying party to mark out a wagon road through the brush, from Hamilton to the mouth of Mad River. At this latter site, Israel Ludlow laid out a town which he called Dayton in honor of Jonathan Dayton. November 1, at a lottery of donation lots in the new town, the prospective first settlers received each an in-lot and an out-lot, with the privilege of purchasing an additional quarter section at approximately \$1.13 an acre. Already an advance guard of settlers had begun to move up the Miami Valley.¹⁰ Two or three of them had come to the site of the new town of Dayton, others were between Hamilton and Hole's Station, now Miamisburg, and a few stragglers had found their way as far up the Miami as the Indian town of Pickawillany, while others had gone into the Mad River Valley. This nucleus of population was of great importance in

⁹ R. W. and M. D. Steele, *Early Dayton* (Dayton, O., 1896), 20-8, 63; C. R. Conover, *Dayton and Montgomery County [Ohio] Resources and People* (New York, 1932), I, 10-3; B. W. Bond, Jr., ed., "Memoirs of Benjamin Van Cleve," *H. & P. S. of O., Quar. Pub.*, XVII, 16-8.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 58-9; Steele, *Early Dayton*, 63.

the early days of the new settlements, both for military protection and for commercial support.

When Dayton was actually started, only 19 of the 46 men who had promised to move from Cincinnati appeared. Leaving Cincinnati with their families in March, 1796, they traveled in three parties, two of them by land over the rough road which was still only partly constructed between Hamilton and Mad River. The third party, 13 in all including women and children, made the journey in 10 days, by water in a pirogue. Once they had reached the new town-site settlers went vigorously to work, clearing the land, and building their cabins in a row along the Miami. For the first summer there was an abundant crop of corn, but misfortunes soon came. Transportation from Cincinnati was so slow and difficult that prices were very high, with flour at \$9.00 per barrel, and other necessaries in proportion. Stealing by the Indians was another source of continual worry, and the early settlers at Dayton were scarcely able to keep a single horse. To crown their misfortunes the Dayton pioneers discovered that their land titles were worthless.¹¹ Symmes with his usual optimism had not hesitated to sell land, including the site of Dayton, which lay beyond his patent of 1794, and ultimately the unfortunate claimants were given merely a right of preemption. Thus, even the inhabitants of Dayton found themselves compelled to choose between paying the Government \$2.00 per acre for their land, or being dispossessed. The result was much discouragement, and a number of them left. Finally a leading citizen, Daniel C. Cooper, saved the day by purchasing preemption rights and thus securing assured titles in 1801. Dayton was saved, to become an increasingly important center of population in the advance up the Miami Valley.

To the inhabitants of the Ohio Company lands, the Treaty of Greenville with the promised freedom from Indian attacks also came as a great relief. The frontiersmen who had hastily gathered at Farmers' Castle, at Fort Frye and at Marietta could now venture

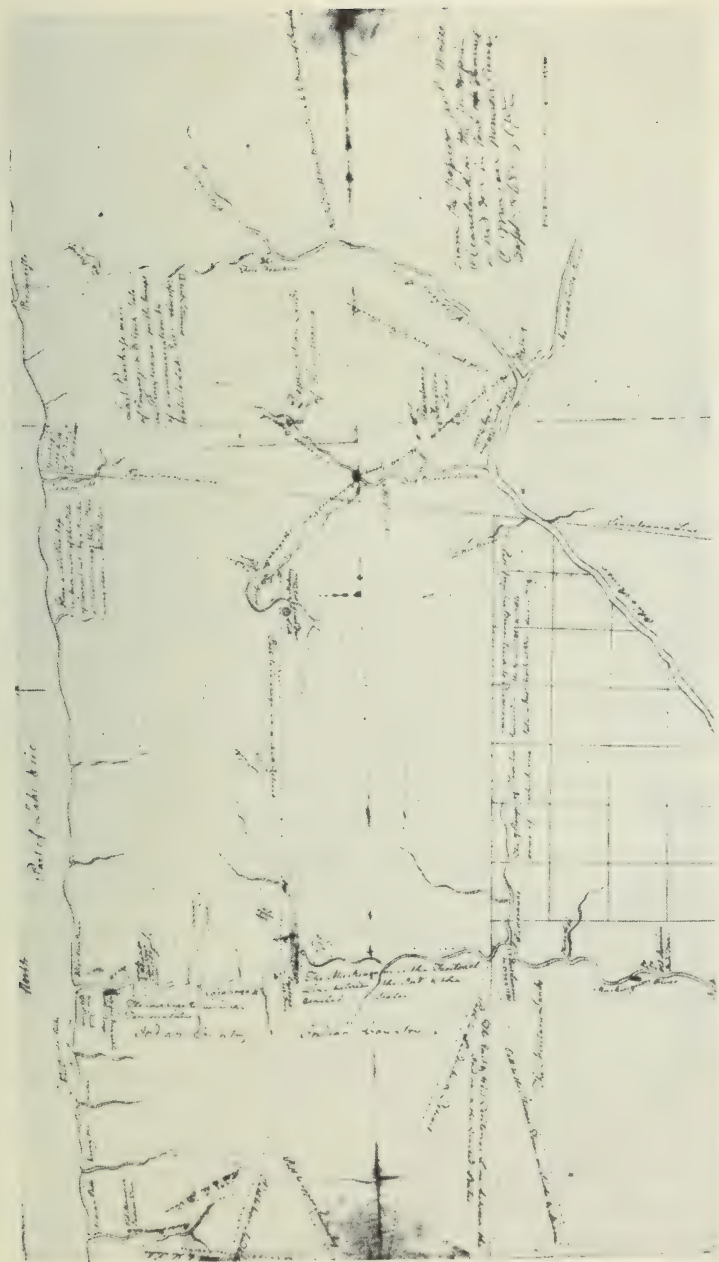
¹¹ *Ibid.*, 30, 62-3; Conover, *Dayton and Montgomery County*, 17-8; Bond, ed., *Symmes Correspondence*, 17-9.

into the interior, along with the immigrants who again began to appear.¹² Settlement in communities was no longer necessary for protection, and the pioneers began to build cabins on their individual agricultural holdings. One of the most important of the new settlements on the interior lands of the Ohio Company was Athens, which was laid out in 1797 on the Hocking River, in the center of the two college townships. A few of the New England emigrants, however, forsook the Ohio Company's grant in favor of the more fertile land of the Seven Ranges. Here there was an increasing population, many of them squatters, and in 1797 Bezaleel Wells from western Virginia laid out a town at the site of the abandoned Fort Steuben. The first sale of lots was in 1798, and Steubenville, as the new settlement was fittingly called, made steady progress, receiving emigrants chiefly from near-by western Virginia and Pennsylvania. But the unsatisfactory land law greatly interfered with the development of the Seven Ranges, and Bellaire, the second important settlement, was not laid out until 1803.¹³

The Ohio Company's grant, likewise, was now making comparatively little progress. Partly this was due to rumors of the poor quality of the hill land which was left. But of far greater influence in directing the tide of New England migration was the opening to settlement of the fertile lands of the Western Reserve, which Connecticut had retained in the cession of her claims in 1786. Lying between 41 degrees north latitude, and Lake Erie, and stretching westward 120 miles from Pennsylvania, this great tract in northeastern Ohio was closed to immigrants until the Indians had been definitely subdued. Its settlement, therefore, was a direct result of Wayne's campaign and the Treaty of Greenville, although in reality it was but a phase of the same extensive post-Revolutionary migration from New England which had already been responsible for the founding of Marietta and the near-by towns. Once the Western Reserve was open, it became the natural goal

¹² H. Z. Williams & Bro., pub., *History of Washington County, Ohio* (Cleveland, 1881), 95-101.

¹³ J. A. Caldwell, *History of Belmont and Jefferson Counties, Ohio* (Wheeling, W. Va., 1880), 257, 463-5.



MAP 17. MANUSCRIPT MAP OF THE CONNECTICUT WESTERN RESERVE

Made by Rev. John Heckwelder, January 12, 1796. From the collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society.

for this overflow from New England, and from its numerous outposts along the old Iroquois Trail in central New York, and in northwestern Pennsylvania.¹⁴ From Niagara at the end of the Iroquois Trail the Lake Trail led directly to the Western Reserve with a comparatively short sail on Lake Erie as an alternative. In contrast the lands of the Ohio Company were only accessible by a long and difficult journey across the Appalachians and down the Ohio. No wonder that once it was safe from Indian attacks, the Western Reserve was preferred by New England emigrants to the less accessible and, according to reports, less fertile lands of the Ohio Company.

The legal status of the Western Reserve was unique. Just as the soil of the Virginia Military Tract was at the disposal of Virginia, the State of Connecticut determined the method of distributing the land of the Western Reserve, without any legal obligation to consider the national land policy. But unlike the Virginia Military Tract, the Western Reserve was supposed at first to be under the political jurisdiction of Connecticut also, and there were even serious proposals to form "New Connecticut" into a separate state. Likewise there were certain parallelisms between the Western Reserve and the Ohio Company's grant. Both were settled chiefly by New Englanders, and became bulwarks of Puritanism in the Ohio country. But the Revolutionary veterans of the Ohio Company had a definite object, to realize actual value for their military warrants, while the State of Connecticut disposed of the Western Reserve without regard to military bounties and for its own profit.

Strategically the Western Reserve was well situated to attract the increasing migration to the Ohio country. At the mouth of the Cuyahoga there was an ideal location for a permanent settlement. From there the river was navigable for sloops for 15 miles, and for smaller boats 60 miles, up to the short portage to the Tuscarawas. The value of this site, with its excellent harbor on Lake Erie and its command of trade from the hinterland, had been recognized by the early explorers, and both Washington and

¹⁴L. K. Mathews, *Expansion of New England* (Boston and New York, 1909), 147-70.

Franklin appreciated its importance in any scheme to control the western country.¹⁵ The French maintained trading posts at the mouth of the Cuyahoga from an early period, and in 1755 there was one on Tinker's Creek, a few miles up the Cuyahoga. After the British occupied the Ohio country, they too erected small temporary cabins here and in the surrounding region, which served as trading posts. In the early days of Cleveland a dilapidated building was still standing, evidently once a well-built and capacious log cabin which, according to tradition, had been a French trading post. More probably it had been erected by the English. The remnant of the Christian Delaware Indians, too, attempted to make a permanent settlement on the rich Cuyahoga bottoms, after the massacre at Gnadenhutten in 1782.¹⁶ Led by the Moravian missionaries they had sought refuge on the Huron River of Michigan, but they longed for their Ohio homes, and in May, 1786, they started for the lands which Congress had offered them in the Tuscarawas Valley. When word came of the unrelenting hostility of their fellow-tribesmen in the Ohio country, they settled on the Cuyahoga, building a chapel at Pilgerruh, or Pilgrims' Rest, as their settlement was fittingly called. Soon their hostile Indian neighbors forced them to move to Black River, and again they built a chapel, only to be obliged to move again, this time into British territory at Fairfield on the Thames, where they found a peaceful haven during the Indian wars.

Even though actual settlement in the Western Reserve was impracticable until after the Indians had been overawed, the Connecticut General Assembly lost no time in drawing up plans to make these lands profitable. In October, 1786, only a few months after the final cession, it passed a resolution for the sale of that portion of the "Connecticut Western Reserve" east of the Cuyahoga in townships, six miles square, at about 50¢ per acre. Following the example of the Ohio Company, this resolution reserved

¹⁵ J. H. Kennedy, *History of the City of Cleveland* (Cleveland, 1896), 9-13, 16-7, 56-90 (note 48); Charles Whittlesey, *Early History of Cleveland* (Cleveland, 1867), 131-3, 266-7.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 137-42.

500 acres in each township for the support of the ministry, and another 500 acres for public education. Under its terms one sale was made in 1788 of 24,000 acres, known as the "Salt Spring Tract" in Trumbull County, to General Samuel H. Parsons. Parsons made no surveys, but he did execute a number of deeds to undivided portions of his tract, and eventually sufficient land was set aside to satisfy them.¹⁷ The Connecticut Assembly, persistent in its efforts to dispose of the state's western holdings, authorized a committee in 1793 with power to sell these lands. The returns were to be used as a perpetual fund for the support of schools and ministers. This resolution aroused general discussion, and was soon repealed.¹⁸ In 1792 the Assembly made an important grant which handed over 500,000 acres, in the extreme western section of the Western Reserve, to the inhabitants of the Connecticut coast towns, New London, Norwalk, Fairfield, Greenwich, Danbury, New Haven, East Haven, Ridgefield and Groton, who had suffered such extensive losses from British depredations during the Revolution.¹⁹ The Connecticut General Assembly incorporated these claimants in 1796 under the rather formidable title, "The Proprietors of the Half-Million Acres of Land Lying South of Lake Erie," and in 1803 the legislature of the new State of Ohio reincorporated them with the same high sounding title. Three years later all Indian claims were cleared away, and surveys were begun of these "Sufferers' Lands," commonly known as the Firelands. But actual settlement was not undertaken before 1808 when the land was distributed by lot among the original claimants or their representatives.

Wayne's victory over the Indians and the conferences that followed at Fort Greenville, seem to have spurred the Connecticut legislators to renewed efforts to dispose of the remainder of the

¹⁷ Whittlesey, *Cleveland*, 158-61.

¹⁸ B. A. Hinsdale, *Old Northwest* (New York, 1888), 370; C. L. Shepard, "Connecticut Land Company," *Western Reserve Historical Society, Tracts* (Cleveland), no. 96 (1916), 71.

¹⁹ C. D. Laylin, "The Firelands Grant," *O. S. A. H. Quar.*, X, 435-50; Hinsdale, *Old Northwest*, 368-70; Ohio Laws, Statutes, etc., *Acts.*, 1 Assemb., 1803 (Chillicothe, 1803), 106-14.

Western Reserve. Finally, after determining that the returns should be set aside for the use of the Connecticut schools, they appointed a committee of eight to sell the lands for a minimum price of \$1,000,000 in specie. The committee's report in October, 1795, recommended the acceptance of an offer from Oliver Phelps and his associates of \$1,150,000 which, with true Yankee thrift, they had managed to raise to an even \$1,200,000. The committee had also accepted well secured bonds to guarantee prompt payments. The General Assembly approved this very canny report, and the State of Connecticut realized handsome returns from the Western Reserve: a permanent fund of \$1,200,000 for the use of its public schools and the final settlement of more than \$500,000 in Revolutionary claims.²⁰ But in the process it had handed over these lands to a purely speculative organization.

Already Phelps and his associates had formed the Connecticut Land Company, which continued to be managed from New England, and was, in its loose organization and speculative aims, in strong contrast to the more systematic Ohio Company.²¹ The associates agreed upon a deed of trust to three trustees to take general charge of their lands, and appointed seven directors, whose chief duty it was to arrange for the survey of the land, and the settlement of all Indian claims. The directors were also empowered to divide the land into townships five miles square in contrast to the usual six miles square in the public lands, an innovation which was probably made with a view to the ultimate distribution of the lands in the Western Reserve among the 400 equal shares of the Connecticut Land Company. Another resolution of the associates provided for the survey of the township upon which the first settlement was made, and for the location of a sawmill and a grist-mill there at the Company's expense. Five other townships were to be set off and sold to actual settlers with a reservation of 2,000 acres around every salt spring. Later, the associates adopted

²⁰ Shepard, "Connecticut Land Company," 114-5; Whittlesey, *Cleveland*, 165.

²¹ Shepard, "Connecticut Land Company," 72-4, 145-51, 164-8; W. E. Peters, *Ohio Lands* (Athens, O., 1930), 244; Whittlesey, *Cleveland*, 258-9.

another complicated plan for the division of the remaining land among the shareholders, so that each one would receive an equitable proportion according to the quality of the land. After the Firelands grant had been deducted, the Connecticut Land Company found it had only 2,837,109 acres to distribute, rather than the 3,000,000 of the first rough estimate.

Next the directors of the Connecticut Land Company planned for the actual survey of the Western Reserve, or "New Connecticut," as it was generally called, appointing one of their own number, Moses Cleaveland, in general charge.²² The choice was a happy one. Sprung from a long established New England family, a graduate of Yale and a Revolutionary veteran, Cleaveland was now a prosperous lawyer and a general in the Connecticut militia. With a stake of \$32,600 in the Connecticut Land Company he was greatly interested in its success. Shrewd and courageous he possessed marked qualities of leadership, which came to the front in a role that was in many respects comparable to the one General Rufus Putnam played at Marietta. Cleaveland evidently appreciated the need to take advantage of the favorable summer weather. May 19, 1796, a week after his commission was issued, he was at Albany impatient to start westward. Soon he had gathered a party, 52 in all, which, as at Marietta, was well chosen and organized for the work in hand. Augustus Porter was deputy superintendent and chief surveyor, Seth Pease astronomer and surveyor, and there were four other surveyors, a commissary, a physician, and 37 employees. In addition, there were two men with their wives, and two assistant commissaries to secure fresh beef and trade with the Indians. Thirteen horses and a number of cattle were taken along. Part of this expedition went by boat up the Mohawk, and the others traveled overland with the horses and cattle. At Buffalo Cleaveland was met by representatives of the Mohawk and Seneca Indians headed by Joseph Brant. In spite of the Treaty of Greenville which had given up all Indian claims to the region east of

²² Kennedy, *Cleveland*, 22-33; Whittlesey, *Cleveland*, 171-80; H. T. Upton, *History of the Western Reserve* (New York and Chicago, 1910), I, 19-23.

the Cuyahoga, this Indian delegation strongly opposed the proposed expedition. Cleaveland tactfully put off the final council, in order to give the Indians an opportunity for a grand celebration, and next day they were in a much more amenable frame of mind. Cleaveland readily agreed to recommend an annuity of \$500 for them from the Federal Government, and failing this, to secure a present of \$1,500 from the Connecticut Land Company. Satisfied with this rather indefinite response to modern hold-up methods, the Indians promised not to molest the settlers in the Western Reserve, and kept their word.

From Presque Isle one division of the party, including Cleaveland, traveled by land, and by a peculiarly appropriate coincidence they reached the bounds of "New Connecticut" on July 4. Worn out by the many hardships of the long journey, they rested at the mouth of the Conneaut, enthusiastically holding a two-fold celebration, of Independence Day, and of the beginnings of actual settlement in the Western Reserve. After a Federal salute of 15 rounds, with an additional one in honor of "New Connecticut," they gave three cheers, and christened their landing place Port Independence. Then they drank numerous toasts, notably to "the President of the United States," "the State of Connecticut," "the Connecticut Land Company," and "the Port of Independence." They closed with three cheers, and Cleaveland in rather unpuritanlike fashion recorded that after they had drunk "several pails of grog," they "retired in remarkable good order."²³ Notwithstanding the celebration Cleaveland and his men went to work next day, starting a large log cabin at Conneaut which they named "Castle Stow" after their commissary, Joshua Stow. Meanwhile Cleaveland held a council with Paqua, chief of the neighboring Indians whose hesitant and rather cringing attitude was in strong contrast to the haughty demeanor the chiefs had so often assumed prior to Wayne's victory. Cleaveland assured them they would not be disturbed in their possessions, and that the industrious people whom he represented would be liberal with them if they

²³ Whittlesey, *Cleveland*, 181-4; Kennedy, *Cleveland*, 35-7.

worked. As proof of his good faith he gave them presents worth about \$25, and they departed well satisfied. The entire incident was a forcible illustration of the chastened spirit of the western Indians, which made possible the survey and settlement of the Western Reserve.

The survey now started in earnest.²⁴ In sixteen days Augustus Porter, chief surveyor, with Seth Pease, his assistant, and five other men starting from Conneaut, had surveyed the eastern boundary of the Western Reserve to the forty-first parallel. Turning west on this line as a base, they began to mark off the north and south ranges of townships, meanwhile making valuable observations upon the topography and quality of the land. Cleaveland, however, with another group went westward in an open boat on Lake Erie. He mistook the Chagrin River for the Cuyahoga, and went some distance up-stream before he discovered his mistake. July 22, 1796, Cleaveland and his men reached the mouth of the Cuyahoga, and there they enthusiastically noted the possibilities for a settlement which the precipitous bluffs that overhung the river would protect from attack by land. They promptly put up three cabins as the nucleus of a permanent settlement, one to serve as a storehouse, another as headquarters for the surveyors, and a third for Job Stiles and his wife who were left in charge of the Company's stores. "Cuyahoga" was proposed as a name for the new settlement, but after much discussion the surveyors persuaded Cleaveland to permit the use of his own name, and Cleaveland, later Cleveland, became the name of the most important settlement in "New Connecticut."²⁵

In addition to putting up cabins, Cleaveland and his men surveyed a section a mile square at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, the greater part on the east bank, into 220 city lots with two principal streets, Superior and Ontario, crossing at right angles in the public

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 37ff; Whittlesey, *Cleveland*, 191-202; Upton, *Western Reserve*, I, 29.

²⁵ According to tradition, the shorter spelling, "Cleveland," was adopted about 1832 or 1833, because one of the type letters "a" in the heading of the *Cleveland Herald* could not be used, and the typesetter simply omitted it. See Kennedy, *Cleveland*, 42-4.

square. But the survey of the Western Reserve as a whole had not gone ahead as quickly as had been hoped, and the impatient directors of the Connecticut Land Company, reminded Cleaveland how necessary this work was, if the land was to be settled quickly. At least the central township, and the five others which had been ordered to be set off first, should be surveyed during the coming winter.²⁶ Cleaveland, however, faced serious obstacles in carrying on this work. After the first burst of enthusiasm the men in his party had become discouraged. Provisions did not come promptly, and the surveyors were not always sure of supper at night after their hard day's work in the swamps and the woods, where the heat was intense, and there were swarms of mosquitoes. Worst of all, the New England rum which was so necessary under such circumstances was often lacking, while the many thickets and woods tore the men's clothes, and their shoes wore out rapidly with no cobblers at hand to repair them.

Under such discouraging conditions Cleaveland sensibly decided to give each man a personal stake in the land in addition to his pay. September 30, 1796, he signed an agreement with 41 of them, that those who remained in the service of the Company until the end of the year, should have an equal share in a township immediately east of Cleaveland which the new proprietors, many of them surveyors, fittingly called Euclid after the famous mathematician. The men agreed to pay \$1.00 per acre for the land, and there were elaborate conditions which, if they had been carried out, would have ensured the settlement of 41 families in the township within three years, with a considerable part of the land under cultivation. But the grant of Euclid did not prove a sufficient bait to hold the surveyors at their task through the bad weather of the fall and winter. The problem of supplies became worse rather than better. Finally, September 21, the men still left at Cleaveland embarked for Conneaut, carrying with them the meager supplies which were left, "not a mouthful of meat, part of a barrel of flour, . . . a bag of flour, two cheeses, and some chocolate." Finding

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 40-1; Whittlesey, *Cleveland*, 203-4, 230-9.

a fresh supply of provisions at Conneaut, they decided to return to the Cuyahoga. For a brief time they carried on surveys from Cleaveland as a center, but with the coming of autumn they were anxious to return to the comforts of their eastern homes. October 18 they left the little settlement at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, and John Holley, one of the surveyors, wrote significantly in his Journal, "Never, I presume, were fourteen men more anxious to pursue an object than we were to get forward."²⁷

During the approximate three months which Cleaveland and his party had spent in the Western Reserve they had made real progress, marking off the bases of future surveys, including the southern boundary line along the forty-first parallel of the first four ranges of townships. On Lake Erie they had actually surveyed a few fractional townships, including the site of Cleveland. But a large part of the Western Reserve had not been touched. Cleaveland and his men had established at least two permanent settlements. At Cleaveland, the more important one, Job Stiles and his wife, Tabitha, were left to care for the Company's property, and Joseph Landon and Edward Paine, founder of Painesville, spent much of the winter with them. At "Port Independence," or Conneaut as it was soon called, Elijah Gun and his wife, Anna, remained at "Castle Stow," while James Kingsbury and his family, who had settled there soon after Cleaveland's party arrived, also stayed during the first winter. With these small beginnings the great migration into the Western Reserve had been started, and Cleaveland, leader in the expedition, naively made his famous statement: "While I was in New Connecticut I laid out a town on the bank of Lake Erie, which was called by my name, and I believe the child is now born that may live to see that place as large as Old Windham," the last named still a small Connecticut village.²⁸

The directors of the Connecticut Land Company were not easily discouraged. Expressing confidence in Cleaveland's faithful service, they voted that one-half of the lots still left in the town of

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 220-1, 242; Kennedy, *Cleveland*, 50; Upton, *Western Reserve*, I, 31-2.

²⁸ Kennedy, *Cleveland*, 2.



MAP 18. MANUSCRIPT MAP OF THE WESTERN RESERVE

Made by Seth Pease, 1797. From the collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society.

Cleveland, and all unsold land in the five townships which had been set aside by the Articles of Association, should be disposed of to actual settlers. They also appropriated more than \$1,500

to open such bridges and roads as seemed expedient in the "Western Territory." To carry out these resolutions they despatched another surveying party in the spring of 1797 under a new superintendent, Reverend Seth Hart, but with Seth Pease, astronomer and assistant surveyor under Cleaveland in actual charge.²⁹ Besides these two leaders there were eight surveyors, a physician and 52 other employees, altogether 63 men. The matter of supplies seems to have been more carefully attended to than on the earlier expedition, since the six boats which started up the Mohawk from Schenectady on April 20, carried daily rations for each "mess of six men": "one pound of chocolate, five pounds of pork, a small porringer of sugar, one bottle of rum, a half bottle of tea, and flour and bread not limited." This second party reached Conneaut May 26. They found Elijah Gun and his family had moved to Cleaveland, leaving the Kingsbury family still there, but in "a low state of health." June 1, Pease arrived at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, and a week later he divided his men into three parties, each to survey a different section of the Western Reserve. This time the surveyors were provided with abundant supplies, including "pork, flour, tea, chocolate, sugar, ginger, spirits, vinegar, cheese, pepper, empty bags, fire steel and punk, candles, a tent, axes and hatchets, pocket compass, measuring pins, salt, soap." After a busy summer Pease finally left the Cuyahoga on October 3. There was still little actual settlement, even at Cleaveland where stakes at the corners were the chief indications of city lots. But gradually land was sold off, although at lower prices than the Company had anticipated, and there were partitions of the townships among the stockholders in 1798 and 1802. With private ownership established, the Western Reserve made steady progress.

Like the Ohio Company in the upper Ohio Valley, the Connecticut Land Company by its liberal policies ensured the rapid development of the Western Reserve.³⁰ Thus, January 30, 1798,

²⁹ Shepard, "Connecticut Land Company," 178-81; Whittlesey, *Cleveland*, 275-93, 310-1; Kennedy, *Cleveland*, 69.

³⁰ Shepard, "Connecticut Land Company," 181-3.



24. CLEVELAND IN 1800

From Charles Whittlesey, *Early History of Cleveland* (Cleveland, 1867), p. 370.

the directors passed a resolution that it was "expedient" to cut a road from Pennsylvania to Cleveland, and at the same time gave detailed directions for this undertaking. Another resolution proposed to compensate the first settlers for the "risk and hardships" they had encountered, by donating lots to Tabitha Stiles and Anna Gun, wives of the first settlers at Cleveland and Conneaut respectively, and probably to James Kingsbury who also had spent his first winter at the latter place. To Nathaniel Doan a 100 acre lot was given, provided he would reside at Cleveland as a blacksmith. The directors also authorized certain lots in Cleveland to be donated, in order to encourage "useful mechanics," who would become residents, as well as the expenditure of \$3,000 to erect salt works at the salt springs in the Western Reserve. Unlike the Ohio Company, it is remarkable that the Company made no reservations for the support of religion or even for education. The latter was remedied in 1803 by an amendment to the Enabling Act for Ohio, which set aside public land in the Military Tract for the use of schools in the "Connecticut Reserve."³¹

³¹ *Annals of Congress* (Washington, 1834-56), 7 Cong., Appendix, 1589.

honing Valley, thus introducing an important Scotch-Irish and German element.³² Prominent among them was John Young who founded Youngstown in the Mahoning Valley in 1796, the same year that Cleaveland's surveying party came to the shores of Lake Erie. Warren, also in the Mahoning Valley, was settled in 1798, and in 1800 the population in this same region of the Western Reserve was considerably increased by numbers of dissatisfied settlers from the military lands in western Pennsylvania. The large Scotch-Irish element, which these migrations brought in, introduced a strong Presbyterian faction, which managed to maintain exceptionally amicable relations with their equally pugnacious Congregationalist neighbors of Puritan origin. But the settlers of New England antecedents still remained the predominant element in the Western Reserve, as was forcibly illustrated by such names of towns as, Plymouth, Norwalk, New Haven, Danbury, Groton. Actually the settlement of the Western Reserve was the second largest New England migration to the Ohio country, and it established a bulwark of Puritanism, on the shores of Lake Erie, which was comparable to the one which had already been founded at Marietta and the near-by settlements.

By 1800 there were upwards of 1,000 settlers scattered through 35 of the 103 townships in that part of the Western Reserve which was east of the Cuyahoga, and 700 miles of road had been cut through the wilderness.³³ But Indian claims to lands west of the Cuyahoga, especially the 500,000 acres of the Firelands, had not been extinguished. Finally, in a treaty of July 4, 1805, the Delawares, the Shawnees, the Wyandots, and several interested tribes of the Miami Confederacy surrendered their claims to the lands of the Western Reserve which lay west of the Cuyahoga. The large number of tribes which united in this cession, including all the more important Ohio Indians except the Mingoes, was an effective illustration of the far-reaching effects of Wayne's cam-

³² Upton, *Western Reserve*, I, 17-8, 54-5.

³³ J. H. Perkins, *Annals of the West* (Cincinnati, 1846), 473; J. R. Albach, *Annals of the West* (Pittsburgh, 1857), 756.

paign.³⁴ The administrative problem had already been settled in 1800, with the organization of Trumbull County, and as a result, the extension of the jurisdiction of the Northwest Territory, soon to be the State of Ohio, over the Western Reserve. Population was now free to spread in peaceful fashion to the westward of the Cuyahoga, as well as to the eastward.

Along with the Western Reserve, the large areas of vacant public land in the interior of the Ohio country had been opened up by the Treaty of Greenville. The terms of the Ordinance of 1785 had been a serious obstacle to settlement, since the minimum tract which could be purchased was 640 acres, and this could only be done at the seat of government. These conditions favored such land speculators and organizations as Symmes and his associates, and the Ohio Company, but worked a serious hardship upon the mass of would-be immigrants of small means. Evidently a modification of the Ordinance in their favor was necessary, in spite of the strong opposition such a move would arouse. New England especially had been stirred by the increasing migration, which threatened to draw away a large part of its working class, and usually its representatives would oppose attempts to build up the western country. Determined opposition could be counted upon also from the many influential advocates of the policy of using the public lands to pay off the Federal debt. Lastly, the land speculators would oppose any measures which might open up competing areas in the Ohio country. On the other hand, there were strong forces arrayed against these selfish points of view. The masses on the Atlantic Coast, so far as their influence counted, would support a movement to make more available the western lands which promised an outlet from the economic disadvantages under which they labored. There were, too, many broadminded men of influence who appreciated the need for a strong democratic population in the western country, and would heartily support the necessary measures. The problem was a crucial one, for upon

³⁴ U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Annual Report* (Washington, 1899), 18th Report (1899), pt. 2, 666-7.

its solution hung the orderly development of the Ohio country, as well as that of the public lands to the westward.

Soon after the new Federal Government under the Constitution was organized, agitation started in Congress for alterations in the method of disposing of the public lands.³⁵ Thomas Scott, from a frontier Pennsylvania county, brought up the issue in the House May 28, 1789, with arguments which forcibly presented the case for the frontier. Some practical system for selling the public lands in small quantities, he pointed out, must be substituted for the present method under which they could only be disposed of in large tracts. He warned Congress that settlement was inevitable, and unless a conveniently located land office were opened, immigrants would establish themselves as squatters, forming a lawless population which might even be attracted to the Spanish territories across the Mississippi. July 13 the proposal to establish a land office was renewed, and again Scott was the chief protagonist of the measure, emphasizing again the impossibility of restraining the bold and enterprising spirits who would insist upon seizing the public lands as squatters, and might ultimately even separate from the Atlantic States. In opposition, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, reflecting the New England attitude of general opposition to measures which would promote westward migration, proposed that the entire issue should be postponed, and the existing custom of selling the public lands in townships continued. Eventually an act was drawn up in the House to open a land office, but after a second hearing it was dropped.

The problem of disposing of the public lands was revived by Alexander Hamilton July 22, 1790, as a part of his report on the public credit.³⁶ Emphasizing the financial point of view, he called attention to three classes of prospective purchasers: individuals and companies who would buy large tracts as a speculation, associations which would make collective purchases in order to form

³⁵ P. J. Treat, *National Land System, 1788-1820* (New York, 1910), 66-77; *Annals of Cong.*, 1 Cong., 1 Sess., 427-32, 646-57, 691-2, 700.

³⁶ *American State Papers* (Washington, 1832-61), *Public Lands*, I, 4-5.

settlements, and single persons or families. As this third class could only take up small tracts, Hamilton maintained that the first two classes must be favored, and a general land office should be established at the seat of government. He did not completely ignore the interests of single purchasers, and proposed that a land office should be opened in the Northwest Territory, and another one in the Southwest Territory. The really startling innovation in his report was a proposal which would have scrapped the very basis of the Ordinance of 1785, the division into townships, in favor of a system of indiscriminate location, avowedly for the benefit of large purchasers, but with "convenient" tracts, as small as 100 acres, to be located. As a slight concession to advocates of the existing system Hamilton proposed that part of the land might be formed into townships ten miles square. In place of payments in the depreciated Continental certificates, Hamilton advocated a price of 30¢ per acre in specie, or the equivalent in public securities, with no credit for less than a township ten miles square, and that for not more than two years.

The House took up Hamilton's proposals on December 27, 1790, and again Thomas Scott led the debate.³⁷ In the main he favored the report, notably the proposed change to indiscriminate location. Other members of the House strongly opposed this innovation, among them Elias Boudinot of New Jersey and Hugh Williamson of North Carolina, both of them pointing out the unfortunate results of indiscriminate location in their respective states. January 4, 1791, the House agreed upon a bill which did not accept Hamilton's plan for indiscriminate location, but provided for a general land office at the seat of government, and two others, in the Northwest and the Southwest territories respectively. The bill also accepted Hamilton's recommendation that the price should be 30¢ per acre in "hard money." With these provisions this bill was distinctly a gain for those who favored the particular interests of the West. The House finally passed it; in the Senate it was postponed, and eventually dropped.

³⁷ *Annals of Cong.*, 1 Cong., 3 Sess., 1876-80, 1887-90, 2017, 2026.

The land problem, however, could not be so easily brushed aside. The intruders upon the public lands north of the Ohio were constantly increasing, and were a forcible reminder of the need for a more liberal land law. The secretary of war, Henry Knox, pointed out that unless these lawless squatters were curbed, they would soon become strong enough to defy openly the Federal authority.³⁸ No really effectual measures were taken, and after Wayne's victory these unauthorized settlements increased all the more. August 19, 1796, St. Clair issued a proclamation warning the intruders to withdraw from the public lands.³⁹ Six months later he called attention to the continued migration, chiefly from Kentucky, to the region west of the Miami, so that for a considerable distance inland the countryside was covered with "hutts." According to St. Clair, there was a similar situation on the Government lands in the upper Ohio Valley. Winthrop Sargent, too, protested against the large number of unauthorized settlers who were taking up lands between the Scioto River and the Ohio Company's grant. Yet extensive encroachments were not altogether without a certain justification, for popular sentiment was being stirred by wide-spread land speculation in the Ohio country, with the resulting increased values which faced the emigrants who ventured there. Finally, early in 1796 came the exposure of a scheme to bribe several members of the House so that they would favor a grant of some 20,000,000 acres in Michigan to a group of speculators. Public opinion now generally supported the advocates of changes in the public land system which would favor the individual settler rather than the speculator.

February 16, 1796, the House began consideration of a new public land bill which had been drawn up with a two-fold aim, to raise revenue, and to offer lots of a convenient size for purchasers.⁴⁰ Its most striking features were: a provision for townships,

³⁸ C. E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, 1934-), II, *Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, 1787-1803*, 26-7.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 548-9; III, 444-5.

⁴⁰ Treat, *National Land System*, 80-5; *Annals of Cong.*, 4 Cong., 1 Sess., 334-8, 350-5, 402-20, 856-7.

three rather than six miles square, and a flat price of \$2.00 per acre. In the extended debate which followed, representatives from the more westerly regions, as usual, took up the cudgels for the smaller purchaser, while those from coastal districts were inclined to favor the land speculators, and to regard financial returns from the public lands as the main object. Albert Gallatin from Fayette County in western Pennsylvania led the discussion, and had an important part in shaping the final bill. He strongly favored a minimum price which would recognize the increasing value of the public lands, and followed Hamilton's report in proposing the sale of large tracts at the seat of government, and of smaller ones at land offices to be conveniently located in the Northwest Territory. An amendment, that half of the 640-acre sections should be sold in lots of 160 acres each, passed the House, but failed in the Senate. Another significant amendment, that actual settlement must be made on each tract after a fixed number of years, also failed, but both of these proposed changes were indicative of the increasing regard for western interests.

As it was passed May 18, 1796, the new land act was a distinctly forward step in favor of the individual purchaser and of quicker settlement, although it did not wholly neglect the interests of the speculators.⁴¹ Retaining the townships of six miles square, as in the Ordinance of 1785, it stipulated sales at public auction with a minimum price of \$2.00 per acre, payment to be made within a year. Another important provision required half of the townships to be subdivided into sections of 640 acres each, and sold at two land offices in the western country, at Pittsburgh and Cincinnati respectively. The remainder should be sold in quarter townships at the seat of government. Salt springs and the surrounding areas were reserved, as well as four sections in every township. Another important act at this same session set aside 2,539,110 acres of the vacant public domain to take care of the land bounties, still unsatisfied, which had been granted officers and soldiers of the Continental army. This "United States Military

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Appendix 2905-10, 2935-7; Peters, *Ohio Lands*, 251-65.

Tract," as it was called, was located approximately in central Ohio west of the Seven Ranges, and between the Ohio Company lands and the Western Reserve. A provision that it was to be divided into townships five miles square, rather than six, was probably intended to satisfy more conveniently the military bounties of 50 and 100 acre lots, or multiples thereof. The act also specified that the Military Tract should be granted in quarter townships, and that after 1800 any land which was still not located should be thrown open to the general public. Ultimately this time limit was prolonged until 1803.

By these two acts of 1796 the needs of both the land speculators and of individual purchasers had apparently been met, and the fulfilment of the military bounties had been definitely provided for. The results however were quite disappointing.⁴² Surveys were greatly delayed, and of the two land offices in the western country which had been sanctioned, only the one at Pittsburgh was opened at first. By 1797 nearly 49,000 acres had been sold at this office in sections, most of it desirable bottom land. But the quarter sections which were now available at Philadelphia had been offered repeatedly without "the least success." In the opinion of Oliver Wolcott, Jr., secretary of the treasury, the price asked, \$2.00 per acre, was entirely too high, and the "present scarcity" of money still further contributed to such slender sales. About a year and a half later he reported that the total sales at Pittsburgh had been only 49,910 $\frac{11}{100}$ acres, with a single quarter township sold at Philadelphia. Wolcott reported progress, however, in the survey of the Military Tract and the other public lands. Evidently the land law needed still further amendment if it was to meet adequately the needs of the incoming settlers.

The increasingly serious problem of the squatters who took up land without any legal title would not down, and soon focused attention upon the land situation in the Ohio country.⁴³ In Janu-

⁴² *Am. State Papers, Public Lands*, I, 65-6, 73.

⁴³ Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, III, 8-9, 497; Rowena Buell, ed., *Memoirs of Rufus Putnam* (Boston and New York, 1903), 429-30.

ary, 1798, Sargent called attention to conditions west of the Miami where there were nearly 200 families of squatters. Many of them, he declared, had fled to this region in order to escape their creditors, and there was now no organized control over them. The only remedy, in Sargent's opinion, was to drive them away by force before they became too strong. A few months later General Rufus Putnam reported he had reliable information that 300 emigrant families, chiefly from Kentucky, had settled west of the Miami and on the east bank of the Scioto. At first they had declared they would purchase their lands as soon as they were offered for sale. Now a number of them boldly maintained they would hold their lands without purchase. Also, according to Putnam there were 50 or more "scattering families" on the Muskingum and elsewhere east of the Scioto, who did not possess legal titles to their lands. St. Clair, too, recognized the serious problem these squatters presented, and the necessity for a "very considerable force" to drive them away. Besides the large number west of the Miami, he reported increasing settlements in the public lands along the east bank of the Scioto as far as Chillicothe. Another group of squatters had settled along the Ohio above the mouth of the Scioto, and still others upon the lands which Symmes claimed beyond his patent. Most of these irregular settlers, St. Clair asserted, wished to purchase their lands, but were unable to pay \$2.00 per acre for even so small a tract as 160 acres. As a possible solution, he called attention to the credit which was customarily extended in Pennsylvania to purchasers of land, and suggested some such arrangement in the Northwest Territory.

The squatters set forth their own standpoint in a number of petitions to Congress.⁴⁴ One in 1798 from 85 persons who had occupied tracts on the Scioto, represented that they had not been able to secure land at reasonable rates in the Virginia Military District or elsewhere, nor could they meet the terms of the Land Act of 1796. Many of their "nearest friends," in "a state of de-

⁴⁴ Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, III, 29-57; Northwest Territorial Papers, 1798 and 1799 (in U. S. Congress, House and Senate Files).

spondency," had left for the Spanish settlements beyond the Mississippi, and they themselves were petitioning for grants of 10 acres each at a lower price than \$2.00 per acre. Another petition, a year later, from the same region asked for rights of preemption, and a similar request came from 176 "actual settlers" in Jefferson County. Otherwise, these last petitioners alleged, the speculators would buy up their lands, and they would be obliged to give "their asking." Another petition, apparently from settlers on the east bank of the Scioto, called attention to the injustice of the sales in quarter townships, and asked that the public lands east of the Scioto should be sold at Chillicothe in tracts sufficiently small to suit would-be purchasers. From other squatters on the west bank of the Miami came a petition in 1799, representing that they were now likely to lose their lands, with the improvements they had made, inasmuch as by reason of the "scarcity of money," they could not meet the terms of the Land Act of 1796. Still another petition from this same neighborhood, also with numerous signatures, asked for sales in quarter and half sections at a price they could pay, and with full rights of preemption. A number of other petitions came from the unfortunate settlers who had purchased lands from Symmes beyond the patent of 1794. Now, after having paid for these lands, they found themselves asked to give an additional \$2.00 per acre to the Federal Government, and naturally they protested.

Nor were these petitions without justification. The usual incoming settler must buy land from the speculators of the Virginia Military Tract, and the Miami Purchase, or from other private sources, at prices that were as high as the traffic would bear. Especially was this situation felt in such new settlements as Dayton and Springfield, which land speculators founded after peace had been made with the Indians.⁴⁵ As a result the adventurous and usually less prosperous souls who formed the vanguard of settlement, simply settled upon the public lands without any shadow of legal title. With their increasing numbers they were becoming a

⁴⁵ R. C. Downes, *Frontier Ohio, 1788-1803* (Columbus, 1935), 79-83.

real menace to orderly government, and public policy demanded that a smaller minimum than 640 acres should be made available, upon terms that the majority of immigrants could meet. The petitions of the luckless claimants under Symmes were partially met by an act passed March 2, 1797, which gave preemption rights, but required payment of the full \$2.00 per acre within two years.⁴⁶ For the petitioners west of the Miami and on the Scioto and the upper Ohio, relief was delayed until the general situation had been dealt with. The Senate passed public land bills in 1798 and 1799, but both of them failed in the House.

The West finally secured an effective spokesman in Congress when the Territorial legislature in 1799 chose William Henry Harrison as delegate from the Northwest Territory. As an officer in the chief Indian campaigns, and later as Territorial secretary, Harrison fully appreciated the situation, and he lost no time in urging the necessity for reforms in the public land law. December 24, 1799, he called the attention of the House to the need for alterations in favor of "actual settlers," and a committee was promptly appointed to consider the matter. As chairman Harrison naturally had great influence upon the committee's proceedings, while Gallatin, who had taken such an important part in the passage of the Land Act of 1796, was another important member. This committee promptly drew up a report which virtually formed the basis for the final measure. Two important amendments which were lost proposed to divide the public lands into quarter sections of 160 acres each, and to give every head of a family preemption rights for the half section upon which he resided. The new land act, as it was finally passed April 25, 1800, represented a decided victory for actual settlers over the land speculators and those who favored financial returns as the main consideration.⁴⁷ One especially important provision recognized the needs of the average immigrant into the Ohio country, by providing for four land offices, in addition to the one at Pittsburgh, to be opened by the

⁴⁶ *Annals of Cong.*, 5 Cong., 2 Sess., 600, 2033; 3 Sess., 2927; Appendix, 3937-8.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 6 Cong., 1 Sess., 209-10, 652, 684; Appendix, 1515-22.

spring of 1801 at Cincinnati, Marietta, Steubenville and Chillicothe. This act also made allowance for the limited resources of the mass of immigrants by a stipulation that the quarter townships west of the Muskingum should be sold in half sections of 320 acres each, and those east of the Muskingum in sections of 640 acres. The act did not alter the price of public land, \$2.00 per acre, but it did introduce a liberal system of credit under which payments were made in four equal instalments with five years in practise as the limit. Yet the act ignored the really crying need for preemption rights, merely giving this privilege to settlers who had already begun the erection of a grist- or a sawmill.

The practical working of the Land Act of 1800 was illustrated by a sale at the Chillicothe land office in 1801.⁴⁸ For two half sections, 640 acres, the initial payment was \$320.00. A surveying fee of \$6.00 and a land office fee of \$4.00 brought the total to \$330.00, and the patentee paid \$20.00 additional, probably to clear up any possible squatter claims. Thus the Land Act of 1800 brought the purchase of a sizable tract within the reach of the settler of modest means. But its generous provisions for credit presented a temptation at the same time to undertake impossible payments by the taking up of extensive holdings. The day of reckoning was sufficiently far off, however, and, after all, the creditor was the Federal Government. The immediate effect of the Land Act of 1800, therefore, was an immediate increase in the sales of public lands. For the fiscal years 1800 to 1803, at the four land offices which had just been established the total sales reached 937,737 acres.⁴⁹ During these years there were also many immigrants who purchased land in the Western Reserve, while other settlers took up lands in the Virginia Military Tract, the Miami Purchase and the Ohio Company's lands. The easy terms upon which public lands were available, held down the prices charged by these private holders of large tracts.

⁴⁸ Thomas W. Worthington to George M. Bedinger, June 25, 1801, Worthington Letter Book (in Library of Congress).

⁴⁹ Treat, *National Land System*, Appendix, VI, 406.

Of equal importance with the reform in the public land laws in bringing settlers into the Ohio country was the gradual improvement in transportation, and this was notably true of the usual routes from the Eastern Seaboard. In the earliest days of settlement the danger of Indian attacks had forced many travelers to take the roundabout route through Kentucky over the Wilderness Trail. With gradual subsidence of Indian hostility, Pittsburgh and the near-by river ports became the popular centers from which emigrants set forth directly for their new homes. Two main roads across the mountains to Pittsburgh were available, the Pennsylvania State Road, and the Cumberland Road.⁵⁰ The former, the "Western Road to Pittsburgh," built from Carlisle to Pittsburgh in 1786-1787, followed approximately Forbes' Road by way of Bedford, and continued east through Lancaster to Philadelphia. At first a mere pack-horse trail, it was gradually improved until it became the main highway across the Appalachians to Pittsburgh. The Cumberland Road or Braddock's Road, as it was often called, struck up the Potomac Valley to Fort Cumberland, then over the mountains to Wheeling with a branch to Pittsburgh. By 1800 both these roads were being used by wagons from Philadelphia and Baltimore, and soon stage coaches as well were running across the mountains.

With the opening of the Western Reserve, the Lake Trail along Lake Erie became an important highway for west-bound emigrants.⁵¹ Following an old Indian trail, it connected with the Iroquois Trail over which so many New Englanders had come to central and western New York. This trail, the Genesee Road as it was soon called, was first improved from the terminus of the Mohawk Valley Road at Fort Schuyler to the Genesee River. Next, in 1798 it was extended from the Genesee to the "western extremity" of the state. The same year the directors of the Connecticut Land Company resolved that it was "expedient" to cut

⁵⁰ A. B. Hulbert, *Historic Highways* (Cleveland, 1902-5), IV, 191-213; V, 190-205.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, II, 68-71, 76-85, 101-3; XI, 95-111; Shepard, "Connecticut Land Company," 181; Warner, Beers & Co., pub., *History of Erie County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1884), 235.



MAP 20. IMPORTANT ROUTES FROM THE ATLANTIC COAST TO THE OHIO COUNTRY

Based upon the map in Thomas Speed, *The Wilderness Road*, in Filson Club, Publications (Louisville, Ky.), vol. II (1886), frontispiece.

a road from the western boundary of Pennsylvania to the new settlement at Cleaveland, and set aside what seemed then the large sum of \$2,600 for this purpose. The specifications for this primitive road provided that the "small stuff" should be cleared

for a width of 25 feet, and the timber girdled for 33 feet, with bridges where streams were "not fordable." Ultimately the Lake Trail and the Genesee Road developed into an important highway for the New England emigrants who came into the Western Reserve, although not until 1806 was the short section across northwestern Pennsylvania laid out as a passable road.

From Pittsburgh an ever increasing throng of settlers floated down the Ohio, their usual destination in the earlier period, Kentucky. In the first eleven months of 1788, it was estimated that more than 900 boats, carrying some 18,000 people, descended the Ohio.⁵² As soon as settlement on the north bank became safe a considerable portion of these voyagers found homes in the Ohio country. After the Treaty of Greenville many of them went into the interior by way of the several tributaries of the Ohio, which were navigable in those days of extensive forests and swamps with a consequent steadier flow of the streams. In pioneer days keel-boats could ascend the Big Beaver and the Mahoning in "swells" as far as Youngstown and Warren. To the westward, the Muskingum was navigable 110 miles for large bateaux, and 45 miles farther for smaller boats. Vessels of four feet draft could be navigated up the Scioto to Chillicothe, and smaller ones could go 100 miles farther. The Miami was navigable for 75 miles from its mouth, and 50 miles farther for loaded canoes. From Lake Erie smaller boats could ascend the Cuyahoga as far as the portage to the Tuscarawas, and the Sandusky and Maumee were important waterways which greatly helped later migration into the interior.

Yet travel on these Ohio rivers had its drawbacks. Floods in the spring and fall, low water in the summer, and ice in the winter were frequent menaces. Sand bars caused much trouble, and the many planters, logs stuck in the mud which projected perpendicularly from the river bed, tore out the flimsy bottoms of luckless flatboats. Floating logs, locally known as sawyers, were another source of danger, while variations in the depth and location of the

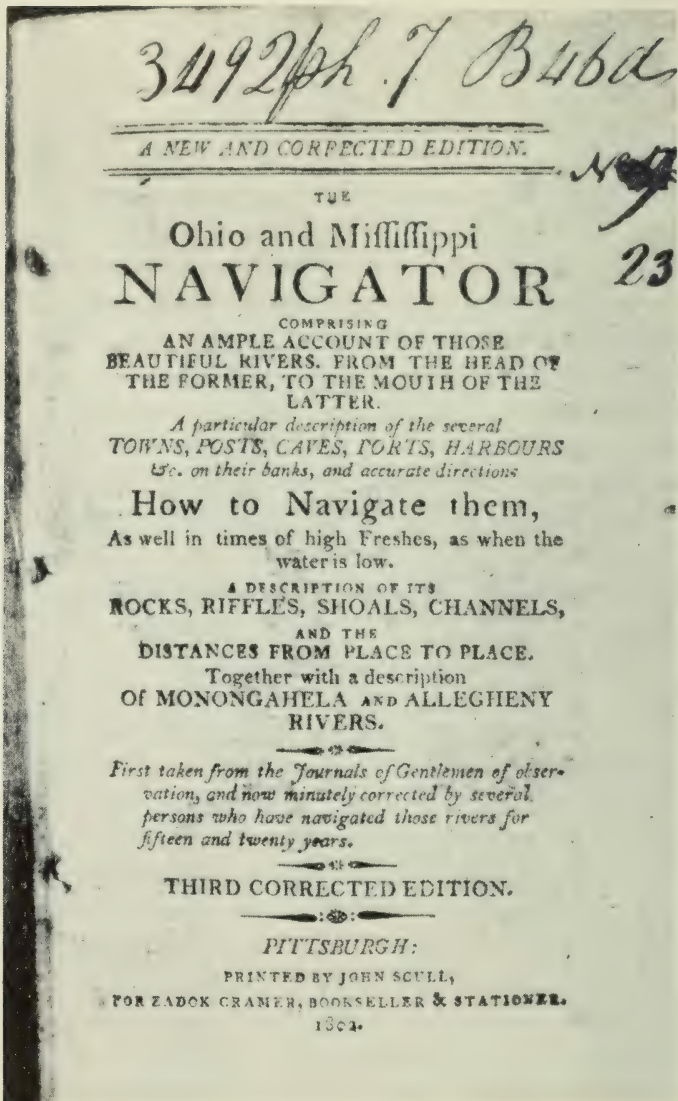
⁵² C. H. Ambler, *History of Transportation in the Ohio Valley* (Glendale, Calif., 1932), 70.

channel, and cross currents added to the difficulties of the pioneer boatmen. Fortunately they were soon provided with a useful guide in Zadock Cramer's *Navigator*.⁵³ Made up originally from the journals of "gentlemen of observation," the different editions were "minutely corrected" by several persons who "for fifteen and twenty years" had navigated the rivers described. A veritable Baedeker of the Ohio and the tributary region, the *Navigator* described in minute detail the main channel, the bars and other permanent obstructions, thus enabling the boatmen to steer clear of many lurking dangers. Moreover, it gave interesting details of agricultural and commercial life, so that its several editions were an excellent index to the progress of settlement in the Ohio Valley.

Improvements in the river craft were naturally a great aid to early transportation by water.⁵⁴ Ordinarily the immigrant used a rectangular flatboat, 20 to 60 feet long by 10 to 20 feet wide, which was boarded up for two or three feet, and fitted with a shelter of some sort. Propelled by "sweeps," with a long oar as a rudder, the flatboat was only useful to go downstream, as it could not ascend against the current. For this latter purpose the pirogue was used, really a dugout 40 to 50 feet in length and six to eight feet wide. Keel-boats, too, gradually came into use, with a long heavy center timber along the bottom which would take the shock of collision with any obstruction in the river bed. Barges with covered decks gradually made their appearance, especially on through routes, and very soon more or less regular freight and passenger service was established on the Ohio. As early as 1791 a boat was advertised to leave Limestone, the principal Kentucky port, for Pittsburgh, the owner offering "good encouragement" to passengers who came "well armed," and by 1793 there was weekly service on this route. In the fall of 1793 fortnightly sailings in

⁵³ Zadock Cramer, pub., *Navigator; or, the Traders' Useful Guide in Navigating the Monongahela, Allegheny, Ohio and Mississippi Rivers* (Pittsburgh, twelve editions, 1801-1824).

⁵⁴ Ambler, *Transportation in Ohio Valley*, 38-43, 85-9; B. W. Bond, Jr., *Civilization of the Old Northwest* (New York, 1934), 353-4, 362; *Lexington Kentucky Gazette*, Jan. 29, 1791; Jan. 4, 1794; *Cincinnati Centinel of the North-western Territory*, Nov. 23, Dec. 7, 1793; *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Nov. 2, 1793.



25. "THE OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI NAVIGATOR"

Title-page of the 1802 Pittsburgh edition, said to be the earliest existing edition; in the Library of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

either direction were inaugurated between Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. The boats, which supposedly made the round-trip in four weeks, offered separate cabins for men and women, and supplied provisions and liquors "of the first quality at the most reasonable rates possible." For security against Indian attacks there were bullet-proof cabins, and each boat carried six pieces of artillery, numerous muskets, and a supply of ammunition. As an added precaution, shippers were given an opportunity to insure their goods. Another advance in transportation which promised at first to be a great boon to traffic on the Ohio was the construction of sea-going vessels, chiefly by New England emigrants who were skilled shipbuilders. The first of these vessels, the *St. Clair* built at Marietta in 1800, left for Havana by way of New Orleans, and two years later the *Muskingum*, a vessel of 204 tons, also sailed from Marietta. Other sea-going vessels were launched at Pittsburgh and on the Monongahela. But this promising industry did not long survive, for like the flatboats, these vessels could not ascend the river against the strong current, and barges were the usual means of carrying the increasing trade on the Ohio.

As settlement spread in the Ohio country, some more convenient system of transportation by land across country became essential, and in 1792 the governor and the judges adopted an act for the construction of highways.⁵⁵ This act attempted to provide the necessary labor by a requirement that able-bodied males, sixteen years and over, should work on the roads not more than ten days annually. The construction of bridges and other necessary expenses were to be met by local taxes. In 1799 the Territorial legislature passed a much more elaborate act which required each able-bodied man between twenty-one and fifty to work two days each year on the roads. The necessary ditches and drains were to be constructed through private property if necessary, and sand, gravel and other material could be taken from unimproved land. One quite practical clause required that posts should be set up

⁵⁵ T. C. Pease, ed., *Laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1800* (Springfield, Ill., 1925), 74-7.

at "forks" of the roads, to show "the most remarkable places" to which they led. For constructing and maintaining the roads, annual levies were to be made.⁵⁶ This act became the basic highway law for Ohio, but road building was not undertaken on an extensive scale during the Territorial period. Indeed the only really important road in the Ohio country up to 1803 was Zane's Trace from Wheeling to Limestone, *i.e.*, Maysville, in Kentucky. This important highway was laid out as the sequel to a grant from Congress in 1796 to Ebenezer Zane, a Virginian from the South Branch of the Potomac, of not over a square mile each at the crossings of the Muskingum, the Hocking and the Scioto.⁵⁷ In return Zane undertook to construct a road from Wheeling to Limestone, establishing ferries and inns at each of these important rivers. The road, known familiarly and with a rather sardonic appropriateness as Zane's Trace, followed the established Mingo Trail for the greater part of the distance from Wheeling to the Muskingum, then crossed to the Hocking, and reached the Scioto at Chillicothe. From this last point it went across country to Aberdeen opposite Maysville on the Ohio.

For a time Zane's Trace was a mere trail for horsemen, and George Sample who traveled over it in 1797 or 1798, from his farm seven miles above the mouth of Brush Creek in Adams County to Wheeling, bore witness to its primitive condition.⁵⁸ Sample found few houses on the journey of about four days by horseback, but although there was "rough fare," he was pleasantly surprised at the lack of hardships. Gradually Zane's Trace was improved, and it soon became the backbone of the Ohio road system. Another excellent description of the difficulties which ordinarily attended travel by land in the early Ohio country, was given by James B. Finley in an account of a trip he took in 1800.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 452-67.

⁵⁷ *Annals of Cong.*, 4 Cong., Appendix, 2904-5; Hulbert, *Historic Highways*, XI, 155-9; Peters, *Ohio Lands*, 184-93; Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio* (Newark, O., 1898), I, 728.

⁵⁸ *American Pioneer* (Cincinnati, 1842-3), I, 158.

⁵⁹ Finley, *Autobiography*, 115-6.

With several companions he had purchased a drove of cattle as a speculation, proposing to drive them from his home in Chilli-cothe to the Detroit market. There were no improved roads on this route, and the travelers followed the Indian trails from one village to another, going the first day to Delaware by way of Franklinton. From there Finley and his companions crossed to the Sandusky Plains, then to Upper Sandusky, Lower Sandusky, the Maumee Rapids and finally the River Rouge and Detroit, where they arrived after a journey of two weeks and five days.

As travel by land developed, ferries became necessary across the many streams. During the early days when settlement was confined practically to the Ohio Valley proper, most of them were across the river to the Kentucky shore.⁶⁰ The governor as chief executive customarily issued licenses, the first one, December 28, 1789, to Absalom Martin to open a ferry across the Ohio from a point nearly opposite Wheeling which was destined to be known as Martin's Ferry. Martin was to charge a "reasonable compensation," and to provide "good and sufficient boats." The next recorded license, February 8, 1792, authorized Robert Benham to establish a ferry across the Ohio from Cincinnati to both banks of the Licking. Contrary to the usual custom the license established the rates to be charged on this important ferry: 6¢ for a single person, 18¢ for a man and horse, 100¢ for a wagon and team, 18¢ per head for horned cattle, and 9¢ each for hogs. In 1795 the three judges formally requested the governor to sanction ferries by proclamation, and this procedure was followed in many instances.⁶¹ A particularly interesting one was the ferry which was authorized June 16, 1796, from Aberdeen, the Ohio terminus of Zane's Trace, across the river to Limestone. About seventeen months later Ebenezer Zane was given permission to open a ferry to Wheeling. Farther up the valley above "Old Fort Steuben," Bezaleel Wells and an associate had already received a license to

⁶⁰ Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, III, 293, 366-7, etc.

⁶¹ Pease, ed., *Laws of the Northwest Territory*, 287; Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, III, 439, 444, 464, etc.

establish a ferry across the Ohio. Other ferries were licensed from Marietta and near-by settlements to Kentucky.

As settlement moved into the interior the regulation of ferries became an increasingly important problem, for they were now necessary across the many tributaries of the Ohio as well.⁶² In 1797 Nathaniel Massie was given a license for a ferry across the Scioto at Chillicothe, and two years later another ferry across this same river was authorized at the town of "Westfal." On the Muskingum a ferry was licensed at the mouth of the river in 1797, and another one in 1800, while a ferry across the Little Miami in 1797 was a direct result of the increasing travel between Cincinnati and the Virginia Military Tract. Evidently there was much dissatisfaction as a result of the opening of many unauthorized ferries, and in 1797 Sargent called attention to the exclusive power of the governor to grant licenses. The charges, however, were fixed by the county court after 1795, and in 1797 the Adams County court, with jurisdiction over an important section of the newly opened Zane's Trace, adopted a schedule of ferry charges across the Scioto and the Ohio. This principle of fixing ferry charges by authority of the local courts was upheld in a rather elaborate act which the Territorial legislature passed in 1799. But the legislature retained in its own hands for another year the authority to grant licenses, until experience finally forced the delegation of this power, too, to the county courts. The act of 1799 pointedly called attention to the public obligations of the ferry man to keep his ferry open at night, and to receive "any passenger or passengers, carriages, wagons, horses, or cattle of any kind."

As the facilities for travel developed, inns began to appear in the Ohio country, usually serving also in English fashion as local barrooms.⁶³ A rather elaborate measure adopted in 1792, attempted

⁶² *Ibid.*, 470-1, 479, 480, 521, etc.; W. F. Gephart, *Transportation and Industrial Development in the Middle West* (New York, 1909), 49; Pease, ed., *Laws of the Northwest Territory*, 357-60; Northwest Territory, U. S., *Laws*, 1 Assemb., 2 Sess. (Chillicothe, 1801), 19-21.

⁶³ Pease, ed., *Laws of the Northwest Territory*, 61-6, 193-7; Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, III, 445ff.

to control them by the requirement that each innkeeper should take out a license from local commissioners, with an annual fee of \$16.00. In addition to "good and wholesome food," and "ordinary liquors" of a "good and salutary quality," he must provide suitable lodgings for his guests. Maxwell's Code in 1795 reduced the fee to \$4.00 and handed over to the governor the right to issue licenses for inns. Under this act numerous licenses were issued for taverns, some of them undoubtedly mere barrooms. An especially important one was issued June 30, 1796, to Griffin Yeatman who conducted the well-known Yeatman's Tavern at the public landing in Cincinnati. Another significant license was issued about a week later to Abigail Brown for a tavern in her house on the "great road" from Cincinnati to Hamilton. A license for another tavern on the same highway was granted six months later; and already Noah P. Hopkins had taken out a license to keep a tavern at his home in Hamilton.

Inasmuch as these early licenses were for taverns either in Cincinnati or the vicinity, the innkeepers in the more isolated settlements evidently did not take the trouble to secure permission from the governor. Doubtless to remedy this situation, the Territorial legislature in 1800 transferred the power of issuing licenses for taverns to the justices of the county courts of quarter-sessions. They were to be granted to "fit" persons, as public "convenience and necessity" required, with an annual fee of \$6.00, \$10.00, or \$14.00 at the discretion of the justices. This act also required innkeepers to provide "good entertainment and accommodation for man and horse." But like the roads, the taverns in the early Ohio country were exceedingly primitive establishments.⁶⁴ In 1798 the only "excuse" for a tavern at the important crossing of the Muskingum at Zanesville was a log cabin. Four years later the swift improvement in Ohio inns was forcibly illustrated by the really elaborate one which had been erected in this same settlement, at the sign of the Eagle and the Ball. Conducted in a large

⁶⁴ Northwest Territory, *Laws*, 1 Assemb., 2 Sess., 52-6; *American Pioneer*, I, 75; *Marietta Ohio Gazette*, Jan. 1, 1802; Chillicothe (Ohio) *Scioto Gazette*, Dec. 10, 1803.

two-story house, this tavern was well supplied with "imported" liquors, a "number of feather beds," and other comforts. Chillicothe, as the Territorial capital, soon boasted a number of other inns. By 1803 its leading hostelry seems to have been a twelve-room building at the sign of the Red Lion which had been completely refurnished, and offered "good, clean beds," a constant supply of good liquor, and stable accommodations for thirty horses.

Still another result of the swift development of transportation in the Ohio country after the Treaty of Greenville, was the establishment of regular mail service.⁶⁵ During the earliest period of settlement the Ohio-bound mail had been carried from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, or else by the Wilderness Trail from Richmond to Danville in Kentucky. From Pittsburgh and Danville letters were habitually forwarded by private persons, or occasionally by couriers. The military campaigns, followed by the remarkable increase in population, soon made a more dependable mail system necessary, and elaborate plans were drawn up in 1794 to forward the mails regularly from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati. As far as Wheeling they would go by land, then by a system of relay boats to Limestone, and finally by an overland courier to Cincinnati. The weekly schedule was estimated at seven days from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati, and 13 days for the return trip up the river. These plans did not work satisfactorily. Ice, high water, and many petty difficulties caused frequent delays. Even after four new boats of "whale-boat construction" had been provided at a cost of \$2,500 each, the mail service was still not dependable. The opening of "Mr. Zane's Trace" gave welcome relief. The water route was now abandoned in favor of the more dependable one by land, and the mails left Pittsburgh every Friday, arriving at Limestone the following Friday with a fair degree of regularity.

The development of a dependable mail service was only one of the many evidences of the remarkable increase in the population of the Ohio country, after Wayne's campaign and the Treaty of Greenville had made the greater part of this area safe for settle-

⁶⁵ Bond, *Civilization of the Old Northwest*, 377-80.

ment. The liberalization of the land laws, and the gradual improvements in transportation, both across the Appalachians and within the Ohio country, had brought in an increasingly large proportion of the westward-bound emigrants. In 1790 the census takers had not even troubled themselves to count the few inhabitants in the Cincinnati and Marietta settlements, or the squatters along the north bank of the Ohio.⁶⁶ There were then only two organized counties, both of them in the Ohio Valley: Washington County to the eastward, Hamilton County to the westward, with the Scioto as the dividing line.

By 1800 the picture was greatly altered. The census now showed a total population of 45,365 in seven counties, including Wayne County which was soon to be separated from the new State of Ohio.⁶⁷ There had been an interesting shift, too, in the location of the population. The four counties along the Ohio, Jefferson, Washington, Adams and Hamilton, contained approximately 71 per cent. of the population, although they still included extensive areas of hinterland. Hamilton County, for example, extended indefinitely up the Miami to the growing settlements in the Hamilton and Dayton areas. In the northeast, in the Western Reserve now organized as Trumbull County, a population of 1,203 had grown up since Moses Cleaveland started the little settlement at the mouth of the Cuyahoga.

Of even greater significance had been the growth of Ross County, which St. Clair had organized in 1798 in the Scioto Valley, north of Washington and Adams counties. By 1800, with a population of 8,540 it had become the third ranking county in population, with Hamilton first and Jefferson second. Another interesting illustration of the rapid spread of population was a petition in 1801 for the erection of a new county, of which the center was Dayton, to extend chiefly along the Mad River between the Miami

⁶⁶ U. S. Census Office, 1st Census, *Census Return for 1790, Summary* (Washington, 1802).

⁶⁷ U. S. Census Office, 2d Census, *Census Return for 1800, Summary* (Washington, 1802), 85.



26. CINCINNATI IN 1800

From the collection of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

and the Little Miami rivers. The male inhabitants alone, 21 and over in this area, numbered 382 between the two Miamis, 28 west of the Miami, and an additional 20 east of the Little Miami. Although the total population was probably 1,000 to 1,500, the proposed new county of Montgomery was not set off until 1803.⁶⁸

In the shift of population into the interior, Zane's Trace had been an increasingly important factor, along with such waterways as the Muskingum and the Scioto.⁶⁹ In 1799 Jonathan Zane, a brother of Ebenezer, laid out a settlement, Westbourn, at the crossing of the Muskingum, which, known as Zanesville, quickly attracted settlers, and became an important stopping place for travelers. Another important early settlement in the interior was Lancaster, which Ebenezer Zane founded in 1800 at the crossing of the Hocking and called New Lancaster in compliment to several early settlers from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Other sturdy frontiersmen had already settled in the upper Hocking Valley, and Zane's Trace gave at least a connection with the outside world to this nucleus of population in Fairfield County. In

⁶⁸ Bond, ed., "Memoirs of Benjamin Van Cleve," 66.

⁶⁹ Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, I, 588-9; II, 328-9.

the Tuscarawas Valley there was an especially interesting settlement on the lands which Congress had set aside for the remnant of the Christian Delaware Indians. Led by the Moravian missionaries, David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder, in October, 1798, the Indians came from their temporary homes at Fairfield in Upper Canada to the site of old Schoenbrunn. Here they laid out the little village of Goshen, and gradually other settlers, chiefly members or friends of the Moravian Church, came to lease the surplus of land the Indians could not use, and to reestablish Gnadenhutzen as an important settlement.⁷⁰

By 1803 when statehood was achieved, Ohio had undoubtedly increased its population beyond the 45,316 of the census of 1800, even allowing for Wayne County which had been cut off, although exact figures are not available for the years 1800-1803.⁷¹ By 1810 Ohio had a population of 227,843, and there had been an even more notable shift to the interior counties, where now approximately 52 per cent. of the State's population dwelt.

⁷⁰ J. B. Mansfield, comp., *History of Tuscarawas County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1894), 307-11.

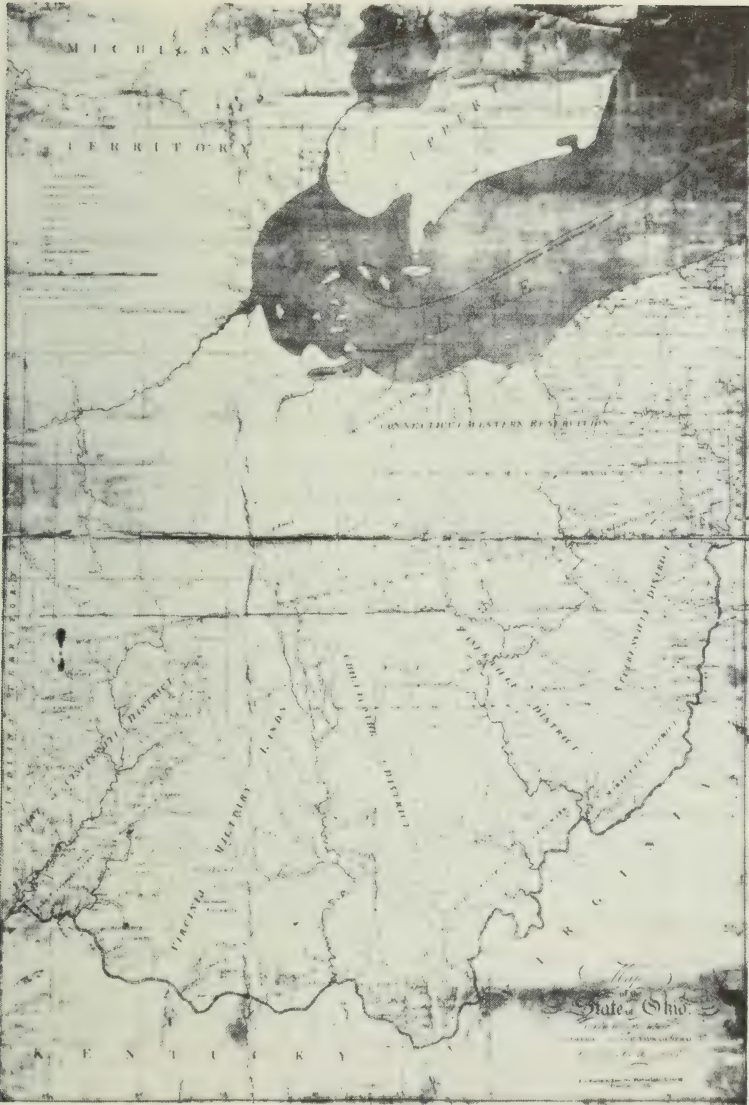
⁷¹ U. S. Census Office, 5th Census, *Census Report, 1830* (Washington, 1832), 18-9.

The Beginnings of Government

WITH the spread of settlement in the Ohio country, the newly established Territorial government kept pace with the needs of a fast growing population. At the same time the American colonial policy, as it was set forth in the Government Ordinance of 1787, was undergoing its first practical test. At first sight the Ohio country presented a clear field, with its only inhabitants scattered Indian tribes and the irregular squatters in the Ohio Valley. But it was only a portion of the Northwest Territory which stretched approximately between the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Great Lakes, and included within its bounds such long-established French settlements as Detroit, Vincennes and those of the Illinois country. The necessity of conciliating these alien communities inevitably complicated the problems of government, at the same time that the long distances involved cut down the time the administrative officers could devote to the Ohio country exclusively. Still another situation which absorbed much attention was the constant conflict with the Indians, to the time of Anthony Wayne's campaign and the Treaty of Greenville.

As usual in American settlements, voluntary agreements for orderly government preceded the establishment of strictly legal forms in the Ohio country. Following the precedent of the Boonesborough Agreement in near-by Kentucky, John Amberson, as early as 1785, issued a notice to the groups of squatters north of the Ohio to elect delegates to a constitutional convention.¹ At Marietta, scarcely a month after the arrival of the first pioneers, the official representatives of the Ohio Company imitated the framers of the Mayflower Compact and informally constituted

¹ Cf. Chapter IX, p. 255.



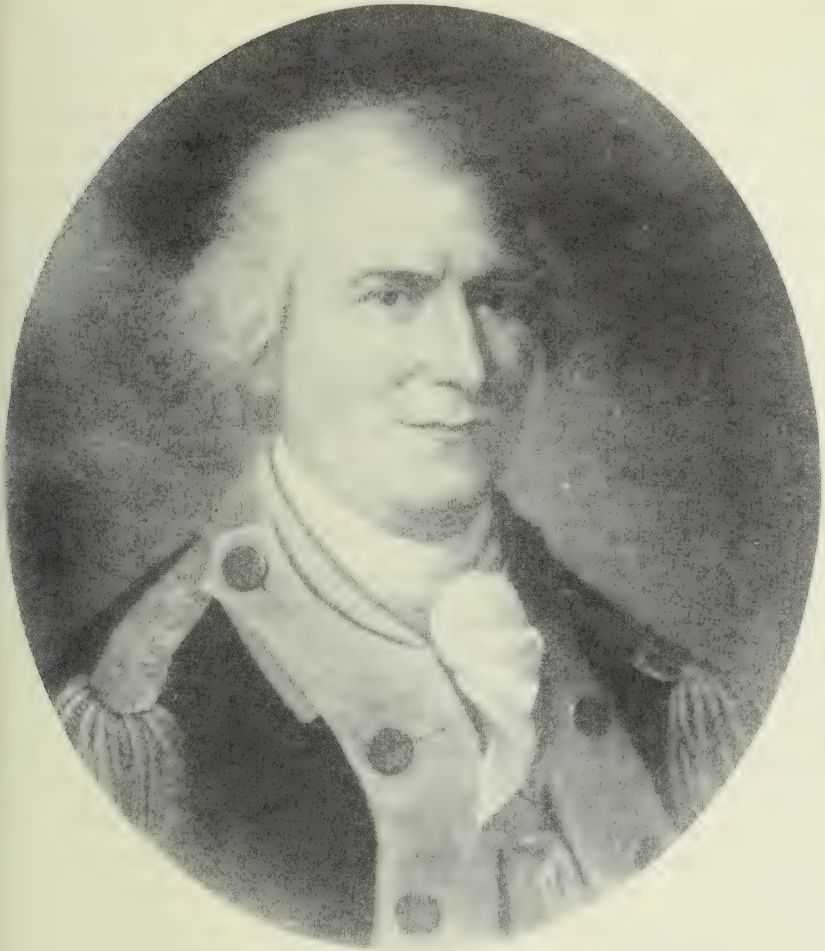
MAP 21. MAP OF THE STATE OF OHIO

Made by John F. Mansfield, 1806, and said to be the first engraved map of Ohio after its organization as a State. From the collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society.

themselves a board of police.² They put Return Jonathan Meigs in general charge of the little settlement to carry out the regulations they considered necessary for its welfare, trying offenders subject to an appeal to themselves. To William Curtis they assigned the duty of keeping a list of all persons in Marietta. Among the regulations drawn up by this frontier vigilante committee were those for the reorganization of the militia, and for the control of Indian trade and the sale of liquor. The usual punishment for an offender was labor for the public, or else expulsion from the settlement. These resolutions were read to a public meeting on the banks of the Muskingum. July 2, 1788, at the first regular meeting of the Ohio Company in Marietta, the three directors present drew up a more elaborate plan "for the government of the settlement," which was posted on the smooth trunk of a large beech tree beside the Muskingum. These "city regulations," the directors explained to Governor Arthur St. Clair, were an "absolute necessity" for the public health and safety.

July 9, 1788, a military salute of fourteen guns announced the arrival of St. Clair at Fort Harmar. July 15 he crossed the Muskingum to Marietta, and there formally inaugurated legal government in the Northwest Territory. This first stage under the Ordinance lasted until September 24, 1799, when the opening of the Territorial Assembly marked the transition to the second stage with partial local autonomy. During these first eleven years, St. Clair, aided by the secretary and the Territorial judges, faced the many-sided problem of drawing up a code of laws which would be more or less adapted to local needs, and of getting into working order the actual machinery of government. Upon him rested the main responsibility under the terms of the Ordinance. As chief executive, he was also commander-in-chief of the militia, and had the power to appoint all magistrates and other "necessary" civil officers as well as to make "proper" divisions of the Territory. The

²E. J. Benton, ed., "Side Lights on the Ohio Company of Associates from the John May Papers," Western Reserve Historical Society, *Tracts* (Cleveland), no. 97 (1917), 104-12; A. B. Hulbert, ed., *Records of the Ohio Company* (Marietta, O. 1917), I, 44-5; R. C. Downes, *Frontier Ohio, 1788-1803* (Columbus, 1935), 128-9.



27. ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, GOVERNOR OF THE NORTHWEST
TERRITORY

From an oil painting, in the governor's office of the State-house, Columbus, Ohio, copied from the portrait by Charles W. Peale in Continental Hall, Philadelphia.

judges had a two-fold function: the judicial proper, under which any two of them, and after 1792, one alone, might sit as the supreme court of the Territory;³ and the legislative which they

³ *Annals of Congress* (Washington, 1834-56), 2 Cong., Appendix, 1395.

shared with the governor. The most important function of the secretary was that of exercising all of the governor's prerogatives when the latter was absent from the Territory.

Under so centralized and undemocratic a system of government the personality of the officers in charge was all-important. The Ordinance had followed the English, and later the colonial theory of government by the property-holding class, requiring the governor to own 1,000 acres, the secretary and the three judges 500 acres each. Thus a conservative régime was ensured, which would naturally uphold the ideals of the rapidly forming Federalist Party. St. Clair, the responsible head of the Northwest Territory, was well fitted for his post.⁴ A native of Scotland, he had received an excellent education, and had come to America to serve in the French and Indian War. Settling on the Pennsylvania frontier in the Ligonier Valley, he had filled with much credit a number of public offices. After a successful career in the Revolutionary army he retired as a major-general, and was soon sent to Congress, becoming its president in 1787. Thus St. Clair came to his new post as governor of the Northwest Territory, a mature man of fifty-four with a varied political and military experience which gave him the prestige, and the important connections necessary in carrying on his arduous task. With an imperious temper, an iron will, and a native Scotch shrewdness, he combined the practical understanding of frontier problems which came from the years he had spent at Ligonier. In addition to these striking qualifications, St. Clair had a cultured urbanity and tact which won the general respect and confidence of the inhabitants of the Territory during the early period of his rule. "He was plain and simple in his dress and equipage, open and frank in his manners, and accessible to persons of every rank."

The secretary, Winthrop Sargent, was in strong contrast to St. Clair.⁵ A native of Massachusetts and a Harvard graduate, he had

⁴ W. H. Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers* (Cincinnati, 1882), I, 1-256; Jacob Burnet, *Notes on the Early Settlement of the North Western Territory* (Cincinnati, 1847), 370-5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 375; Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 127-8.

the typical virtues and also the failings of his native heath. With an honorable Revolutionary record, Sargent had also taken a leading part in the organization of the Ohio Company, and was of course keenly interested in the success of the new government in the Northwest Territory. Conscientious to a fault, he was a typical Puritan, unyielding, unimaginative, with little regard for popular reactions, and with no previous frontier experience. These deficiencies, and especially the lack of a practical point of view, were all the more significant, since Sargent was inclined to stretch to the limit his powers as temporary executive during St. Clair's frequent absences. The Territorial judges, likewise, were not particularly well fitted for their work.⁶ Samuel Holden Parsons and James Mitchell Varnum, who took part in the first organization of government, were both New England born and both lawyers. The third judge, John Cleves Symmes, the only one with any considerable experience on the frontier, was somewhat deficient in legal training, and his speculative interest in the Miami Purchase was a serious handicap. Of the later judges, Rufus Putnam, appointed in 1790, had no special legal qualification, but he did possess an unusual fund of practical sense, and a knowledge of frontier needs. As the chief local representative of the Ohio Company, like Symmes, his fitness as a judge was questioned at times. Judge George Turner, who with Putnam and Symmes exercised the functions of the Territorial judges during the greater part of this first stage of Territorial government, was a native Englishman and a personal friend of Washington. Irascible and a trouble-maker, Turner, too, was interested in land speculation.

At the very outset a sharp controversy arose between the governor and the judges over their legislative powers.⁷ The Ordinance gave them the right to "adopt" laws of the "original states" which were suited to Territorial needs, and declared that statutes thus chosen would remain in force unless Congress expressly

⁶ *Ibid.*, 131-4; B. W. Bond, Jr., *Civilization of the Old Northwest* (New York, 1934), 81-4.

⁷ Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, II, 69-78.

disapproved them. St. Clair interpreted this power as permitting exclusively the adoption of entire laws or parts of laws. But the two judges, Parsons and Varnum, who met with him to frame a Territorial code, favored a more liberal construction following the rule of common sense, so that the governor and the judges could adopt laws which were for the good of the Territory, and need not literally follow the originals, provided they were "conformable" to the Constitution, and "consistent" with "republican principles." In practise, this interpretation meant that parts of laws could be taken from the codes of several states, and combined into a single statute which would be worded to meet local needs. Ultimately St. Clair surrendered to what was clearly the only practical policy. But he emerged as victor when the judges maintained that his legislative power was merely coordinate with their own. If this interpretation had prevailed, the three judges could have combined to enact a statute despite his opposition, and St. Clair successfully upheld his own absolute veto power.

Having made their mutual concessions, St. Clair and the two judges, Parsons and Varnum, drew up a code of laws for the Northwest Territory at a legislative session at Marietta which lasted intermittently from July 25 to December 28, 1788. The one code available was that of Pennsylvania which St. Clair had brought with him, and upon it these laws were based, with many alterations to meet the needs of a pioneer community.⁸ In every instance St. Clair insisted that the common law was in force, except where it was expressly superseded by a statute, and that the laws passed must be explicit, and must apply to the entire Territory. The first law the governor and the judges adopted was the Militia Act, drawn up to meet the basic need for protection from the Indians. All male inhabitants between sixteen and fifty were to enroll in the militia, each man providing his own equipment, a gun and bayonet or rifle, forty rounds of cartridges, or a pound of powder and four pounds of lead and the necessary

⁸ T. C. Pease, ed., *Laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1800* (Springfield, Ill., 1925), 1-26.

accessories. The first day of each week the militia was to assemble, fully armed, for parade, "adjacent" to the place assigned for public worship. The commander was to call them out whenever need arose. The law provided for the usual officers to be appointed by the governor, and imposed fines for failure to obey its provisions, especially the one which required each man to provide his own equipment.

Of equal basic importance were the laws which established a Territorial judiciary. First under this new code came the general court, which the judges of the Territory were to hold four times annually, but with only one term in any single county. This court had jurisdiction over all cases, civil as well as criminal, and was the final Territorial court of appeals. Next in importance were the county courts of quarter-sessions, with jurisdiction in minor criminal cases for which the punishment did not extend to "life" or "limb," imprisonment for more than a year, or forfeiture of goods or lands. Three of the justices of the peace whom the governor appointed, were to preside in each county at the four annual sessions of these county courts; and between sessions the justices had general oversight of local affairs, with power to take recognizances from persons charged with crime awaiting the next term of court. For civil cases the Territorial code authorized the appointment of judges for semiannual courts of common pleas in each county. A probate court under a single judge, holding four annual sessions, rounded out the system of county courts. The governor and judges wisely recognized the difficulties in attending the county courts for the inhabitants of many remote settlements, and adopted laws which gave justices of the peace final jurisdiction in petty criminal cases involving a fine of not more than \$3.00, and in civil cases involving \$5.00 or less. Supplementing the local judiciary was the sheriff, to be appointed by the governor in each county. It is interesting to note that one of his manifold duties was the suppression of "all affrays, routs, riots, and insurrections." For this last purpose the sheriff was authorized to call to his aid "the power of the county." Another important

officer, a coroner, to be appointed in each county, was required, in addition to his usual duty of holding inquests in cases of sudden death, to act himself as jailer in case it became necessary to commit the sheriff to prison. Other local officers not specifically mentioned in these early laws, St. Clair appointed as need arose, under the general powers conferred by the Ordinance.

Among the few remaining laws in this fundamental code was a statute of limitations, a necessary measure in view of the generally unstable conditions on a remote frontier, which restricted civil action to from two to ten years, and criminal prosecution, except for capital offenses, to from two to four years. Marriage, too, was carefully regulated by a law which established a minimum age limit of seventeen for men, and fifteen for women. Judges of the general court, justices of the peace and ministers of any religious faith were allowed to officiate, and "the society of christians called quakers" could perform the ceremony according to their custom at "public meetings." In an attempt to prevent runaway marriages, the law required the banns to be published on three successive Sundays, while a certificate must be filed with the county register by the officiating magistrate or clergyman. But the chief dependence of these frontier lawmakers was placed in the common law, and an elaborate list of crimes and their punishments supplemented the few statutes, and incidentally gave an interesting insight into frontier conditions. The danger from British intrigues, or from plots to separate the western country from the Atlantic Coast was doubtless responsible for the death penalty for treason. Murder, arson, burglary and robbery, "in the field or highway," all frequent crimes on the frontier, were severely dealt with, along with volunteer justice of the lynch law variety, which was likely to crop up. Thus, any three or more persons who assembled to commit an unlawful act, or to plan violence, were subjected to heavy fines, and it was the duty of each magistrate to break up such unlawful assemblies. A significant clause imposed a fine upon any one who presumed to officiate "in any office or place of authority" in the Territory without lawful authorization.

For petty crimes the usual punishments were fines and flogging, thus avoiding jail sentences at public expense, except for delinquent debtors. Occasionally there was a vein of Old Testament justice, as in the requirement that a thief must return to the injured person twice the value of the stolen property. Many of the offenses which this law mentioned reflected the New England upbringing of the two judges. Disobedient servants and children might be committed to jail, and should they presume to strike their parents or masters they would be publicly whipped. For drunkenness there was a fine of five dimes, and for each succeeding offense \$1.00, although the law sensibly stipulated that the charge must be brought within two days of the offense. There was a rather puritanical tinge in another clause which roundly condemned swearing and "idle, vain and obscene" conversation. But for such offenders there was no penalty, aside from the vague threat that the government would consider them "unworthy" of its "confidence." Puritan influence was also evident in the requirement that the first day of the week must be observed as a day of public worship, and "rest from common labors and pursuits." As a matter of fact, this early code of the Northwest Territory, which had been *adapted* rather than *adopted* from the Pennsylvania Code, was an exceptionally practical one well suited to the few needs of a frontier country. The judiciary system and the provisions for enforcing the law could readily be enlarged and amplified as new counties were created, and additional officers became necessary. Moreover, the list of crimes and punishments showed a real appreciation of frontier needs. In short, the entire code constituted an elastic framework capable of being filled in and expanded as more complex needs arose with an increasing population.

St. Clair promptly took steps to translate these basic laws into action, creating Washington County July 27, 1788, as the first organized political division in the Ohio country. Its extent was enormous, approximately between the Ohio River, the western boundary of Pennsylvania, Lake Erie, the Cuyahoga and the

Scioto. As soon as the framework of local government had been worked out in the Territorial code, St. Clair issued commissions to the different civil and military officers of Washington County, adding other local officers not mentioned in the laws whom long-established custom had proved necessary for successful administration.⁹ For a time he took no further steps to establish organized government in the Northwest Territory. Indian negotiations absorbed much of his time, and he was absent for several months, representing the needs of the Northwest Territory during the important period when the new Federal Government under the Constitution was being established.

The swift growth of the settlements on Symmes' lands between the two Miamis, also, made necessary the organization there of a legally constituted government. Like the first settlers at Marietta, the pioneers of the Miami Purchase had promptly taken matters in their own hands.¹⁰ At Columbia, justice in those early days was summary and "without fear or cost." For example, the first felony, the theft of a barrel of flour, was soon disposed of after the missing barrel had been discovered underneath a bedstead. A self-constituted court of thirteen pioneers tried the culprit, found him guilty, and administered three lashes apiece. In Losantiville, at a meeting under a great tree the first settlers drew up a code of laws which fixed the punishment for different offenses. Pledging themselves to abide by these regulations, this informal assemblage organized a court, with William McMillan as judge, John Ludlow as sheriff, and agreed upon trials by jury. The first test came when Patrick Grimes was accused of stealing cucumbers. He was arrested, a jury found him guilty, and he received 29 lashes on his bare back. But McMillan soon became involved in a controversy with the commandant at Fort Washington, in which the latter came out decidedly on top. Thereafter the military officials at

⁹ C. E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, 1934-), III, *Territory Northwest of the River Ohio*, 278ff.

¹⁰ B. W. Bond, Jr., ed., "Dr. Daniel Drake's Memoir of the Miami Country, 1779-1794," H. & P. S. of O., *Quar. Pub.* XVIII, 107; H. & P. S. of O., *Transactions* (Cincinnati), I (1839), pt. 2, 19-20; Burnet, *Notes*, 5-7.

the fort assumed temporary charge of civil as well as military affairs in Losantiville, until the arrival of St. Clair January 2, 1790, marked the beginning of government under legal forms in the Miami Purchase.¹¹ Creating Hamilton County to extend northward from the Ohio between the Miami and the Little Miami, the governor chose the necessary military and civil officers. The name of the principal settlement he changed from the fanciful Losantiville to Cincinnati, in honor of the Society of the Cincinnati, and he designated it as the county-seat. After a hurried stay of only three days St. Clair went down the Ohio to the Illinois settlements, although the actual establishment of government in Hamilton County was delayed until February 7, when the dilatory Territorial judge, John Cleves Symmes, finally handed out the various commissions.

The two basic counties, Washington and Hamilton, met the needs of the few settlements in the upper Ohio Valley, until the rapid spread of population which followed the Treaty of Greenville made such huge local divisions too unwieldy. The prompt organization of counties which followed, illustrated the elasticity of the system of local government which had been set up.¹² First Wayne County was created, August 15, 1796, with its boundaries approximately the line of the Treaty of Greenville to Fort Recovery, thence the direct line to Fort Wayne and Lake Michigan, so that this single county included northwestern Ohio and Michigan. Next, Adams County, set off July 16, 1797, stretched along the Ohio, from the grant to the French settlers at Gallipolis to the mouth of Eagle Creek, and northward to the southern boundary of Wayne County, to include the growing settlements in the Virginia Military District. July 29, 1797, Jefferson County was created east of Washington County. Extending from the upper Ohio to Lake Erie, it established an orderly government among the settlers in the Seven Ranges. Ross, the last county organized

¹¹ Carter, ed, *Territorial Papers*, III, 294-6; Bond, ed., "Dr. Daniel Drake's Memoir," 75.

¹² R. C. Downes, "Evolution of Ohio County Boundaries," *O.S.A.H. Quar.*, XXXVI (1927), 353-9.

under the autocratic stage of Territorial government, included the northern section of Adams County with the important settlements at Chillicothe and Franklinton.

In spite of the many problems in organizing the Illinois and Indiana settlements, and the increasing troubles with the Indians, the governor and the judges managed to pass a number of additional laws to meet obvious gaps in the Territorial code. First came three acts which were enacted at Vincennes in July, 1790, by the secretary, Winthrop Sargent, in St. Clair's absence, in cooperation with Symmes and Turner. Although intended primarily for the special situation at Vincennes, these laws were of course in force throughout the Territory.¹³ One of them strictly forbade the sale of liquor to Indians, and required all traders to take out licenses. Another which prohibited the sale of liquor to regular troops, forbade the acceptance from these same troops of any military stores as a pledge or a gift. A third law forbade all forms of public gambling, and declared null and void any notes or other agreements, given in payment of bets. In this same law were detailed regulations to restrict the unnecessary discharge of fire-arms within too close proximity to the frontier settlements.

St. Clair himself managed to hold two legislative sessions with Symmes and Turner at Cincinnati, in November, 1790, and July, 1791, and a third one in August, 1792, with Symmes and Putnam. Like those of the Territorial code, the laws which were passed in these three sessions were based upon the spirit rather than the letter of laws of the original states, but with an eminently practical point of view which recognized actual necessities.¹⁴ Noteworthy among them was the one providing for local government, which the legislative board now handed over for the most part to the justices of the courts of quarter-sessions. At the base of the governmental structure were the townships which the justices were to create in each county, naming in each of them such local officers as constables and overseers of the poor. They also were to appoint

¹³ Pease, ed., *Laws of the Northwest Territory*, 26-34.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 34-116.

a clerk for each township whose special duty it was to record the branding marks chosen by the different owners of live stock. The justices of the courts of quarter-sessions were also in general charge of local taxation. They were to make an annual estimate of the necessary expenses in their respective counties, subject to the approval of the governor and the judges. Commissioners appointed by the justices of the county courts of common pleas would then apportion the charges among the villages or townships. Finally, as a basis for individual payments, assessors appointed by this same court were required to make an annual estimate of the property of each male inhabitant eighteen years and over. Where taxes were not paid promptly, distraint was the usual penalty, but in extreme cases the delinquent might be committed to jail. County treasurers, and a Territorial treasurer rounded out the system of taxation. Another important act carefully regulated the fees to be paid the different officials. Usually they varied between 15 and 50 cents, but marriage was quite expensive according to frontier standards, with fees that totaled 145 cents; 25 cents for the publication of the banns, 10 cents for recording the certificate, and a fee of 110 cents to the officiating minister or magistrate. In all cases the person receiving a fee had the option of taking specie, or else "Indian corn" at one cent per quart.

These early laws even recognized the need for legal standards and required practicing attorneys to be persons "of good moral character and well affected to the government of the United States." Furthermore, they must pass an examination as to their qualifications before one or more of the Territorial judges. For the proper enforcement of the law, the governor and the judges required a "good and convenient court-house" to be erected, together with a "strong and sufficient" jail, a "pillory whipping post," and as many stocks as were needed. There were severe penalties upon jailers, sheriffs or private citizens who aided criminals to escape, and the sheriff and the jailer were responsible for the "insufficiency" of a jail. Other laws of a miscellaneous type bore testimony to the rapid advance in the Ohio settlements.

Among them was one for the construction and repair of highways, and another which required inn- and tavern-keepers and merchants to take out an annual license with a fee of \$16.00. The law with regard to the enclosure of land was an especially forcible illustration of the strides which had been made in orderly settlement. According to this act every wall or fence "of stone, brick, boards, rails, palisades or other materials," must be at least four and one-half feet high. Construction, too, was carefully regulated: palisades must not be more than three inches apart, and in rail fences the joints or corners must be secured by stakes that were "strongly planted in the earth." If live stock broke through such legally constructed barriers, the owner was liable for damages.

By the end of August, 1792, St. Clair and the judges had worked out a code of laws which met in practical fashion the simple needs of the inhabitants of the Northwest Territory. Nor had they neglected the problem of giving these laws and other public documents, such as proclamations, full publicity throughout the widely scattered settlements in a territory that still had no local newspaper. A clerk was appointed in every county who was to make an "authenticated" copy of each law "for the information of the citizens," and to furnish transcripts upon request. Copies must also be given to each judge of the three county courts of quarter-sessions, common pleas, and probate. Furthermore, whenever a public document was posted in some conspicuous place "for general information," there was a heavy penalty upon any one who wilfully tore it down or defaced it. These provisions for the publicity of all laws, proclamations and like documents rounded out the basic code of laws passed in the four years, 1788-1792.

But there was serious doubt as to the legal standing of these early laws, for the governor and the judges had *enacted* them, rather than *adopted* them from those of the original states as the Ordinance directed. Congress, however, had not directly rejected them, and so they were accepted as valid from the very first.¹⁵

¹⁵ Burnet, *Notes*, 41, 63-4; *Annals of Cong.*, 2 Cong., Appendix, 1395-6; Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, I, 188.

This point of view gained much strength after Congress passed an act, May 8, 1792, for the publication of the laws of the Northwest Territory which had already been, or should thereafter be, enacted. Two hundred copies were to be distributed among the Territorial officials and the inhabitants. This act, which was probably influenced by St. Clair who was then in Philadelphia, also expressly repealed the statute of limitations in the Territorial code, thus implying that the remaining laws were valid. St. Clair, with characteristic persistence, still insisted that the Ordinance restricted the governor and judges to the adoption of laws of the original states without any essential changes. As a practical executive, however, he continued to acquiesce in laws which certainly departed far from these principles. The members of the Territorial bar and the courts followed his lead, and accepted the questionable code. The uncertain status of the Territorial laws was apparent in February, 1795, when with one minor exception the House of Representatives disapproved all the laws which had been enacted August 1, 1792. This action was probably due, at least in part, to St. Clair's influence, for the chairman of the committee to which the resolution was referred was his friend, William Findley from western Pennsylvania. The Senate did not agree, but reports of the debate in the House reached the Northwest Territory, and the laws fell into even greater disrepute.¹⁶

Inevitably criticisms arose of the autocratic régime of the governor and judges, and these were especially leveled against the questionable laws adopted by them. This rising tide of dissatisfaction found an outlet in the columns of the weekly *Centinel of the North-Western Territory*, which first appeared at Cincinnati in November, 1793.¹⁷ Signing their lengthy communications with the fanciful nom de plumes so customary at that period, many persons voiced popular grievances in long and usually rather stupid communications. In one of the earliest issues of the *Centinel*,

¹⁶ *Annals of Cong.*, 3 Cong., 2 Sess., 830, 1214, 1227.

¹⁷ Cincinnati *Centinel of the North-Western Territory*, especially Nov. 8 and 23, 1793, and Sept. 20, 1794.

"Manlius" vigorously attacked the annual fee of \$16.00 for licenses to merchants and traders. This payment, he alleged, was in reality a tax to relieve the great landowners, and he significantly added, "This is not astonishing when one of the greatest landowners in the government was, and still is one of the legislature." "Plebius," coming to the defense of the landowners, pointed out that as many of their holdings could not be occupied under the present unsettled conditions, it was impossible to impose a general tax upon them. Moreover, the merchants, as well as the goods they sold, came from outside the Territory, and were drawing off a large part of the money of the inhabitants without leaving a proportionate amount behind them. Nearly a year later, in a similar vein, "Vitruvius" called attention to the patent fact, that although the governor and the judges had only been authorized to "adopt" laws, they had "culled" them "from their sprightly genius," in order to gather taxes from shopkeeper and victuallers.

Another source of popular dissatisfaction was the long distance between many settlements and the county-seat, and the consequent need for speedier and more convenient justice in petty cases.¹⁸ As early as 1790, Judge George Turner, who frequently stood for popular rights, attempted to extend the limit for civil cases over which a local magistrate had jurisdiction from \$5.00 to \$20.00. But St. Clair objected that as the justices might be "illiterate and ignorant of the law" they should not be entrusted with important matters, especially in the case of debtors. Turner, in reply, pointed out the value of "plain good sense and integrity," and proposed that in petty cases, with the mutual consent of the parties involved, a jury of six men might be substituted for the usual twelve. St. Clair objected to this proposal too, and thus continued the very real grievances of a scattered population which in order to collect debts of more than \$5.00, must often undertake an arduous and expensive journey to the county-seat.

Once Wayne's victory had removed the Indian menace, popular attention in the Ohio country was centered to a far greater extent

¹⁸ Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 156-9.

upon general grievances, and especially upon the unsatisfactory law code. In a typical communication to the *Centinel* early in 1795, "Dorastus" renewed the struggle against the \$5.00 limit. To point his protest, he cited a recent session of the Hamilton County court which had lasted fifteen days, to the great inconvenience of many of the persons who had been obliged to attend. Among other laws which needed revision he noted the requirement that the militia should parade weekly. According to "Dorastus" this law like the others might have been useful when it was made, but now it had "a contrary effect."¹⁹ The popular movement for reform came to a head in the next issue of the *Centinel* when "A Citizen and Friend to the Rights of Man" called upon "all good citizens" of Hamilton County to assemble at Cincinnati February 11, in order to draw up a petition to the "legislature" for the "redress of the many grievances resulting from some of the existing laws of the Territory." A week later these same citizens were asked to sign this petition at the four settlements of North Bend, Cincinnati, Columbia, and "Frazee's Station over the Little Miami."²⁰ Nor had St. Clair been altogether indifferent to the needs for a revision of the law code which had been so hastily drawn up, in the intervals between Indian alarms and necessary visits to the seat of the Federal Government. A call he had issued for a legislative session at Cincinnati for September, 1793, had not had satisfactory results, and December 23, 1794, he again summoned the judges, this time to meet at Marietta in March. The purpose, as he outlined it, was certainly all-embracing, "to take into Consideration, and do and perform all such matters and things as to them belong, touching the Welfare and Prosperity of the People."²¹

At length St. Clair was successful in his efforts to revise the Territorial code. An editorial in the *Centinel* of May 16, 1795, noted his arrival at Cincinnati, and a week later the same source

¹⁹ *Centinel*, Jan. 31, 1795.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 7 and 14, 1795.

²¹ Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, III, 332, 432; Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, II, 332.

announced with much evident satisfaction that the "Legislature of this Territory" would convene in Cincinnati on May 26. May 29, 1795, with Symmes and Turner present, St. Clair opened the long deferred legislative session which was to last nearly three months, until August 25, 1795.²² In his opening address, in an apology for the long delay, the governor cited the many difficulties in administering the vast Northwest Territory, with its great distances, and the "only communication" by a river which was not easily ascended, and then not without danger from the savages. The particular problem at present, he pointed out, was to complete the criminal and civil codes of the Territory. Calling attention to the questionable status of the laws already passed, especially since the House resolution of disapproval, he restated his own position with regard to the restrictions upon the legislative powers of the Territorial officers. To some extent, St. Clair declared, he had yielded to the loose construction advocated by the judges, in order to save "society" from a "state of anarchy." But whatever differences of opinion might exist, there was no doubt as to the power of the governor and the judges to adopt and publish laws, and to repeal those they had already made. Therefore, to remove all doubts he proposed the repeal of all the Territorial laws, and the adoption in their stead of "laws of some or all of the original states." He also called attention to specific needs, including a formal acknowledgment of the principle that the common law should be followed in all judicial proceedings.

The two judges in their reply agreed with the governor that both the civil and the criminal codes were incomplete. As to the legal status of the laws which had been passed, they considered there was sufficient ground for a difference of opinion, but in view of the general inadequacy of the Territorial code, they were willing to accept St. Clair's principle of "adoption only." However, the judges pointed out, the problem would inevitably arise of certain laws which were greatly needed, but could not be found

²² *Centinel*, May 16 and 23, 1795; "Legislature of the Northwestern Territory, 1795," *O.S.A.H. Quar.*, XXX (1921), 13-53.

in the codes of the original states. Apparently the only solution would be the passage of special acts by Congress, but such action was very uncertain. The judges also upheld their contention that the governor did not possess an absolute right of veto, but sat merely as a member of the legislative body. Despite such differences of opinion the general tone of the judges' reply was exceedingly respectful, and augured a harmonious and effective legislative session.

In overhauling the Territorial laws, St. Clair, Symmes and Turner adhered for the most part to the principles they had agreed upon, usually adopting laws of the original states with only the most necessary modifications. This procedure was all the easier, inasmuch as with increasing settlement general conditions in the Northwest Territory approached much more nearly those in the original states. Furthermore, in contrast to the lone Pennsylvania Code which St. Clair had brought along with him, the legislative board now had at hand copies of the codes of all the important original states, along with that of Kentucky. Even so, the new code, widely known as Maxwell's Code from the printer who published it, included twenty-five laws from the Pennsylvania Code so familiar to St. Clair, one law from the New Jersey Code with which Symmes was especially acquainted, and three from the Virginia Code known particularly to Turner. Of the remaining laws in Maxwell's Code, six came from the Massachusetts Code, one from the New York Code, and one combined extracts from the New York and Pennsylvania codes.²³

In the actual proceedings of the legislative board, St. Clair and Turner took the leading parts, and each of them recognized the other's point of view. From the first the governor had fought for an outright acknowledgment that the common law of England was in force in the territory. Now his persistence won, and the board adopted a statute from the Virginia Code which recognized the English common law, with the general statutes under it prior to

²³ Pease, ed., *Laws of the Northwest Territory*, 131-290; Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, I, 188-9.

the settlement of Jamestown, as the rule of decision in the Territorial courts. Turner, for his part, revived his proposal to extend from \$5.00 to \$20.00 the limit for civil cases which could be decided by a single justice. Symmes concurred, but St. Clair again opposed the change, this time with the rather paternalistic argument that with justice "so cheap" many persons would bring suit merely to gratify their revengeful dispositions. The outcome was a compromise in the form of a law from the Pennsylvania Code which gave a justice of the peace final jurisdiction in civil cases of less than \$5.00, and original jurisdiction, with an appeal to the county court of common pleas, in those between \$5.00 and \$12.00. In the end the popular demand won, and it became a common practice to bring several separate suits, each under \$12.00, in a single cause.²⁴ A parallel reform in criminal procedure gave a justice of the peace power to try petty cases of larceny under \$1.50. The offender, if guilty, was to suffer immediate punishment, not more than fifteen lashes, or a fine not to exceed \$3.00. Turner and St. Clair met on common ground when the former proposed a resolution, that a number of the taverns and "tippling houses" in the town of Cincinnati were "nuisances, injurious" to the public morals. A further clause significantly required the publication of this resolution in the *Centinel*. But the popular opposition to the high license fee was recognized by the adoption of a law from the Pennsylvania Code, which reduced this annual charge upon inn and tavern-keepers from \$16.00 to \$4.00. The law included strict regulations, with heavy fines for violations, and stipulated that licenses should be issued upon the recommendation of the justices of the county court of quarter-sessions.

Reforms in the judiciary system were an important feature of Maxwell's Code. The jurisdiction of the general court was more clearly defined, with semiannual sessions required, one at Marietta, the other at Cincinnati, while the judges were to go on "circuit" to try cases in the other counties of the Territory. The code retained the county courts of quarter-sessions and common pleas, but

²⁴ Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 160-1.

increased the importance of the former. The popular complaint of the long sessions of the courts of quarter-sessions with heavy expenses to litigants as a result, was met by restricting any one session to three legal days. The justices also were to hold an orphans' court to supplement the county probate court. A further reform in local administration provided for the appointment of a recorder in each county, and to clarify the land situation provision was made for the partition of joint holdings. Maxwell's Code also revised the system of local taxation, in order to meet the more complex needs of an expanding population. While the justices of the county courts of quarter-sessions were still to be in general charge, there was a decided concession to the popular opposition to arbitrary taxation, in a provision for the election of assessors in each township. Furthermore, the new laws protected the inhabitants of the Territory from excessive taxation, restricting the county rate in any one year to not more than 75¢ on the \$200.00 of total assessment, nor more than \$1.00 per head for single men without visible property of \$100.00 valuation. In addition to these county rates, the overseers of the poor were empowered to levy not more than two cents on the dollar on the assessed value of all personal and real estate, and 75¢ on every freeman not thus assessed.

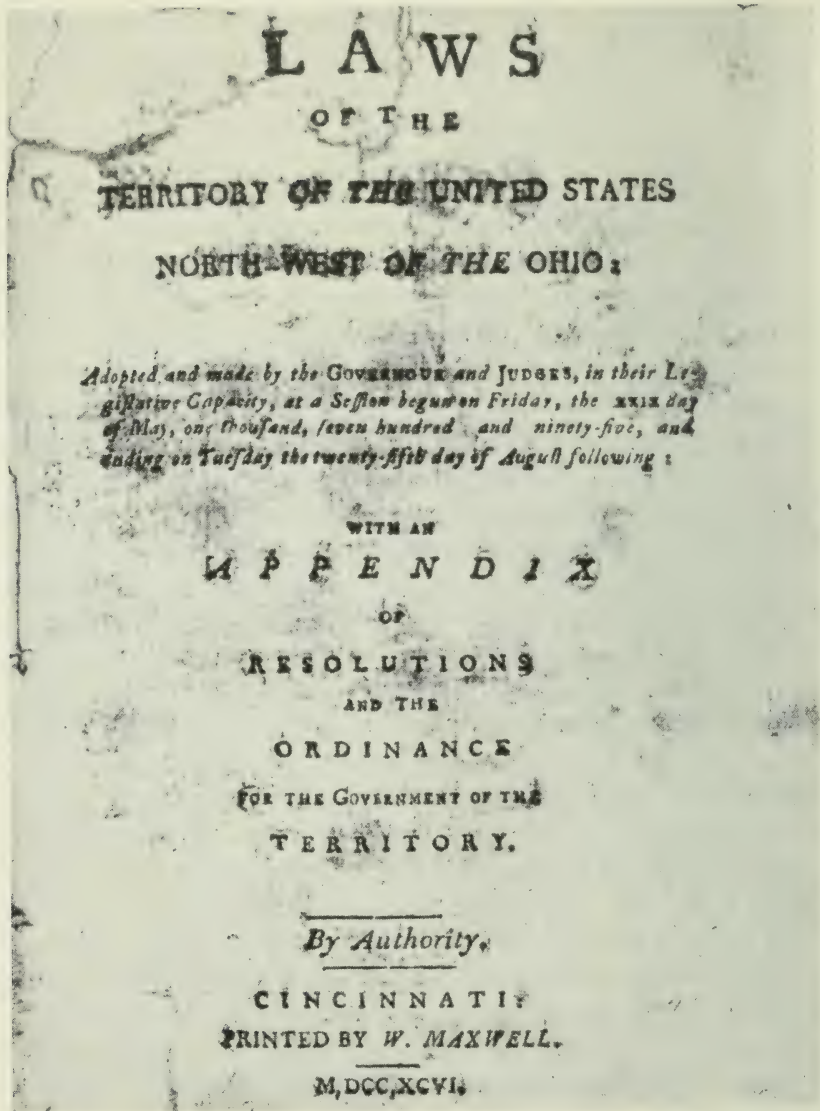
Other important laws in Maxwell's Code reflected contemporary conditions in the Ohio country. Evidently the large immigration of antislavery Quakers had already begun, for the new code expressly relieved Quakers and other conscientious objectors of the prescribed form of oath in courts of law. Fees were regulated by a law which combined sections from the New York and Pennsylvania codes, and incidentally permitted somewhat higher charges. A law which was peculiarly responsive to frontier prejudices limited the period during which a debtor might be held in prison, but required him to work out his debt, if necessary, "by personal and reasonable servitude." Other laws carefully regulated the height of fences and other details of enclosures, and imposed a fine of \$8.00 for cutting down a "black-walnut, white-

wood, cherry or blue-ash" tree, upon another person's property. For other types of trees the fine was reduced to \$3.00. Additional laws were concerned with divorce and details of legal procedure.

As the judges had predicted, there were local problems to be met, for which they could not find suitable laws in the codes of the original states. These they attempted to solve by what were really laws in the form of resolutions. In one of these resolutions the legislative board requested the governor to authorize ferries by proclamation, and delegated the power of fixing rates to the justices of the county courts of quarter-sessions. Another important resolution recommended that where persons could be found "sufficiently learned in the law" to fill the benches of the court of common pleas, it would be safer to commission them during "good behavior." Still another important resolution which supported St. Clair's rather autocratic exercise of his powers, declared that all commissions without a time limit might be either "avoided or revoked." The legislative board completed its work by giving William Maxwell, publisher of the *Centinel*, the exclusive right to print 1,000 copies of the new Territorial code. Two hundred copies were assigned to Territorial and county officials, and the remainder Maxwell offered "in boards" at 19¢ per 50 pages to subscribers, and 30¢ to non-subscribers.²⁵

Maxwell's Code, fittingly the first book printed in the Northwest Territory, included laws which were fundamentally suited to the needs of a swiftly growing frontier population. Nevertheless the governor and the judges were responsible for considerable legal confusion. In place of a "clear sweep," as St. Clair had advocated, they had retained a number of merely local laws of which the legal status was questionable. The most glaring instance of carelessness was the failure to repeal outright the earlier act which had established county courts, even though the board had adopted a much more elaborate statute. Moreover, although the governor and the judges had professed to recognize the restrictions in the Ordinance, in a few instances they had so greatly

²⁵ *Centinel*, Oct. 24, 1795.



29. MAXWELL'S CODE, 1796

Title-page; from the Library of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

mutilated the laws of the original states that little was left, aside from the title and the enacting clause. But Congress took no positive action, and the inhabitants of the Territory accepted Maxwell's Code and the few laws which were enacted during the brief period of existence of the autocratic stage of Territorial government.²⁶

The next legislative session was held at Cincinnati, April 23 to May 7, 1798, with Sargent, the Territorial secretary, presiding in St. Clair's absence. Assisting him were Symmes as senior judge, and two new judges, Joseph Gilman, originally from New Hampshire, and Return Jonathan Meigs, a former member of the Connecticut bar. Of the eleven laws adopted by this legislative board, one was from the Pennsylvania Code, two from the Connecticut Code, and two from the Massachusetts Code.²⁷ Besides these laws of the *original* states, the legislative board, by a considerable stretch of its powers, adopted four from the code of Kentucky where there were many similar problems. These Kentucky laws included acts to punish the maiming and disfiguring of individuals, improve the breed of horses, and to establish land offices in each county. Another was adopted from the Kentucky Code in an effort to cope with the many difficulties which had arisen in the Ohio country, as in Kentucky, from the large speculative landholdings. Under its provisions, for the levy of county taxes unimproved tracts were to be divided according to quality into three classes, with a rate of 30¢ per 100 acres on the first-class, 20¢ on the second, and 10¢ on the third. If this tax was not paid, the act provided for the forced sale of sufficient land to equal the amount. Among the laws of the original states which Sargent and the judges adopted at this session was one for the formation of corporations for "religious, charitable, literary, and other civil purposes," to promote "social happiness and good order." With true frontier democracy, the annual income from endowments of any one organization was limited to \$1,500. Another law regulating fees was evidently

²⁶ Burnet, *Notes*, 41, 63-4.

²⁷ Pease, ed., *Laws of the Northwest Territory*, 293-315.

drawn up primarily to meet local needs, and without reference to other statutes. These laws, together with Maxwell's Code, completed the legislative acts of the governor and the judges. With all their defects, they became the basis for a permanent code when a Territorial Assembly convened in 1799 with full legislative powers.

But the mere making of laws was by no means the only problem which faced this first Territorial administration. In the French settlements at Detroit, Vincennes, and in the Illinois country, there were many difficult situations to claim the attention of the governor and the judges, such as the two-fold task of straightening out land titles and of organizing an American system of government among an alien population. The great distances between the different settlements also increased the perplexities of these officials, and as a result the special problems of the American settlements in the Ohio country often received scant attention. Thus, St. Clair tarried only three days at Cincinnati to put in operation the governmental machinery of Hamilton County, before he hurried away to Kaskaskia. As a result of such conditions, the legislative sessions and those of the general court were far too infrequent, with much consequent popular complaint.

An especially striking illustration of the difficulties of travel in the Northwest Territory and the governmental laxity resulting therefrom, is available in a description by Jacob Burnet, later the Nestor of the Ohio bar, of a journey undertaken by the members of the Cincinnati bar to attend the general court at Detroit.²⁸ Traveling on horseback by way of Dayton, Piqua and Defiance, this party found the return journey especially difficult, across a succession of wet prairies, over some of which it was impossible to ride or even to lead a horse. Passing over the St. Mary's, night overtook the travelers on a swampy path swarming with gnats and mosquitoes, and lacking a full moon, they were obliged to halt for five or six hours in the dense forest. Such discomforts of travel were even encountered between the settlements in the Ohio

²⁸ Burnet, *Notes*, 64-72.

country, as the Cincinnati bar discovered when they attended the sessions of the general court at Marietta. Upon one such journey Burnet narrowly escaped a fall in the darkness from a precipice above the tree-tops into the bed of Wolf Creek below. Under such conditions, it was inevitable that sessions of the general court, as well as those of the legislative board, should be irregular, with deplorable consequences to the Territorial government.

The Northwest Territory suffered likewise from indifference to its needs on the part of the Federal Government. An especially unfortunate instance was that of the salaries of high officials which were quite disproportionate to their responsibilities.²⁹ St. Clair received only \$2,000, the secretary \$750 and the three judges each \$800. Such stipends did not even cover the high cost of living in a frontier community, and there was no extra allowance for traveling expenses. One result was frequent trips to Philadelphia by the secretary, Winthrop Sargent, until with true Yankee persistence he secured an extra \$1,000. Of far greater importance in their effect upon the Territorial administration were the frequent absences of the governor, which often became necessary because of the lack of understanding, if not the general indifference, on the part of the Federal Government. Only a few months after his arrival at Marietta, St. Clair was in New York for Washington's inauguration, and during most of 1790 he was in the Illinois country or else outside the Territory. During 1791 the governor's time was absorbed chiefly by preparations for his ill-fated expedition against the Indians, and then by the campaign itself. He was back in Cincinnati November 9, 1791, but in less than a month he was off again, this time to Philadelphia to defend his conduct of the campaign before a committee of the House. Apparently St. Clair did not return until about August 1, 1792, and then for a short time only. For the next year or so he was away from the Territory much of the time. Finally, with St. Clair

²⁹ Bond, *Civilization of the Old Northwest*, 74-6; "Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," Carter, ed. *Territorial Papers*, III, 261-523 (1788-1799), *passim*; Northwest Territorial Papers (in U. S. Department of State), B.I.A., Misc., 6240, 6256, 6258; B.I.A., Domestic, 6262.

and his understudy, Sargent, both in Philadelphia at the same time, Washington took up the matter personally, considering these absences "a great means of encouraging a spirit of riot and disorder." The President enforced his opinion with peremptory orders to the governor and the secretary to return to the Northwest Territory.

Such vigorous action was unusual. Every six months Sargent sent the secretary of state copies of the executive proceedings and of the laws which had been passed in the interim. With monotonous regularity the secretary made the stereotyped report that there was nothing in these proceedings that required Presidential action. The one exception was a suggestion in 1794 that the President should submit the Territorial laws for the approval of Congress. Edmund Randolph summed up the general attitude of Federal officials when he dubbed the Territorial records "little more than a history of bickerings and discontents which do not require the attention of the President."

Another important factor in the rather loose administration of the Northwest Territory was the failure to establish a definite Territorial capital during this early period. The vast extent of the Territory, and the frequent absences of the governor and the secretary were chiefly responsible, but the uncertainty as to the seat of government greatly interfered with any strong executive policy. As St. Clair, or Sargent in his absence, took up executive affairs wherever he happened to be, there was not even a fixed place for the deposit of the public records, and Sargent especially, as secretary, customarily took along whatever documents he needed on his numerous trips.³⁰ Actually, when St. Clair arrived unexpectedly in the late summer of 1796, he found that the secretary had carried off to Detroit the great seal of the Territory, and the governor of the Northwest Territory was compelled to postpone important business until the wandering secretary arrived with the all-important insignia of authority. This episode was typical of

³⁰ Bond, *Civilization of the Old Northwest*, 78-9; Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, II, 413-7.

the difficult situations which arose during St. Clair's many absences when Sargent acted as governor. With his full share of New England virtues as well as failings, Sargent was rigid and conscientious, strict in dealing with delinquents and in enforcing the laws. But he lacked the human touch and any real understanding of the frontier, and as a result he often failed to recognize local sensibilities. Indeed if any unforeseen situation arose, he was ready to push his authority to the limit regardless of practical considerations.

Sargent often clashed with the judges with whom he was supposed to cooperate when St. Clair was out of the Territory. His first serious controversy came at Vincennes in the summer of 1790, when he was unable to secure the consent of the judges, Symmes and Turner, to legislation which he felt was greatly needed. Finally he virtually ordered them to proceed to Marietta, hoping to find an ally there in Judge Rufus Putnam. When they flatly refused to comply, in a final sarcastic fling Sargent declared the presence of Putnam was necessary in view of his "wisdom and experience."³¹ Behind such controversies with the judges was Sargent's determination to deal firmly with the many abuses of the Territorial system, and especially with Symmes' careless methods and extensive claims. St. Clair, too, came into conflict with Symmes when the latter sold lands at the mouth of the Little Miami, without taking the trouble to establish his title. With true Scotch vigor the governor expressed his astonishment that a judge of the Territory should be guilty of "published falsehoods," and pointed out that the west bank of the Little Miami was still the property of the United States.³² Symmes now began to stir up trouble for St. Clair, as he had already done for Sargent. Turner, also, was much interested in land speculation in the Northwest Territory, and even Putnam did not escape criticism as a judge who had a considerable stake in local land speculations.

³¹ Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 131-3.

³² B. W. Bond, Jr., ed., *Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes* (New York, 1926), 15-6, 25ff., 138ff.

Despite the evident hostility which he had aroused in Symmes and Turner, Sargent resolutely undertook to do his duty with regard to the public lands. He was especially aroused by the extensive migration of squatters west of the Miami after Wayne's victory. In contrast to St. Clair's very practical, but defeatist view that only a large force could dislodge them, Sargent believed a mere warning would be sufficient. Learning during St. Clair's absence that Israel Ludlow was actually surveying these lands, the secretary sent him a brusque letter, which was virtually a proclamation, warning him against any unauthorized survey of Federal lands.³³ This communication Sargent also sent to the *Centinel* with a request that it be printed, although he left blank the name of the person to whom it was addressed. William Maxwell printed the letter in the next issue of the *Centinel*, December 20, 1794, noting, without comment but with evident satisfaction, that St. Clair had arrived at Marietta and had again "resumed the administration of his Government within this Territory." A typical battle of words was now on. Sargent, greatly aroused by so public a reminder that his own authority had been at an end for some time, published a communication in the next issue of the *Centinel*, to the effect that "authentic" information of St. Clair's arrival had not reached Cincinnati until December 23, and that Maxwell's announcement had been premature. In an open reply Maxwell stoutly defended his unrestricted right to print the news, and the immediate outcome was a somewhat prolonged symposium in the *Centinel*, in which with remarkable unanimity, anonymous writers upheld Maxwell at Sargent's expense. This incident was probably responsible for an indictment which the grand jury of Hamilton County brought against Sargent in February, 1797, for usurpation, in having issued proclamations and undertaken to carry on the government after St. Clair had arrived in the Territory. Sargent angrily exclaimed that only "powers of divination" could have made him immediately aware of St. Clair's arrival at

³³ Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 75, 144-5; *Centinel*, Dec. 20 and 27, 1794, Jan. 3 and 31, 1795; Winthrop Sargent, *Journal*, 1793-1795, typewritten copy (in Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library, Columbus), 136-9.

Marietta when he himself was at Cincinnati. But he evaded the obvious fact that he might have delayed the proclamation somewhat, in view of the governor's expected return.

In a similar fashion, Sargent aroused popular antagonism by his petty interference in local affairs at Cincinnati where he had settled.³⁴ Upon his first arrival, August, 1790, he was shocked by the generally disorderly conditions, and promptly issued a proclamation, calling attention to the law passed at Vincennes to prohibit the sale of liquor to soldiers, and the indiscriminate discharge of firearms in and around a settlement. When Turner referred to the popular outcry this order had aroused, Sargent sharply reprimanded him. Likewise, after Harmar's defeat Sargent issued unnecessarily harsh orders for military precautions, and even attempted to enforce them by courts martial. In several tilts with the local courts he came out second best, and Symmes, his long-time enemy, consistently took the popular side. Desperate, Sargent made a bold attempt to control the inferior courts during the absence of St. Clair in 1792 when two additional judges became necessary in Hamilton County. Issuing two new commissions, he arbitrarily recommissioned the three incumbent judges, all of them to hold "during pleasure." The appointees indignantly refused to accept under such terms, and the three judges who had already been appointed continued to act under their old commissions. Sargent added insult to injury by a lame explanation, that in view of the difficulty in finding men of sufficient intelligence in a frontier country, the present local judiciary must be prepared to step aside when persons, more qualified, appeared. As a matter of fact St. Clair agreed with Sargent in principle, and upon his return he secured the end desired, but in a more tactful fashion. Making out new commissions in the "original form," he satisfied the judges, and yet left a loophole through which, if occasion arose, he could uphold his theory that tenure was at his pleasure. This incident brought out strikingly the contrast between St. Clair, tactful and practical, and the opinion-

³⁴ Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 134-43.

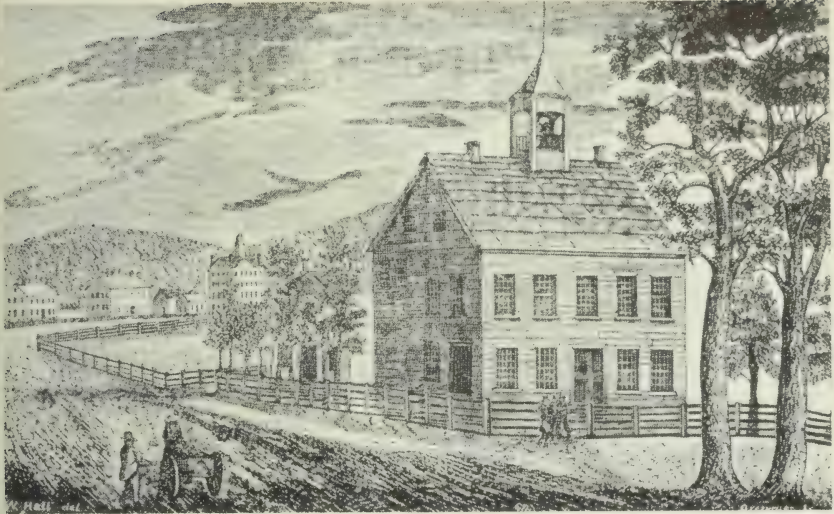
ated Sargent who relied so strongly upon legalistic forms. This contrast increased St. Clair's own popularity, and Maxwell hailed his return to the Territory: "Happy period—at which tyranny and despotism, must soon once more lay down the arm of cruelty and oppression—to let the patriotic lovers of rational liberty again rejoice."³⁵

At times St. Clair, always tenacious of his prerogatives, was quite autocratic, especially in his attitude toward appointments to office.³⁶ For offices of lesser importance, he accepted and even sought local advice. But he would not tolerate attempts to influence the appointment of the county judges, upon whom rested the final responsibility for the enforcement of the law. Nor did he always escape controversies which stirred up bitter enmities, one notable instance being the choice of the county-seat of Adams County. Sargent, who in St. Clair's absence had set off Adams County July 10, 1797, had at first left the selection of a county-seat to the sheriff, and later to Nathaniel Massie, the presiding justice, together with another justice and the clerk of the county court of quarter-sessions, although he had expressly ruled out Manchester and Chillicothe. A bitter contest ensued between the land speculators, Massie favoring his settlement at Manchester, and many settlers along the Ohio supporting Adamsville.³⁷ Finally Manchester was chosen, and the first court was held there. Sargent met this defiance of his instructions by positive orders that court should be held at Adamsville; "Scantville" the local bar significantly called it. When Massie led another attempt to select Manchester, St. Clair, who had returned, reminded him of the governor's unquestioned power to fix the county-seat. Any attempt to move it from Adamsville, he characterized as "a most unwarrantable assumption of power," plainly intimating that Massie was influenced by his own private interests rather than those of

³⁵ *Centinel*, May 16, 1795.

³⁶ Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, III, 435, 472-4, 484-5.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 515-6; Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, II, 425-6; N. W. Evans and E. B. Stivers, *History of Adams County, Ohio* (West Union, O., 1900), 81, 87-9.



30. COURT-HOUSE AND JAIL AT MARIETTA, BUILT 1798
From the *American Pioneer* (Cincinnati), vol. I (1842), p. 162.

the public. Upon the heels of this rebuke St. Clair moved the county-seat of Adams County to the new town of Washington at the mouth of Brush Creek, which was much more conveniently located. When Massie and another justice, ignoring this decision, attempted to hold court at Manchester, St. Clair summarily revoked their commissions, arousing Massie's bitter enmity.

In spite of such petty quarrels and so many obstacles, St. Clair and Sargent succeeded in establishing an orderly government in the Ohio country. In this work they were strongly supported by the judges who were often outspoken in their denunciation of crime.³⁸ Thus Turner, in opening the general court at Cincinnati, April 8, 1794, boldly called attention to the law against gambling, which was prevalent in frontier communities. At the next session in Cincinnati Putnam's charge to the grand jury was especially forcible. Emphasizing the laws against blasphemy, lewdness and the like, he maintained that such offenses tended "to subvert all

³⁸ *Centinel*, Apr. 19, Oct. 18, and Nov. 22, 1794.

religion and morality," and to "sap the foundations of government." Even more significant was his reminder that the grand jury was the guardian of the rights of the citizens, and in duty bound to inquire into popular grievances and the conduct of Territorial officials. Judges of the inferior courts were equally fearless, as when Oliver Spencer of the Hamilton County probate court denounced the prevalent laxity in accounting for the estates of deceased persons.

Summary punishment aided in the enforcement of the law.³⁹ At the general court in Cincinnati in April, 1794, for example, among the three convictions a Negro accused of larceny was sentenced to be whipped through the streets, with 31 stripes on his bare back. Another Negro, guilty of a similar offense, received 29 stripes at the jail door, and the third delinquent, an innkeeper, convicted of having permitted public gambling, was fined \$100, with the costs of his trial and the forfeiture of his license. Such sentences were effective, and saved the expense of confinement in jail. Probably this was one reason why western jails were generally so insecure. On one occasion Daniel Symmes, sheriff of Hamilton County, offered \$10.00 reward for the return of three escaped prisoners. Five months later he offered a "handsome allowance" for the return of four white men who had been imprisoned for debt, and \$10.00 for a runaway Negro, the five of them said to have stolen a "flatt" and gone down the Ohio. Other instances show how inefficiently the Hamilton County jail was maintained, and the sheriff finally decided to hold prisoners accused of more serious crimes in Fort Washington for safekeeping.

In spite of many accomplishments, there was an increasing popular protest against the administration of the governor and the judges. Primarily this was a protest against a too autocratic government which, representing the New England Federalism in the saddle at Marietta, upheld English ideals of government by a comparatively limited and qualified group. To St. Clair with his

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Apr. 19, 1794, Mar. 7 and 28, July 11, and Oct. 31, 1795, Feb. 27, 1796; Cincinnati *Freeman's Journal*, Mar. 11, 1797; Lexington *Kentucky Gazette*, Oct. 11, 1794.

Old World background such a paternalistic system was altogether acceptable. Doubtless it was necessary in the early days of settlement, just as Federalism played an indispensable part during the first years under the Constitution in putting the American Republic upon its feet. But just as the Nation outgrew its leading strings, the Ohio country progressed beyond the paternalism of St. Clair and the judges, and its inhabitants demanded rights of self-government. This agitation arose chiefly among the immigrants who were crowding into the Miami Purchase and the Virginia Military Tract from the Middle States, from western Pennsylvania and Virginia, and above all from Kentucky. The majority adhered to the Republican Party which was now forming under Thomas Jefferson. With its central doctrine of the rights of the individual, republicanism was peculiarly suited to the western temperament, and one of the visible evidences of its strength was the attention the *Centinel* gave to the *sans-culottes* of France. This same paper also gave a prominent place to the proposals of George Rogers Clark, "Major General in the Armies of France, and Commander-in-chief of the French revolutionary legions on the Mississippi River," for enlistments in his proposed expedition against the Spanish posts on the Mississippi.⁴⁰

In the many local complaints against the Federalist Territorial government, there was a striking similarity to the grievances which an earlier generation had leveled against British policies and officials. The weekly *Centinel* with its motto, "Open to all parties—but influenced by none," was a convenient forum for the anonymous writers who complained that taxes should be based upon "the principles of liberty and equality, by the free consent of the people or their legal representatives," upheld the right of free speech, and attacked officials, "rulers by their own appointment," who "tax us without our consent."⁴¹ This gathering discontent was revealed with special force in the popular demand for legal reform which preceded the adoption of Maxwell's Code. "Vitru-

⁴⁰ Especially the *Centinel*, Jan. 25, 1794.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1793, Aug. 9 and 23, Oct. 18, 1794.

vius" and "Dorastus," the noms de plume of the two leaders of this movement vigorously demanded a greater degree of self-government.⁴² "Vitruvius" maintained that as the Ordinance had been adopted before actual settlement, the people had never had the chance to form their own government. Quite evidently his real aim was statehood, for he characterized the requirement in the Ordinance for 5,000 male inhabitants of voting age before a legislature could be called, as "impolitic, arbitrary, oppressive, and tyrannical." With a particularly clever appeal to frontier prejudices, "Vitruvius" asserted the governor's powers were even greater than those of George III over the American colonies, and the grievances of the inhabitants of the Northwest Territory more numerous. To end such an "absolute, despotic, tyrannical and absurd system of jurisprudence" he proposed that conventions be held in different parts of the Territory to draw up remonstrances to Congress. Elaborating these arguments and following the clever methods of "Vitruvius," "Dorastus" denounced the Territorial government as "intirely opposite to those rights and privaledges belonging to free men." Pointing to the Swiss cantons and Plymouth Colony as examples of successful self-government despite a comparatively small population, "Dorastus" sarcastically declared it was "singular" that Congress should pass an Ordinance for governing the Territory "on the very same principles that they once boldly opposed when the British ministers endeavored to tax the colonies without their legal consent by representation." Like "Vitruvius" he proposed to make the situation known to Congress by petitions and remonstrances.

The agitation so ably led by "Vitruvius" and "Dorastus," played an important part in the adoption of Maxwell's Code with its legal reforms. What was really wanted, however, was popular control of the Territorial government. Even while the governor and the judges were debating the new code, there was an eminently respectable celebration of the Fourth of July at Cincinnati, with the usual toasts to the President, the governor and the like. The other

⁴² *Ibid.*, Sept. 20 and 27, Oct. 4 and 11, 1794, Jan. 31, 1795.

side of the picture was revealed, however, in a list of toasts at a less distinguished, but a more democratic celebration. Among the more significant was the one to "the old harlot of aristocracy—may she speedily be drummed out to the tune of *Ca Ira*." Another toast was to "republican government, . . . the most equal, just and happy." There were others to "the people and elective government of the Territory," to a "universal land tax proportioned to intrinsic value, exclusive of the improvements of industry," and "the adoption of a mode of distributing lands upon secured principles of the equal rights of citizens, preference to be decided only by preoccupance."⁴³

With the marked increase in the population after Wayne's victory the demand for a more democratic government became more insistent. A public meeting called for January 25, 1796, at Columbia in the Miami Purchase, appointed a committee to draw up a statement of grievances.⁴⁴ At the head of the long list the committee placed the withholding of the right of representation with the consequent denial of the "rights of freemen." Among other grievances, the report cited the Federal law which permitted a single one of the three judges to hold the general court. This was especially "deplorable," since the "first judge," obviously Symmes, was the "greatest landjobber on the face of the earth," and was personally "interested" in most cases which involved lands between the two Miamis. The report criticized also the many absences of the governor and the judges, with the consequent "infrequency" of sessions of the legislative board and the general court. Moreover, it declared that the people were held accountable to laws which had not been promulgated, and were subject to judicial officers dependent upon the executive pleasure. The report compared St. Clair to the former British officials, in his condescending attitude toward the inhabitants of the Territory, whom he called "settlers" rather than "citizens." At another public meeting this report was adopted, but with the sensible

⁴³ *Ibid.*, July 11 and 18, 1795.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1796.

qualification that the "usual respectful demeanor" should continue, however "ancient and obsolete" the laws might be, and even "should we receive them with a few splices and mutilations." This course the meeting recommended, in view of the "shortness of time" until with increasing population the second stage of government with a representative legislature would come "constitutionally."

Evidently the transition to the second stage of Territorial government under the Ordinance could not be long delayed.⁴⁵ Even Sargent wrote that the time was not far away when the Territory would "claim" a general assembly, adding with evident venom that he did not doubt that the ambitions of a few men in Hamilton County would make it the governor's "duty" to call a general assembly at a very early date. St. Clair, however, opposed popular representation at this stage in the Territorial development, making no effort to ascertain by a census whether there was the requisite population, and consequently the popular campaign continued. Hamilton County, which alone boasted a weekly newspaper led the popular agitation. At a series of meetings in Cincinnati late in 1797, a committee was appointed to draw up a plan for the necessary census, and their report recommended that the constables in each township in Hamilton County should count the population when they made out the annual list of taxables. In case any constable refused, the report recommended the choice of any "good man" in his place with a compensation of \$9.00 to be raised by popular subscription. Another public meeting approved this report, and took steps to make it known in the other settlements in the Ohio country. Following the example of Samuel Adams in the Revolution, it was decided to send circular letters to Republican leaders in Adams, Washington and Wayne counties. To reach the general public a committee prepared a circular "Address to the Citizens of the different Counties of the Eastern District of the North-Western Territory," calling attention especially to the justice of demanding their rights as citizens, after

⁴⁵ Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 181-6.

the hardships and dangers they had undergone. Both letters advocated immediate statehood with representation in Congress. In June, 1798, the committee invited St. Clair to a public dinner, but he declined unless they made an explicit statement regarding the source of their authority and their aims.

St. Clair finally surrendered to the inevitable, directing the magistrates in each township to take a census of the free male inhabitants of voting age. This seems to have been a mere face-saving device. Without even waiting for full returns from the census gatherers, St. Clair issued a proclamation October 29, 1798, that he had received sufficient proof that the Territory contained the 5,000 male inhabitants of voting age which the Ordinance required. Consequently, he fixed an election for the third Monday in December, to choose representatives to a Territorial legislature. Calling attention to the property qualifications in the Ordinance, 200 acres for a representative, 50 acres for a voter, St. Clair interpreted the latter clause according to "the spirit and intention" of the Ordinance, holding that the possession of a freehold estate in a town, equal in value to the average fifty acres of country land in the same county, fulfilled this requirement.⁴⁶ St. Clair's proclamation marked the end of the autocratic régime of the governor and the three judges. Doubtless it had performed a necessary function in the confusion of early settlement, and St. Clair, with his Old World respect for authority, had succeeded in establishing an orderly administration in the western settlements. A code of laws had been drawn up which met local needs, broadly speaking, and served as a basis for further legislation by the representative assembly.

But there were clouds upon the horizon. The governor's arbitrary policies had begun to arouse popular antagonism, and, with an elected legislature to voice the accumulating grievances and demand real power in Territorial affairs, it became a serious question whether St. Clair would gracefully retreat and cooperate, or would insist upon the limit of his prerogatives. It must be con-

⁴⁶ Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, III, 514-5; Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, II, 434-5.

fessed the cards were stacked against such a peaceable administration. St. Clair, together with the other appointive officers who remained in power, represented the Federalist Party now in control of the National Government, with its adherents in the Ohio country chiefly in the comparatively somnolent settlements of the Marietta area. The members of the representative body, for the most part, inclined toward the Republicans, the militant opposition party, and this was especially true of the delegates who came from such rapidly growing sections as the Virginia Military Tract, the Miami Purchase, and the Seven Ranges. Moreover, in national politics Thomas Jefferson and his followers were making great progress. If they won in the election of 1800, their victory would probably end the Federalist administration in the Northwest Territory which, like so many of the laws it had adopted, appeared to be rapidly losing its original usefulness.

The First Fruits of the Ordinance

THE new Territorial Assembly formally opened its sessions September 24, 1799, inaugurating the second stage of government under the Ordinance of 1787 which was to last until the organization of the General Assembly March 1, 1803, when Ohio became a state. The semiautonomous political organization in the Northwest Territory during these three and a half years was strikingly similar to the English system in the American colonies. The appointed governor was still the chief executive, retaining full powers of appointment and veto. He could convene, prorogue and dissolve the assembly whenever he found it "expedient." As the Federal Government paid his salary, the governor of the Northwest Territory was, therefore, in a singularly independent position. The Territorial Assembly, like its colonial prototype, represented in reality a limited constituency. The members of the lower house were chosen by freeholders owning 50 acres or the equivalent, and were themselves subject to a property qualification of 200 acres. For the Legislative Council which was selected indirectly by the lower house, this requirement was 500 acres. Thus, both the executive and the legislative powers in this intermediate stage of Territorial government were in the hands of property holders. Although landed property was fairly common in a frontier society, nevertheless an increasing number of incoming settlers had no voice in the government.

Yet even with the limitations imposed by the Ordinance, the intermediate stage of government was a decided advance over the autocratic régime of the governor and the judges. The Territorial Assembly now had full power to enact statutes, with the sole condition that they must not be "repugnant" to the Ordinance. To offset the extensive powers of the governor the two houses

had the right to select a delegate to Congress who, following the precedent of the colonial agents in London, could voice popular opinion at the seat of the Federal Government in opposition to the governor himself if need be. But these political gains did not satisfy a rapidly increasing frontier population, which was strongly influenced by the theories of Thomas Jefferson and his Republican followers, and clamored increasingly for more thoroughgoing popular control of the Territorial government. The very similarity of the intermediate form of government to the English colonial system furnished the popular leaders in the fight with abundant material. The memory of the Revolutionary struggle was still fresh, and Thomas Worthington, the Republican leader in the Northwest Territory, and his aides could appeal to prejudices from that period, to arouse wide-spread opposition to Arthur St. Clair and his conservative policies. Having gained a Territorial Assembly, the Republican politicians now set statehood as their goal, with the practical removal of restrictions upon the franchise as a rallying point for popular support. The struggle which ensued was marked on both sides by bitter partisan spirit and pettiness.

At first, the very substantial personnel of the first Territorial Assembly avoided an open conflict. The qualified voters had fully justified the responsibility placed upon them by choosing men of high caliber, both Federalist and Republican, who represented important interests in the Territory. In the House of Representatives the president, Edward Tiffin, a native of England, came from Berkeley County, in Virginia, where he was a successful physician. In the spring of 1797 he had emigrated to Chillicothe with his brother-in-law, Thomas Worthington, a Virginian by birth.¹ Both Tiffin and Worthington were men of liberal views, strongly antislavery, and supporters of Jefferson. From a selfish point of view they were both vitally interested in the prosperity of Chillicothe, where they had extensive estates, and they joined forces with Nathaniel Massie, also a Virginian,

¹ F. D. Cole, "Thomas Worthington," *O.S.A.H. Quar.*, XII, 339-74.

to head the Chillicothe clique, which was so influential in Republican movements in early Ohio. Worthington, the acknowledged Republican leader in the fight for popular rights, was an astute politician with a remarkable understanding of human nature, who completely outmaneuvered the rather stodgy St. Clair. As sixteen of the representatives in this Territorial Assembly came from the four counties of the Ohio country proper, and only six from the French settlements, the welfare of the former section was given primary consideration. In the Legislative Council Henry Vanderburgh from Vincennes was elected president, but by far the most influential member was Jacob Burnet of Cincinnati. A lawyer of great ability, a native of New Jersey and a strong Federalist, Burnet



31. THOMAS WORTHINGTON
From the collection of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

came west in 1796, and soon became the leader of the Territorial bar. But though these members of the first Territorial Assembly represented both Federalists and Republicans, they generally subordinated party interests to the general welfare.² The elaborate list of rules which the representatives, constituting the lower house, adopted well illustrated their common sense methods. One particularly effective regulation required each member present to vote, unless he was excused for "special reasons," and another, equally practical, authorized the sergeant-at-arms to search for members who did not answer the roll-call, and to take them into

² Jacob Burnet, *Notes on the Early Settlement of the North Western Territory* (Cincinnati, 1847), Chapter XIV; Northwest Territory, U. S., General Assembly, House of Representatives and Legislative Council, *Journals*, 1 Assemb., 1 Sess. (Cincinnati, 1800).

custody if they appeared upon the floor, thus ensuring a quorum to consider important business.

The chances for harmonious cooperation between the appointive governor and the newly elected representatives appeared to be favorable. In his opening address St. Clair congratulated the members of the assembly upon the inauguration of a representative system, and indicated in rather wordy fashion his own judgment with regard to the main task before them. First, it was necessary to settle definitely the doubtful status of many statutes, or else to repeal them outright, and especially was this true of acts relating to crimes and punishments, the militia, and taxation. Next, emphasizing the "benefits from education and religion," St. Clair called attention to the desirability of making available the reserved sections of land, and of settling the long-standing dispute with John Cleves Symmes over a college township. More definite election laws, and a revised statute regarding the authority of the common law of England in the Territory were also desirable, together with acts to put an end to usury, to make more effective provisions for jails, and to restrict sales of spirituous liquor to soldiers. In their replies to St. Clair the two houses in respectful terms stressed the "promotion of morality, the suppression of vice, and the encouragement of literature and religion," as objects of "peculiar importance" for governments which were supported by public opinion. The reply of the Legislative Council was especially flattering in its appreciation of the important work which St. Clair had done for the Territory. The address of the representatives, however, suggested latent hostility in the stress laid upon the change which had given the legislative power to men who had been popularly chosen.

The legal problem facing this first Territorial Assembly was indeed a perplexing one. Maxwell's Code and the few acts of the brief legislative session in 1798 supposedly included basic statutes. But in reality they were a veritable jumble, adopted from statutes of the original states, often with many alterations which made their status quite uncertain, as St. Clair had pointed out.

Furthermore, there had been no Territorial statutes at all regarding such important subjects as arbitration, the relief of insolvent debtors, the effective partition of estates, and divorce and alimony.³ To iron out these legal difficulties, and to pass new legislation necessary to meet the popular demand, would test the best judgment of experienced law-makers, and these frontier legislators had little technical knowledge. But they were practical men who recognized their own limitations, and left the actual drafting of acts to the more qualified members. As a result Burnet, by far the ablest lawyer in the Territorial Assembly, drew up and reported a third of the 45 bills which were passed, prepared rules of procedure, drew up the address to the governor for the Legislative Council, and did other odd chores. Under such wise guidance the assembly passed a series of acts which were remarkably free from the excesses which might have been expected from a frontier representative body.⁴

The first act of the session cleared away much legal confusion by continuing in force a long list of basic statutes, repealing outright a number of acts, and renewing others in part. Following another of St. Clair's recommendations, the assembly passed a rather elaborate act to regulate the biennial election of representatives. Qualified electors were to vote at the court-house in each county on two fixed days in October, and there were ample provisions for judges of the elections. Each voter was to signify his choice in an "audible" voice, but "bribery, threats, or treating with meat or drink" would disqualify the candidate involved for two years. Still another act guaranteed members of the assembly the usual exemption from arrest in civil suits during their session, and in exceptionally open-handed fashion the assembly extended this same privilege to the judges of the general court and those of the county courts of quarter-sessions during court terms, as well as to sheriffs, constables and other officers while engaged in

³ Burnet, *Notes*, 289, 304-5, 310-1.

⁴ T. C. Pease, ed., *Laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1803* (Springfield, Ill. 1925), 321-516.

the duties of their offices. Even private citizens were not overlooked, and the act granted them this same exemption from arrest, on election days, when on militia duty, during divine service, and on the Fourth of July. After this rather unusual display of indulgence, the members of the assembly granted themselves a per diem allowance of \$3.00, and an additional \$3.00 for every fifteen miles between their homes and the Territorial capital.

In view of the increased expenses which came with the second stage of government, the financial problem was now a pressing one. For Territorial purposes the assembly levied a tax upon all land according to its quality, 85¢ per 100 acres for first rate land, 60¢ for second rate, and 25¢ for third rate. Like the similar county tax levied in 1798, the county courts of quarter-sessions were to be in general charge of assessments and collections, with a Territorial treasurer and an auditor as final authority. For county purposes the Territorial Assembly provided a tax upon different forms of personal property, under the general supervision of the county courts of quarter-sessions with power to fix the rate. License fees of various types helped to increase the county revenue over which a county treasurer had final control. The judges of the courts of quarter-sessions were empowered to make contracts for the building and repair of county jails, pillories, stocks and whipping-posts, court-houses, and bridges. Lastly, in place of the heavy assessments for poor relief authorized in Maxwell's Code, the assembly rather callously required that all paupers should be farmed out at public auction in each township, at the expense of the county. The appropriations reflected the economical point of view of the frontier. The largest, not to exceed \$12,000, was for the pay and travel of the members of the assembly themselves. Other appropriations of special interest included \$2,000 to Joseph Carpenter for printing 400 copies of the "journals and the laws of the territory;" \$500 to the governor for "services extraordinary" during the session with an additional \$200 for house rent, and for annual salaries; \$400 to the Territorial treasurer; \$450 to the auditor, and \$400 to the attorney general. As a contingent fee

“for expresses and other incidents” not foreseen, \$5,000 was set aside.

In other acts this first Territorial Assembly either replaced or revised outgrown statutes, or else passed new ones to meet new problems. Of the former type was a militia act, which was far better suited to existing conditions than the one which had been adopted in the first period of settlement when there was constant danger from the Indians. Another revision which met a widespread demand raised from \$12.00 to \$18.00 the limit of civil suits over which a single justice of the peace had jurisdiction.⁵ To avoid excessive costs, there was a clause that actions must be brought before a justice of the peace within the township where the defendant lived. Still another act to secure speedy legal action outlined the procedure for an arbitration in a civil action. A series of acts to aid the many debtors in the Northwest Territory reflected the growing humanitarianism of the age, as well as the general frontier attitude. Interest was limited to six per cent., and imprisonment for debt, a custom handed down from colonial and English precedents, was dealt with in characteristically practical fashion. The preamble to this act maintained that the detention of destitute debtors in prison could be of no possible advantage to their creditors, but their release might place them “in a situation, by honest industry,” to support themselves and their families, and to discharge their debts. Therefore, a prisoner for debt was to be discharged if he swore that he had no estate. The act aided the destitute debtor further, by making the creditor who threw him into prison responsible for a per diem subsistence of 12½¢.

Other acts dealing with a variety of local problems throw interesting side-lights upon frontier life. Thus, one was an attempt to check the fires which were so frequent in the fall from the careless burning of leaves and other rubbish. Another important act concerned jurisdiction over the Ohio River. Kentucky's claim of sole control to the high-water mark on the Territorial bank was

⁵ R. C. Downes, *Frontier Ohio, 1788-1803* (Columbus, 1935), 161-2.

causing frequent obstruction to justice, and great inconvenience to the officials of the Northwest Territory. To settle the matter, the assembly passed an act which made lawful any arrests by Territorial authorities on water courses "within or bounding the territory," and Kentucky acquiesced.⁶ Another important act of quite a different nature, drawn up by Burnet, required attorneys who practised in the different courts of the Territory, to take out licenses which ensured their "good moral character," as well as their knowledge of the law. Exceptions were of course made in the interest of practising attorneys from other territories or states. Other statutes dealt with such subjects as the building of fences, the partition of common lands, the disposition of stray animals and of water-craft found adrift, bounties to stimulate the destruction of the wolves which were playing such havoc with the rapidly increasing flocks of sheep, and the wide-spread crime of arson, which was made punishable with death.

Now that traffic by land was increasing so rapidly, it was necessary to replace with a new statute the highway act which the governor and the judges had adopted in 1792. Although it upheld the principle that all able-bodied men should work on the public roads, this new act virtually substituted a fine of 75¢ per diem. There were elaborate regulations, too, for laying out and repairing highways, which were to be not over 66 feet wide, and for building bridges, with the judges of the county courts of quarter-sessions still in general charge. One practical enactment stipulated that posts be erected at important cross-roads, with "inscriptions" to show "the most remarkable places on each respective road." Licenses for ferries had to be secured from the Territorial Assembly, but the tolls to be charged were left to the all-important courts of quarter-sessions. Another instance in which the rates of public utilities were regulated by statute concerned the charges made by owners of various types of mills, wind, water and horse operated, which were springing up over the Ohio countryside.

The Territorial Assembly also passed acts reminiscent of puri-

⁶ Burnet, *Notes*, 308-10.

tanical traditions. With a notable lack of a sense of humor, the legislators prohibited the sale of liquor within the area assigned to the Christian Indians, but directed that any liquor confiscated in carrying out the act should be handed over for the "use" of the Moravian missionaries. There were sumptuary acts, too, which forbade all "worldly employments" and pleasures on the Sabbath, and imposed fines of 50¢ to \$2.00 upon those who "profanely curse, damn or swear by the name of God." Persons found intoxicated in public places incurred severe penalties, and gambling of all types was strictly forbidden, as well as dueling, and, "to fight or box at fisticuffs." Altogether, the members of this first Territorial Assembly displayed excellent judgment in the enactment of a wide variety of statutes which later formed an adequate legal basis for the State of Ohio, as well as for the territories of Indiana and Illinois.

Notable as was its legislative program the Territorial Assembly demonstrated even more forcibly in joint resolutions and other proceedings its value as a mouthpiece of popular sentiment. Especially was this true of the slavery issue, which the increasing migration from Kentucky into the Virginia Military Tract forced to the front. Already *Freeman's Journal* had published a spirited debate between "Marcus," who favored a half-way type of slavery, and "Querist," who uncompromisingly upheld the pioneer theory of the equality of all men as the basis of "genuine republicanism."⁷ A petition from several officers of the Virginia Line to bring their slaves across the Ohio, was actually presented to the lower house, but the members unanimously rejected it as "incompatible" with the Ordinance. Two months later a similar petition was given more consideration, and a bill was reported to admit slaves under the guise of indenture. There was considerable debate, but the representatives were convinced that, aside from moral grounds, slavery would ultimately retard settlement by making labor less reputable, and would thus destroy the simplicity and industry they so strongly advocated. Consequently they rejected slavery

⁷ Cincinnati *Freeman's Journal*, Mar. 5, 1799.

again, this time with only a single dissenting vote, and so upheld the antislavery clause of the Ordinance of 1787.⁸

The assembly carried out part of St. Clair's suggestions in joint resolutions which instructed William Henry Harrison, as Territorial delegate, to secure action by Congress to make available the sections reserved in the Miami Purchase for the support of education and religion, and to compel a final settlement of the controversy with Symmes over the township he had promised for the support of a college.⁹ With a like regard for higher education, the assembly appointed three trustees to initiate steps for a public university, by setting aside a town plot within the townships which the Ohio Company had reserved for that purpose. The members of the assembly also attempted to meet the wide-spread criticisms of their legislation, and especially of the scheme of taxation. In a joint address to the "good people of the territory," they begged for patience, inasmuch as actual "operation" alone could effectively test the laws they had passed. Considerable expense was inevitable, the address continued, in entering the second stage of government, and the system of taxation they had adopted was the "least burdensome," to the "greatest class of citizens." Then, calling attention to the Territory's abounding resources, this address piously added that "religion, morality and knowledge" were the basis of good government, and the "foundation of public prosperity and happiness must be laid in private families." The two houses also joined in a complimentary address to President Adams. It was significant, however, that the Legislative Council unanimously approved it while the lower house, which was more responsive to public opinion, passed it by a vote of eleven to five.

Indeed, from the beginning of the session there had been strong evidence of an undercurrent of hostility toward St. Clair in the lower house. October 3 it came into the open when the two houses proceeded to elect a delegate to Congress by joint ballot.

⁸ Burnet, *Notes*, 306-7; Northwest Territory, House, *Journals*, 1 Assemb., 1 Sess., 19-20, 108, 117, 121, 132-3, 139-40.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 180-1, 183-4, 200-1; Pease, ed., *Laws of the Northwest Territory*, 519.

There were two candidates. One of them, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., the governor's son, would virtually have been his father's mouth-piece. The other candidate, William Henry Harrison, had succeeded Winthrop Sargent as Territorial secretary. A native Virginian, on friendly terms with the Republican leaders, Worthington and Massie, and the son-in-law of Symmes, Harrison could be depended upon to take an independent position. His election by a ballot of 12 to 10 was decidedly a Republican victory, and ensured that faction, undoubtedly the more popular one, an official spokesman in Congress.¹⁰ To St. Clair, however, now in his sixty-fifth year, and a notably arrogant executive, the blow must have been a severe one, although he concealed for the time being whatever chagrin he might have felt, and cooperated with the assembly in its legislative program.

The smoldering antagonism

between the governor and the Republican leaders came into the open on the last day of the session, when St. Clair made his closing address to the two houses. First complimenting the members on the "temper" and "industry" they had displayed in legislation from which the "best effects" would come, St. Clair called attention to his right of veto, maintaining that he was bound "to follow the dictates of my own mind." Consequently he had vetoed a number of the acts which the assembly had passed. In a number of



32. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

From a copy of an original portrait which was burned, now owned by Harrison Eaton, Esq., and in R. R. Jones, *Fort Washington at Cincinnati, Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1902), facing p. 26. Courtesy of the Ohio Society of Colonial Wars.

¹⁰ Freeman Cleaves, *Old Tippecanoe*. (New York, 1939), 28-9; Burnet, *Notes*, 301-2.

instances he justified this action, but by defending his stand in the veto of several acts which created new counties, upon the general plea of insufficient population, he greatly weakened his position by a tactless insistence upon his own prerogative. As a slight palliative, St. Clair indicated that he would always be glad to consider popular wishes in laying out new counties. Much similar as an assertion of arbitrary power was his veto of an act to change the county-seat of Adams County from the new settlement at Washington to Manchester. This last veto was, moreover, a direct attack upon Massie, who was personally interested in the development of Manchester. Even more startling and far-reaching in its consequences was St. Clair's veto of an act to take a census of the eastern section of the Northwest Territory. His argument, that this measure assumed "a division of the territory which does not nor ever did exist," was ineffective, in view of the provision in the Ordinance that the western boundary of the eastern district should be a line running north from the mouth of the Miami. Actually, administrative difficulties made a division of the Territory necessary, and the most logical line to follow was the one which the Ordinance had laid down. But with the rapidly increasing population east of this line, statehood must soon be granted, and that was the real source of St. Clair's veto of an act which was obviously the first step toward that end. Nor did his Republican opponents misunderstand his motives. After so bold a challenge, St. Clair closed his message with complimentary, although somewhat inappropriate, references to "the greatest harmony" which had prevailed.

With the adjournment of the Territorial Assembly the fight between the governor and his Republican opponents of the Virginia Military Tract became increasingly bitter. Within two weeks the Republican element won a notable victory, when Adams appointed Charles Willing Byrd as Territorial secretary to succeed William Henry Harrison. A native Virginian who had settled first in Kentucky, Byrd was a brother-in-law of Massie, and was closely associated with the leaders of the opposition to St.

Clair.¹¹ Under such circumstances the governor found that cooperation with the new secretary was difficult, and ultimately, it became impossible. A dramatic battle began, with statehood the real issue as the means to secure popular control of the local government. On the one side St. Clair led a comparatively small Federalist contingent, which included chiefly Burnet and the Marietta leaders, in a determined effort to postpone statehood. On the other, the more numerous and steadily increasing Republican element led by Worthington, and other members of the Virginia clique, were equally persistent in their efforts to secure statehood. Moreover, St. Clair, by his arbitrary policies and his unexpected veto message on the last day of the Territorial Assembly's session, had given them an effective rallying cry. In the background in this struggle there were other forces. There was the Federalist fear that if a new state was formed east of the dividing line fixed in the Ordinance, it would have decidedly Republican leanings. There was also grave danger that if a division were based upon this line, Chillicothe would take the place of Cincinnati as the Territorial capital, and thus the schemes of land speculators were involved. The Republicans occupied by far the stronger position. With the necessity of division conceded they could point to the fact that they were merely contending for the terms of the Ordinance, and that the specious arguments of St. Clair were but further evidences of the efforts of an arbitrary governor to thwart the popular will.

As a matter of fact, St. Clair had recognized as early as 1790, that the vast distances and the inadequate system of transportation made some division of the Northwest Territory a necessity. The considerable French population in the outlying districts, with their special problems, made the matter all the more pressing. On the other hand, St. Clair was aware of the strong agitation for statehood among the American settlers east of the Miami, a step for which he considered them wholly unprepared. Therefore he proposed to divide the Territory in such fashion that "a majority of

¹¹ H. J. Burtner, Jr., "Charles Willing Byrd," *O.S.A.H. Quar.*, XLI (1932), 237-40.

the people, in each division may be friendly to the Government of the United States," meaning of course the Federalist Administration. Essentially St. Clair's proposal included three territories, centering in the Muskingum, the Miami, and the Wabash valleys.¹² Such a scheme, by separating the Seven Ranges and the Ohio Company grant from the Virginia Military Tract and the Miami Purchase, would have divided the region where population was rapidly increasing, and would consequently have postponed statehood indefinitely in each division. For a time the Indian wars and their aftermath prevented any further action, and St. Clair became still more determined to secure a division which would indefinitely postpone statehood. For some time the general indifference of the Federal Administration toward the particular interests of the Northwest Territory proved to be an almost insuperable obstacle. Then St. Clair's friend, James Ross from western Pennsylvania, entered the Senate in 1794. An ardent Federalist, and the owner of extensive tracts in the Seven Ranges, Ross had been one of the founders of Steubenville, and was keenly interested in the speculative possibilities of the western country, as well as in the political schemes of its governor. Early in 1798 he reported a generally favorable sentiment in Congress toward a division of the Territory, with the chief objection the additional expense which would be involved. A year later Ross was chairman of a committee which reported a bill to "reform" the general court of the Northwest Territory by increasing the judges from three to six. From a financial standpoint, the report declared, this measure was preferable to the division of the Territory. It passed in the Senate, but was postponed in the House until the next session.¹³

When Congress reassembled, December 2, 1799, the Northwest Territory had an effective representative in the House in the person of William Henry Harrison. In contrast to St. Clair's

¹² Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 164-72, 178.

¹³ *Annals of Congress* (Washington, 1834-56), 5 Cong., 3 Sess., 2202, 2217, 2221, 3045.

friend, Ross, Harrison was in close contact with the Republicans, the popular element in the Territory, and he lost no time in bringing their desires to the attention of Congress. He managed to sidetrack the bill for the enlargement of the general court, and to secure a committee with instructions to report upon the "expediency" of dividing the Northwest Territory into two "distinct governments."¹⁴ While this committee was working upon its report with much aid from Harrison, a great deal of political intrigue was going on behind the scenes, with St. Clair playing an especially active part. In a letter to Ross he charged that the true aim of the proposed division of the Territory was statehood.¹⁵ Yet, such "a multitude of indigent and ignorant people," he considered "ill qualified to form a constitution and government for themselves." Then, revealing his own motive in his opposition to statehood, St. Clair asserted that the government which would be formed would probably be "democratic in its form and execution, and more troublesome and more opposed to the measures of the United States than even Kentucky." In strict confidence he indicated that he thoroughly mistrusted Worthington and his supporters, and believed that they were really working to secure for themselves the chief power, which they would not use for the interests of the United States. To avoid all these dangers he proposed a division of the Territory by a line drawn north from Eagle Creek, which would unite in one district the Virginia Military Tract, the Ohio Company's grant and the Seven Ranges, leaving the rapidly populating Miami Purchase and the remaining thinly settled land in the second division. By such an arrangement, St. Clair believed, the two divisions would be kept in the "colonial state" for several years.

In a last desperate attempt to carry his point, St. Clair attempted to enlist Harrison in the fight against a division line in accordance with the Ordinance of 1787, north from the mouth of the Miami. Enclosing a petition from Vincennes for a divi-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6 Cong., 1 Sess., 197-8, 245, 374, 507.

¹⁵ W. H. Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers* (Cincinnati, 1882), II, 481-3.

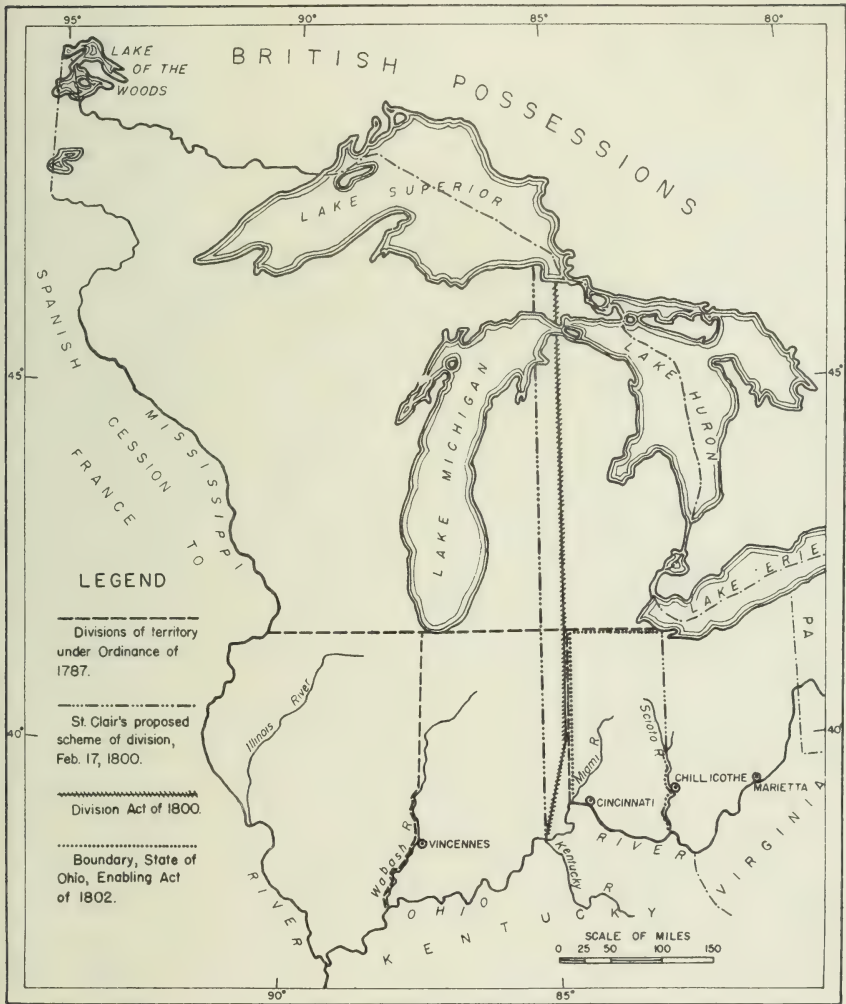
sion in such fashion that the scanty population to the westward would be protected from the heavy expense of the second stage of Territorial government, St. Clair took advantage of the opportunity to renew his original proposal for three districts, with the Scioto, and a line northward from the mouth of the Kentucky as the two dividing lines. Such a scheme would have made Marietta the logical capital of the eastern district, Cincinnati of the middle district, and Vincennes of the western district. Evidently St. Clair was appealing purposefully to Harrison's many local interests, for he pointed out that a division into two rather than three districts would "ruin Cincinnati."¹⁶ But Harrison was too strongly in sympathy with Worthington and his followers to pay attention to St. Clair's recommendations. Worthington himself went to the Federal capital, where he seems to have made excellent use of his time in furthering his particular aims, and in giving effective aid to Harrison who provided him with much important information. Harrison justified his own conduct, in switching from the act to enlarge the general court to a proposal to divide the Territory, upon the ground that he had discovered the change was favored by the inhabitants west of the Miami as well as those to the eastward.¹⁷

March 3, 1800, the committee reported in favor of the line established by the Ordinance, northward from the mouth of the Miami, as the boundary between the two proposed territories. Stressing the great distances between settlements, and the almost insuperable barriers to successful administration, the report emphasized the important problems in the western district which required special attention, and the need for effective judicial authority. A bill based upon this report stirred up considerable debate.¹⁸ But Harrison successfully defended the proposed action, upon the safe ground that the present Territory was altogether

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 489-90.

¹⁷ D. W. Massie, *Life of Nathaniel Massie* (Cincinnati, 1896), 154, 156; Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, II, 570; Cleaves, *Old Tippecanoe*, 30-1; *Annals of Cong.*, 6 Cong., Appendix, 1320-1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1 Sess., 649, 676, 684, 691, 698-9.



MAP 22. DIVISIONS OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY

Divisions under the Ordinance of 1787; St. Clair's proposed divisions, February 17, 1800; the boundary line of Indiana Territory, 1800; and the boundary of the State of Ohio, 1802; based upon maps in R. C. Downes, *Frontier Ohio, 1788-1803* (Columbus, 1935), p. 165.

unwieldy, and the division represented the "general wish" of the inhabitants. In the Senate the bill passed with amendments which brought about further debate in the House and an effort to postpone the entire matter, upon the plea that many inhabitants of the Northwest Territory were opposed to the change. In answer Harrison insisted that nine-tenths of the people favored it. He finally won his point, and the bill approved May 7, 1800, established a dividing line to run from the mouth of the Kentucky River to Fort Recovery, and then due north. But when a state should be formed from the newly constituted Northwest Territory the western boundary would be the one stipulated in the Ordinance, a line running due north from the mouth of the Miami. In rather arbitrary fashion the act transferred the Territorial capital for the Northwest Territory to Cincinnati, until the legislature ordered "otherwise."¹⁹ This act represented the complete triumph of the Republican forces led by Harrison and Worthington, and the corresponding discomfiture of St. Clair and his friends. The land speculators of the Virginia Military Tract, too, had triumphed over those of the Miami Purchase. Henceforth statehood would be the openly avowed goal of the Republicans representing the popular element.

Coinciding with the setting off of Indiana Territory came the final settlement of the question of jurisdiction over the Western Reserve. St. Clair had incorporated this area in Washington County, then in Wayne, and finally in Jefferson County.²⁰ But such action was questionable, even though the movement to create an additional state, New Connecticut, suffered the same fate as a number of other similar schemes in the western country. The State of Connecticut, having concluded an excellent bargain for the western lands, was indifferent to the problem of jurisdiction, and the inhabitants were left in virtually a legal no man's land. Fully occupied in the many hard tasks of early settlement they were little concerned, except that they refused pointblank to meet

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Appendix, 1498-1500.

²⁰ B. A. Hinsdale, *Old Northwest* (New York, 1888), 376-85.

the demands of the tax gatherer who represented Jefferson County. For the Connecticut Land Company this anomalous situation was a serious matter, since it greatly interfered with land sales. In spite of the company's persistent efforts, the Western Reserve continued to exist without any recognized legal administration, until in 1800 it had a total population of 1,302. Still there was no machinery of government, "no laws, no records, no magistrates or police."²¹ This impossible situation was finally brought to public attention March 21, 1800, in a report to Congress by a committee of which the chairman was John Marshall, later to become chief justice.²² Reciting in great detail the history of the Connecticut claims to western lands, and the creation of the Western Reserve, the report came to the conclusion that the purchasers of land in the Western Reserve could not submit to the Territorial government without endangering the titles which they held under the State of Connecticut. This seeming impasse was finally untangled when Congress confirmed the title of Connecticut, and inferentially of all land holders under the state, to the soil of the Western Reserve, and Connecticut, in return, surrendered to the United States all claims to jurisdiction. July 10, 1800, St. Clair created Trumbull County to include the Western Reserve, with Warren as the county-seat. Six weeks later the first county court of quarter-sessions opened at Warren in a shady spot between two corn-cribs, and the Western Reserve passed peaceably under the jurisdiction of the Northwest Territory.²³

The Northwest Territory was now a cohesive unit, which, except for the Detroit area and the "gore" in southeastern Indiana, included the present State of Ohio within its bounds. The danger from Indian attacks was practically ended, and the Land Act of 1800 offered prospective settlers remarkably easy terms. Condi-

²¹ *Ibid.*, 376; C. E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, 1934-), II, *Territory Northwest of the River Ohio*, 657-8.

²² *American State Papers* (Washington, 1832-61), *Public Lands*, I, 94-8; *Annals of Cong.*, 6 Cong., Appendix, 1495-7.

²³ J. H. Kennedy, *History of the City of Cleveland* (Cleveland, 1896), 92-4; Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, III, 525.

tions were ripe for a rapid advance in population, but it was a foregone conclusion that the American settlers who were crowding in would be restive under the "colonial status" favored by St. Clair and his friends, and would lend a favorable ear to Republican clamors for statehood. With the approach of the election set for October 14, 1800, the smoldering discontent came into the open, in the guise of numerous letters under the usual noms de plume in the weekly newspapers which were springing up in the more important county-seats.²⁴ One wag published a long list of would-be candidates in Hamilton County, in order, as he facetiously observed, to give the voters opportunity to decide at "one view." "Liberty" urged the voters of Ross County to select men of temperance and judgment, and "A Farmer" pointed out the comparatively small powers of the Territorial legislature, as compared with the "supreme powers" of the governor. Therefore he advised the voters to elect "good republicans," and pass by the lawyers. "A Countryman" voiced the strong prejudice characteristic of a debtor frontier against the lawyers who were supposed to support St. Clair. Occasionally a voice was raised in favor of St. Clair, as when "A Candid Elector" severely criticized the fashion in which the Territory had been divided, with so little regard for Hamilton County's interests. Altogether there was abundant evidence of the wide-spread hostility the Republican leaders had stirred up against St. Clair and his followers.

The members of the first Territorial Assembly which had been elected in December, 1798, held over until January 22, 1801, when the terms of the representatives who were elected in October, 1800, began. Thus, the personnel of the Territorial Assembly which St. Clair called for November 3, 1800, was substantially unchanged from the previous session, except for the absence of the representatives from the newly created Indiana Territory.²⁵ Meeting at Chillicothe for the first time, the members evidently

²⁴ *Cincinnati Western Spy*, June 11, Aug. 27, and Sept. 10 and 17, 1800; *Freeman's Journal*, Sept. 26, 1800.

²⁵ *Western Spy*, Oct. 8, 1800; Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, III, 525; Northwest Territory, House, *Journals*, 1 Assemb., 2 Sess. (Chillicothe, 1800).

hoped for peace, if it were possible. St. Clair's opening address was prosy and at times sanctimonious. Beginning with a recital of the Divine blessings which had been showered upon the Territory, he pointed out such obvious legislative problems as the guarantee of equal justice to the Indians, the assurance of the "freedom and purity" of elections, and a definite settlement with Symmes of the college township controversy. But when the governor mentioned a number of irregularities in Adams County, he trod upon slippery ground, in view of his own arbitrary action with regard to the county-seat. Equally tactless was a reminder of the need to establish the exact boundaries of existing counties, and those of new ones as they were set off. Finally, at the close of his address St. Clair's pent-up wrath broke forth in most undignified fashion when he called attention to the approaching end of his own term of office. The "vilest calumnies," and the "grossest falsehoods," he charged, had been assiduously circulated to prevent his reappointment, although he had continuously labored for the welfare and happiness of the inhabitants of the Territory.

The two houses made replies in which they expressed regret for the calumnies which had been circulated. The Legislative Council, however, added that they had great "confidence" in his administration, and hoped it would be continued. But the representatives significantly omitted any allusion to a reappointment, contenting themselves with the piously innocuous hope that the "manifest purity" of St. Clair's motives would shield him from "the unprovoked attacks of the wicked and malevolent." Even this colorless address was only carried by a vote of ten to seven. But St. Clair was a canny Scotchman, and by taking advantage of local jealousies he was able to command a majority in the House of Representatives. The members from Hamilton County had been greatly aroused by the arbitrary removal of the Territorial capital to Chillicothe, and they now formed a coalition with the representatives from Washington County to defeat the schemes of the Republican politicians from the Virginia Military Tract. This coalition supported St. Clair's pet scheme for three divisions of

the old Northwest Territory, which would automatically make Marietta capital of the eastern, and Cincinnati of the middle district. Another aim of the coalition was to secure St. Clair's re-appointment as governor. The strength of this "Cincinnati-Marietta" coalition was soon shown, when they elected a Territorial delegate to succeed Harrison who had been appointed governor of the new Indiana Territory. To fill out his unexpired term to March 4, 1801, they selected William McMillan of Cincinnati, and for the ensuing term of two years Paul Fearing from Washington County. This choice assured a Territorial representative in Congress who would look favorably upon St. Clair's schemes.²⁶

Yet the friction between the governor and the members of the two houses was not forgotten. In a respectful address the assembly regretted the "difference of opinion" which had arisen, but insisted firmly upon their own powers in the creation of counties, and in the location of county-seats. Further, while the address did not deny the governor's veto power, it did request him to return any bill he did not approve within ten days, in order to allow adequate consideration. In a lengthy and opinionated reply St. Clair maintained that neither the erection of counties nor the location of county-seats was a legislative prerogative. As a conciliatory gesture he promised, nevertheless, to sanction petitions from 500 or more male inhabitants of voting age who wished to form a separate county. So far as his veto power was concerned, St. Clair would make no concession, and he advised those who disagreed with him to petition Congress for an alteration in the Ordinance. As further evidence of their determined stand, the two houses had already instructed McMillan to ask for a modified veto, similar to the one exercised by the President. An additional and exceedingly significant instruction asked McMillan to secure an alteration in the Ordinance, which would extend the Territorial franchise to all free male citizens, twenty-one and over, who paid a Territorial or a county tax. Coming from an assembly

²⁶ Massie, *Massie*, 103-4; Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 196-7.

chosen by property holders, this last proposal was especially startling in its revelation of the strength of the Republican movement. In the Legislative Council these instructions to the Territorial delegate passed only after considerable debate and objection.

The differences of opinion between St. Clair and the members of the Territorial Assembly did not prevent the passage of a number of important bills during this second session.²⁷ Of special significance were the advances authorized in local self-government, with an act to incorporate the town of Marietta, to serve as a model for later ones. This act extended the local franchise to all freeholders and "other male inhabitants of full age" who paid taxes, and recognized the town meeting, in accordance with long-established New England custom, as the chief source of authority. To qualified voters the act gave the right to impose levies for the support of the schools and other needs of the town, and to fix a limited poll-tax upon all males of twenty-one and over. These same voters could also make regulations for "peace, good order and general welfare," and were to elect annually a long list of town officers, among them a clerk, a treasurer, tax collectors, overseers of the poor, supervisors of highways, fence viewers, and constables. In an additional act the assembly laid the bases for other acts of incorporation by a requirement that the land speculators who were accustomed to lay out towns must in every instance file plats in the office of the county recorder. But the assembly's response was not so favorable to petitions from Hamilton County, that "the voice of the inhabitants" should select the chief township officers. A bill to this end passed the House of Representatives, but too late to secure the consent of the Legislative Council.²⁸

Other acts recognized obvious needs of a rapidly expanding population. One in particular transferred from the assembly to the county courts of quarter-sessions the power to issue ferry licenses. Still another established circuit courts, to be held annually by the judges of the general court, at Marietta for Wash-

²⁷ Northwest Territory, U. S., *Laws*, 1 Assemb., 1 Sess. (Cincinnati, 1801).

²⁸ Northwest Territory, *House, Journals*, 1 Assemb., 2 Sess., 49-51, 112.

ington County, at Cincinnati for Hamilton County, at Chillicothe for Adams and Ross counties, at Steubenville for Jefferson and Trumbull counties, and at Detroit for Wayne County. Also important from a legal standpoint, was the act which recognized a persistent demand for more speedy and convenient determination of small causes, by raising to \$20.00 the limit for hearings before a single justice of the peace, in place of the \$18.00 maximum which had been fixed in 1799. The Territorial Assembly carried out one of St. Clair's recommendations in an act which divided the counties into districts, in each of which elections would be held on the same day, with voting by written ballot rather than *viva voce*. Still another act which followed St. Clair's advice placed the arrest and trial of persons accused of the murder of Indians under the special jurisdiction of the judges of the general court. Doubtless, too, the stress he had laid upon education and morality was partly responsible for an act to appoint trustees, who should lease sections sixteen and twenty-nine in the Ohio Company's grant for the benefit of education and religion. The assembly also accepted the report of Rufus Putnam and the other trustees who had been authorized to take steps for establishing a university in the two college townships. The sequel was the founding of Athens. Indeed there was a quite evident disposition to patch up partisan differences as much as possible, and it was in this spirit that the Legislative Council passed a bill to hold sessions of the Territorial Assembly in rotation, at Marietta, Cincinnati and Chillicothe. In the lower house, however, the bill was lost, chiefly as a result of much local jockeying for position.²⁹

St. Clair himself put an end to any conciliatory efforts when he bluntly announced on December 2 that the session of the assembly must end December 9, the day upon which his own commission expired. This announcement was especially arbitrary and tactless, as there was much additional business to be completed, and Charles Willing Byrd, the Territorial secretary, could not be reached in time to prolong the session. There was a general belief that

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 108-9.

St. Clair's true motive had been to take advantage of an uncertain situation, in order to ward off legislation to which Byrd would consent, but of which he did not himself approve.³⁰ The strong opposition to St. Clair in the House of Representatives now broke out in open revolt. On the day before the session ended, by a vote of nine to eight the members authorized a committee to draw up an address asking the inhabitants of the Northwest Territory to make known their wishes with regard to statehood. Two of the three members of the committee, Worthington and Massie, were Republican leaders, and the address was really a campaign document in the forthcoming election of a new Territorial Assembly. Brief but subtle in its wording, the address noted the condition in the Ordinance requiring 60,000 inhabitants in order to form a state, and expressed the belief that the coming census would show the necessary number, or very close to it. With a seeming fair-mindedness this appeal for Republican support referred to the probable additional expense of statehood, and then called attention to its "superior advantages." The representatives promptly adopted the address, and ordered 500 copies distributed throughout the Territory. St. Clair, concealing his rage at so bold a challenge, bided his time and gave no indication of bitterness toward the assembly in a final address which was marked by friendly expressions.

The scene now shifted to the Federal capital where the Republican politicians, notably Byrd, the Territorial secretary, were active in marshaling the forces hostile to St. Clair. Symmes, smarting under old and new grudges, threatened in quite unjudicial fashion that if the charges against the governor were not sustained, he himself would attempt to impeach him. Yet St. Clair had his supporters. A petition for his reappointment was handed around in Cincinnati, and the Territorial delegate, McMillan, worked energetically among congressmen in his behalf.³¹ Moreover, the

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 90; Burnet, *Notes*, 325-7.

³¹ Massie, *Massie*, 161-6; Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 194; Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, II, 529, 531.

political situation favored St. Clair. Adams, a Federalist President, would submit the appointment to a holdover Senate with a Federalist majority. Nor could Jefferson, dependent upon a Federalist House for his own election, extend open aid to his Republican friends from the Northwest Territory. Eventually Adams nominated St. Clair for another term of three years as governor of the Northwest Territory, at the same time submitting recommendations for and against the appointment. A committee reported the charges were not adequately supported, and February 3, 1801, the Senate finally confirmed St. Clair. His Republican opponents consoled themselves with the hope that they would succeed in removing him as soon as a new Republican President and a Republican Congress should come into power.

More than eight months elapsed before the meeting of the Territorial Assembly, and the Republican leaders made full use of this opportunity to work upon public opinion. St. Clair unwittingly presented them with an ideal issue when three days before he adjourned the assembly, he issued a proclamation creating Clermont County, and another one on the very day of adjournment, setting off Fairfield County.³² In each case he named the county-seat. Nine months later he created Belmont County in similar fashion. His opponents had their innings when the official proceedings of the Northwest Territory were submitted to Congress, and the Senate sustained an objection that St. Clair had exceeded his authority, inasmuch as the power to form new counties was vested in the Territorial Assembly. The bitterly disappointed inhabitants of the areas involved appealed to Byrd in St. Clair's absence, and Byrd referred the matter to the assembly, but a final settlement did not come until after statehood. The hostile reaction to this arbitrary creation of counties was heightened when the address from the representatives was circulated, and soon the local campaign against St. Clair was in full swing.³⁷

³² Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, III, 526-8; Burnet, *Notes*, 322-3.

³³ Chillicothe (Ohio) *Scioto Gazette*, Jan. 8, Feb. 12 and 19, 1801; *Western Spy*, May 13 and July 8, 1801.

The *Scioto Gazette*, first published in 1800 at Chillicothe as the Republican mouthpiece, applauded the national election of 1800 as a "glorious victory," which reestablished the "pure spirit" of republicanism. Even in Cincinnati the *Western Spy* praised Jefferson's inaugural address, and called especial attention to his appointments of men of "integrity and talent." At the Fourth of July celebrations throughout the Northwest Territory there were ardent Republican toasts which lauded the "free government" which would come with statehood. "A Countryman," in a typical effort to arouse popular prejudice against St. Clair and his Federalistic régime, emphasized the "colonial" status of the Northwest Territory, and denounced the governor's appointive power. The Republicans were not altogether unopposed, and an influential although small conservative group supported St. Clair.³⁴ In Marietta early in January, a public meeting adopted a lengthy address which strongly opposed statehood, chiefly because of the added expense. This address reflected, too, the local rancor against the Chillicothe politicians, insinuating that "designing characters" were pushing the issue of statehood merely in order to gratify their personal ambitions. In Hamilton County, where there was also strong hostility to the Chillicothe group, "A Hamilton Farmer," and "A Citizen" both opposed statehood upon similar grounds. It was quite evident that the inhabitants of Marietta and Cincinnati were ready to support any scheme which would advance their local interests as opposed to those of Chillicothe.

Soon after the second Territorial Assembly, which had been elected in October, 1800, met, it was plain that its political complexion was little changed from that of the previous year. In the Legislative Council Burnet was still an important figure, and here St. Clair had his strongest support. In the House of Representatives Edward Tiffin was reelected speaker, and the Republican coterie, led by Thomas Worthington, again constituted a strong minority which made itself felt during the two-months session from November 23, 1801, to January 23, 1802. In his open-

³⁴ Massie, *Massie*, 166-8; *Western Spy*, Oct. 24 and Nov. 2, 1801.

ing address St. Clair asked the assembly to set apart a day of public thanksgiving for the abundant harvests and the many blessings of peace.³⁵ Then he reminded the two houses that the "unavoidable" adjournment of the last assembly had left much unfinished business. After noting certain needed revisions of the militia law, he paid his annual respects to Symmes' failure to reach an agreement with regard to the reserved sections, and dwelt upon the urgent necessity for some source of Territorial revenue in addition to the tax upon land. In reply the Legislative Council expressed a cordial willingness to cooperate with St. Clair, and warmly congratulated him upon his reappointment as "chief magistrate" of the Northwest Territory. His "numerous services" in the past, the address declared, were "sacred pledges" of his "sincere desire . . . to promote the greatest possible happiness and prosperity of our infant country." The reply of the representatives, with their strong Republican contingent, was quite different in tone. Prepared by a committee headed by Massie, it was respectful in its expression of a general willingness to cooperate, but it did not mention the governor's reappointment. Nor did this reply from the House of Representatives show any great enthusiasm for the recommendation for additional sources of Territorial revenue.

The undercurrent of unfriendliness evident in the reply of the lower house continued. Although both houses readily agreed upon a day of thanksgiving, they did not work out so easily the instructions to Paul Fearing, now the Territorial delegate. In the course of the discussion the representatives passed a resolution which called attention to the "difference of opinion" with the governor over the power to create counties, and complained that he had lately laid out new ones in arbitrary fashion. As the court proceedings in these new counties were of questionable legality, the resolution proposed a law to meet this particular situation, and suggested that "the most prompt" measures should be adopted to obtain a definitive interpretation of the Ordinance. The Legis-

³⁵ Northwest Territory, House, *Journals*, 2 Assemb., 1 Sess. (Chillicothe, 1801).

lative Council did not accept this particular resolution, but the final joint instructions requested Fearing to ask Congress for a "declaratory act" respecting the power to create counties. These instructions significantly repeated previous requests for a modification of the governor's veto power, and for the extension of the Territorial franchise to practically all male citizens of voting age.

Immediate problems made it necessary to put an end to this political jockeying, however. The financial situation especially had to be considered. St. Clair's report was not a cheerful one. There had been heavy losses in revenue, he pointed out, due chiefly to the high costs of collection, and the wide-spread failure to pay the land taxes, particularly those due from non-residents. As a result the whole estimated revenue for 1801 was only \$29,077, with a total deficit of \$5,419. Moreover, in order to meet current expenses the auditor had adopted the device of issuing bills of credit. Part of them had been redeemed, but there were bills still outstanding which totaled \$8,795. In St. Clair's opinion, an end must be put to such a "wretched expedient," and the Territory must have additional revenue. In response the assembly merely passed an act with more stringent provisions for the collection of the land tax. At the same time it reduced the rate to 60¢ per 100 acres for first quality, 40¢ for second quality, and 20¢ for third quality land. From these reduced taxes it required a fourth to be handed over for county needs. In spite of the dismal outlook, the financial problem solved itself, as the tremendous expansion of population in the Northwest Territory brought about a corresponding increase in land values.

As usual, in spite of controversial issues the assembly managed to agree with the governor upon a rather extensive legislative program.³⁶ Several of these acts dealt with various features of legal procedure. Another fixed fees for a wide variety of legal services typical of the frontier in its rather frugal allowances. Thus, the fee for a letter of administration was \$1.00, exclusive of the stamp, and for recording a will, 10¢ for every hundred words.

³⁶ Northwest Territory, *Laws*, 2 Assemb., 1 Sess. (Chillicothe, 1802).

Petit jurors were to receive a per diem of 25¢, and members of the grand jury 50¢, the latter with an additional mileage allowance of 5¢. For every "issue joined," the justices of the different county courts were entitled to a fee of 25¢, and the same amount for a continuance. But for small cases tried by a single magistrate, the fee was to be only 12½¢ for a summons, 10¢ for the first subpoena, with 4¢ for each additional one, and 20¢ for entering judgment. The act also fixed the fees to be charged by sheriffs, clerks of the courts, and other officials.

At this same session of the Territorial Assembly, a further advance was made in local self-government with the passage of acts to incorporate Chillicothe, Cincinnati and Detroit. For Manchester five trustees were authorized, with broad powers to make necessary local ordinances, and to levy not more than \$60.00 in any one year to enforce them. Still another act, which extended the principle of self-government to rural townships, met a wide-spread local demand. As in the incorporated towns the annual township meeting was made the chief source of authority, with power to elect all the township officers of importance. In contrast to the rather limited franchise in the incorporated towns, in the townships all free males of twenty-one and over who paid either a county or a Territorial tax were allowed to vote. Among other miscellaneous acts was one which took advantage of the two college townships reserved in the Ohio Company's grant, and established the American Western University in the newly laid out town of Athens. This act, the first practical step toward the opening of Ohio University in 1809, marked likewise the inauguration of the great system of public universities which was to spring up west of the Appalachians.

Another important act, of an entirely different type, authorized Jonathan Zane to build a bridge across the Muskingum River at the mouth of Licking Creek. Following the policy already inaugurated in dealing with public utilities, the act carefully fixed the tolls to be charged, and required them to be displayed "in some conspicuous place" near the entrance of the bridge. Another

bridge which was authorized on the same road, across Will's Creek, was an additional indication of the increase in travel by land between Chillicothe and Wheeling. Exports from the Territory also were increasing, and an act was passed for the careful inspection of "all wheat, rye flour, Indian corn or buckwheat meal, biscuit, butter, hog's lard, beef and pork" which was exported. Inspectors were required to mark each package, in order to show the quality and quantity of the contents. It is significant that Wayne County, including chiefly the Detroit area, was excepted from the provisions of this act.

While this varied program of legislation was being passed, the advocates of statehood had not been idle. In the lower house, when two petitions from Clermont County asked for a "free and an elective state government," a resolution, that the representatives would refuse to receive any additional petitions for this purpose, was overwhelmingly defeated by the Republicans. In the Legislative Council, however, St. Clair had strong support, as was shown by the passage of a bill to alter the Territorial division of 1800 along the lines of his original proposal for three instead of two districts. Inasmuch as the bill would automatically disqualify Chillicothe, and substitute Cincinnati and Marietta as the respective capitals of two of the new Territorial divisions, even in the lower house it proved too strong a temptation to the Cincinnati-Marietta coalition, and these allies pushed it through. The bill was cleverly drawn. Representing that under the existing division, the eastern district was too extensive for effective administration, the act indicated that the Territorial Assembly would approve an alteration by Congress of the present boundaries. It proposed two lines of division, both running northward, one from the mouth of the Scioto, and the other from the western boundary of Clark's Grant, thus creating three rather than two Territorial districts. It was generally believed that St. Clair was behind this bit of legislative strategy, and certainly, should Congress approve, it would ensure his well-known aim, the indefinite delay of statehood.

But the mere passage of this act did not end the controversy in

the House of Representatives. When a resolution was presented to transmit it to Fearing, the Territorial delegate, the opportunity to present a formal protest was seized by Massie, as spokesman for the Republican minority. The resolution of transmittal was temporarily shelved, and by a vote of ten to nine, Massie and his followers succeeded in placing their protest in the official minutes. Asserting that the proposed new division of the Territory was a violation of the Ordinance and was therefore unconstitutional, this Republican document came boldly into the open, and declared that it would delay statehood indefinitely. This protest, which was signed by Tiffin, the presiding officer, and the other Republican representatives, was an exceedingly clever move to ensure a rallying point in the intensive campaign for statehood which was now in full swing. Once this protest had been aired and recorded, the house quickly agreed to the resolution to transmit the controversial act to Fearing.

Only the day before, the Republican minority in the lower house had shown its strength in the extended debate over a bill to remove the Territorial capital from Chillicothe to Cincinnati.³⁷ Apparently Republican strategy attempted to defeat the bill by provoking wrangling among rival towns. Marietta, Franklinton, Steubenville, Detroit and Fairfield, in turn, were proposed as substitutes for Cincinnati as the new Territorial capital, but the bill finally passed by a safe margin of twelve to eight, and was accepted in the Legislative Council. It was reported that St. Clair had secured the support of the Marietta faction by a promise that, with the new proposed division Marietta, too, would become a Territorial capital. The passage of the act to remove the capital from Chillicothe, following so closely the proposed new division of the old Northwest Territory, aroused much local feeling in Chillicothe. The situation was made more tense by indiscreet remarks which reflected upon the motives of the Republican politicians. The protest in the lower house seems to have been the final straw, and during the evening of the very day it was pre-

³⁷ Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 199-200.

sented, rioters forced the outer door of the house in which St. Clair resided. The mob was driven back, and no one was hurt, but the attack was renewed the following night, again without success. The local officers of the law, it was charged, made no attempt to enforce order, and even the sheriff of Ross County had been a passive observer. Nor did St. Clair's appeal to a local justice of the peace receive adequate consideration, and as a last resort he laid the matter before the House of Representatives. No positive action was taken, but the riots quickly subsided.³⁸

The Republicans in the lower house were not yet ready to abandon their fight for statehood, and they brought in two significant measures, one to take a census of the free male inhabitants of the Northwest Territory, and the other an amendment, to confine the proposed census to the area east of the line northward from the mouth of the Miami, which the Division Act of 1800 had specified as the western boundary of a new state. Both bills passed in the lower house, but were lost in the Legislative Council. The very passage of these bills in the lower house was a forcible demonstration of the popular support for statehood toward which they were an important step. The assembly finally adjourned January 23, 1802, and the governor, doubtless much relieved, delivered a good-tempered address which laid great stress upon his approval of all the acts which had passed, with the exception of the one with regard to marriage, and this veto he attempted to justify in a long and prosy homily. In closing, he expressed the hope that a "well grounded confidence in the legislature and a spirit of peace and mutual good will" would spread throughout the Territory, pointedly adding that it was "much in your power" to cultivate such an attitude.

Again the adjournment of the Territorial Assembly shifted the main fight between St. Clair and his opponents to Washington. This time the setting for statehood, the openly avowed Republican goal, was quite favorable. With Jefferson now safely installed as President and a Republican majority in both houses, there ap-

³⁸ Burnet, *Notes*, 333-4.

peared to be no real obstacles to the formation of a state which would add two Republican senators and a Republican congressman to the ruling majority.³⁹ First it was necessary to defeat decisively the proposal from the Territorial Assembly for a new division, and a public meeting at Chillicothe appointed Worthington and Michael Baldwin as agents to go to Washington, and represent the Republican, and supposedly, the popular side. This same meeting appointed a committee to circulate petitions of protest against the bill for a redivision. Worthington and Baldwin left promptly for Washington, where they lost no time in rallying support in the fight against the proposal to divide the Territory again.

Meantime St. Clair, fighting against overwhelming odds, forwarded the controversial bill to Fearing, the Territorial delegate. In rather unconvincing fashion he denied the charge that he had personally secured its passage. If however the effect would be to postpone statehood, he felt that the approval of Congress would be "the most fortunate thing that could have happened for this country." But Fearing, favorably inclined toward St. Clair and his schemes, was greatly alarmed by the "exertions" of the "Chillicothe agents" in Washington.⁴⁰ His fears were well founded. When the act for the redivision of the Northwest Territory was introduced into the House, William B. Giles, an influential Republican from Virginia, declared he held petitions from more than 1,000 inhabitants of the Northwest Territory, which protested against a measure which would indefinitely delay statehood, and would thus perpetuate the present executive and legislative forms. This clever reasoning put St. Clair and the Territorial Assembly in the position of interested parties who were opposing the popular will, and January 27, the House rejected the proposed redivision of the Territory by an overwhelming vote of 81 to 5. Manasseh

³⁹ Worthington Letter Book (in Library of Congress), 98-100; Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 209.

⁴⁰ Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, II, 543-59, *passim*; *Western Spy*, Jan. 16 and 30, 1802.

Cutler, now a congressman from Massachusetts, was included in the small minority.⁴¹

Worthington and his friends now plotted to oust St. Clair, and thus to remove the chief obstacle to statehood. Apparently this would be an easy matter, for the governor had played into the hands of his enemies by his tactless policies, and by his arbitrary insistence upon his full prerogatives. Massie hastened to send a long list of charges to the secretary of state, and Worthington worked indefatigably among the Washington politicians. In a letter to Jefferson he repeated essentially Massie's main charges, namely, the free use of the veto, the arbitrary erection of counties, and the personal acceptance of various fees. Worthington laid special stress upon St. Clair's open hostility to a "republican form of government," his efforts to form a personal party, and above all his plan for a redivision which would indefinitely delay statehood.⁴² St. Clair in a personal letter to Jefferson boldly met these attempts to discredit him. There was a ring of deep sincerity in his recital of the efforts he had made to promote the "general happiness," and to turn the people "to industry, to obedience to the laws, to moderation in their opinions, and to virtue in their lives and practices." Nor was he so greatly concerned for the loss of his office, as for the stain which a summary dismissal would put upon his reputation. Jefferson accepted the governor's defense, and merely issued a mild rebuke, with the hope that in the future St. Clair would "obviate discontent" among the inhabitants of the Territory.⁴³

St. Clair was not wholly selfish in opposing statehood for the Northwest Territory, inasmuch as he sincerely believed the change would bring "misery and ruin," and certainly he had a potent argument in the state of the Territorial finances.⁴⁴ So strongly

⁴¹ *Annals of Cong.*, 7 Cong., 1 Sess., 427, 462, 465-6.

⁴² Massie, *Massie*, 179-80; Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, II, 563-70.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 570-4; Northwest Territorial Papers, B.I.A., Domestic, 6387.

⁴⁴ B. W. Bond, Jr., *Civilization of the Old Northwest* (New York, 1934), 113-6; Burnet, *Notes*, 348-9; Downes, *Frontier Ohio*, 204-16; Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, II, 555.

were he and his supporters impressed with this fundamental objection that they brushed away as of little serious consequence the criticisms of the governor's veto and appointive powers, and of the appointment rather than the election of the important Territorial officials. But they could not dismiss so lightly the most serious objection of all, that by its property qualification the Territorial franchise excluded a large and increasing part of the population so that the assembly was not truly representative. To remedy such a situation would have an especial appeal to the democratic ideals of Jefferson and his followers, and Worthington made good use of it in his campaign for statehood. Even before the Territorial Assembly met, in November, 1801, Worthington sounded out Republican politicians in Washington regarding the possibility of favorable action by Congress, in case the assembly supported immediate statehood.⁴⁵ Later he sought aid for "our much neglected country" from Abraham Baldwin, a Republican senator from Georgia, and a brother of Michael Baldwin, one of the Chilli-cothe clique who was soon to accompany Worthington to Washington to push the campaign for statehood. As an appeal to Republican idealism Worthington drew the senator's attention to the main issue, as he saw it, whether the Northwest Territory would become an "independent state," or would remain "under the present arbitrary government, better fitted for an English or Spanish colony than for citizens of the United States." He reminded the senator of a very practical consideration, that statehood for the Northwest Territory would undoubtedly mean additional Republican votes in Congress.

Worthington gained another ally in William Duane, editor of the Philadelphia *Aurora*, the official Republican organ.⁴⁶ In a letter to Duane he savagely attacked the "oppressive" Territorial government, and especially the thoroughly "unrepublican" powers of the governor. He added a detailed list of St. Clair's misdoings, with an unmistakable hint that Duane should use this information,

⁴⁵ Worthington Letter Book, 67-74, 98-100.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 90-3; Philadelphia *Aurora*, Jan. 19, 1802.

and any further material he might need, in order to further the cause of statehood for the Northwest Territory, and thus earn for himself "the grateful thanks of thousands." With a characteristically practical touch, Worthington enclosed an advance payment of \$5.00 for a year's subscription to the *Aurora*. Duane responded in satisfactory fashion, inserting persistent and effective attacks upon St. Clair and his régime in the *Aurora*. In one such editorial, in which Duane dubbed the Chillicothe riot a figment of the governor's imagination, he seized the opportunity to declare that the inhabitants of the Northwest Territory were "almost universally" opposed to the existing form of government and to St. Clair. This particular editorial was exceptionally well-timed to appear while the House was debating the assembly's proposal for a new division of the Territory.

After his arrival in Washington, Worthington managed to enlist William B. Giles, who had already given such effective aid in the defeat of the proposal for a new division, as leader in the House in the fight for statehood. January 29 Giles proposed a resolution to refer the recent census of the Northwest Territory to a committee which would report upon the possibility of statehood. Significantly Giles was made chairman of this committee, but it did not include Fearing, the Territorial delegate, who was a known opponent of statehood for the Northwest Territory. A prolonged fight had now begun in the two houses, which was to reach a climax in the passage of an act to enable the inhabitants to pass upon the issue. In the course of the struggle, Duane came out with pertinent editorials at critical moments, and petitions, which the indefatigable Worthington helped to stimulate, poured in from the Northwest Territory as demonstrations of popular sentiment.⁴⁷ The committee in charge, in its report to the House on March 30, acknowledged that the census had shown only 45,365 inhabitants in the Northwest Territory, and from this number the 3,400 in Wayne County, chiefly in the Detroit area, must be deducted.

⁴⁷ *Annals of Cong.*, 7 Cong., 1 Sess., 470-1, 814, 985, 1098-127, 1158-61; *Massie, Massie*, 191-2.

Nevertheless, the committee felt that the population was increasing so rapidly that before the new state could finally be organized, it would have the full 60,000 specified in the Ordinance. Statehood was especially desirable, in view of the "great and increasing disquietudes" in the Northwest Territory, arising particularly from the recent proposals for a new division, and therefore the committee recommended the passage of an act to enable the inhabitants to draw up a constitution and to form a state government. The presentation of this report stirred up an extensive debate, in which Fearing led the opposition. With complete disregard of the many petitions from the inhabitants in favor of statehood, he maintained that the adoption of the report would ignore the Territorial Assembly which was the legally constituted authority to voice public opinion. In reply, the Republicans with equal emphasis asserted that a Territorial Assembly, based upon a restricted franchise, did not adequately represent public opinion, and that aside from a part of its members the only persons in the Territory opposed to statehood were, the governor, the Territorial delegate, and a comparatively small group of citizens. As proof they cited the many petitions to Congress in favor of statehood. The House accepted their arguments, and adopted the committee's report.

The introduction of a bill to enable Ohio to become a state renewed the debate, and a determined effort was made to strike out the section which extended the franchise to all male citizens of full age who had resided in the Territory for a year or more, and paid a Territorial or a county tax. This provision in reality was the crux of the entire matter, since it transferred the power to pass upon statehood from the smaller group under the restricted franchise of the Ordinance, to the mass of the inhabitants. When the House upheld this section, a significant victory was won, and the next day it passed the enabling bill by a vote of 47 to 29. The bill encountered considerable opposition in the Senate, and Duane promptly issued one of his timely editorials in the *Aurora*.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ *Aurora*, Apr. 12, 1802.

The movement for statehood in the Northwest Territory, he vigorously defended as one which would destroy the "seeds of an overbearing and ambitious aristocratic influence" sown by a "few characters" who had abused their offices in order to enrich themselves and their relatives "from the spoils of the people." Their lagging zeal spurred on by such appeals, the members of the Senate passed the Enabling Act, April 27.⁴⁹ Three days later the President signed it, and the people of the Northwest Territory were free to choose by practically a manhood suffrage whether or not they wanted immediate statehood. Following the Ordinance the act fixed the line northward from the mouth of the Miami as the western boundary of the new State, and set off the Michigan area, this latter exception chiefly because its inhabitants were greatly opposed to statehood. The Republican advocates of statehood for the eastern division of the Northwest Territory had won the most important round in their fight. The details of the campaign which preceded the ensuing convention, and the chief features of the constitution its members adopted, fall within the scope of the second volume of this series.

The foundations of the State of Ohio had now been laid. First had come the Mound-builders, to be followed by the historic Indians; French explorers from Canada opened the Ohio country to Europeans, and soon the English, crossing the Appalachians, were serious competitors for the fur trade. The final struggle between the two nations ended in the ousting of the French. The English, attempting to conciliate the Indians, came in conflict with the claims of the different colonies to lands west of the mountains. The Revolution, and the expulsion of the British in their turn followed, although the latter still retained the western posts, and their agents stirred up the Indians against the Americans. The shaping of American policy now became all important, if this Ohio country was to be retained. The twin ordinances of 1785 and 1787 were steps in the right direction, but the former favored the land speculator; the latter denied the masses a voice

⁴⁹ *Annals of Cong.*, 7 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 1349-51.

in the government. The Indian wars and the surrender of the western posts settled the problems of British influence and Indian raids, so far as the Ohio country was concerned. Fortunately American policy was realistic, and recognizing actual conditions it modified the two ordinances to meet popular demands. Population flowed in, and again the wishes of the inhabitants were met when the Federal Government granted the right to form a state government. Ohio emerged as literally the "first fruits" of the Ordinance of 1787.

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