THE MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE UPPER OHIO VALLEY
DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.
1774-1781

A Thesis Presented for the
Degree of Master of Arts

by

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THE LUNMORE WAR
In order to gain a proper perspective for a clear understanding of the events on the Upper Ohio during the Revolution it is necessary to go back in point of time at least as far as 1774. In that year was fought the so-called Dunmore war.

The causes of this war, which was fought between the Virginians and the Indians of the Northwest, lie to a large degree in the mutual hatreds of the two irreconcilable races. While it is true that outrages perpetrated by both whites and Indians late in 1773 and early in 1774 were especially violent, yet back of these incidents lay more fundamental grievances.

By the treaties of Fort Stanwix (1768) and Lochabar (1774) the Six Nations had ceded the land south of the Ohio and west of the Kentucky river to the whites. This action had given especial offence to the Shawnees since they looked upon this land as their own for hunting. It is small wonder that the whites pushing up the tributaries of the Ohio into this country were looked upon by the Shawnees with alarm.

It is true that the expedition under Bouquet in 1763 had in a measure given the Indians a check. Still the raiding of white settlements went on. Sometimes it was for the purpose of killing the settlers; often it was to steal horses and occasionally negroes.

1. See post, 19.
In 1774 a violent dispute arose between the governments of Pennsylvania and Virginia over the title to lands located about Pittsburgh. Owing to the uncertain knowledge of the geography of the country the grants of the two Colonies overlapped. Early that year Lord Dunmore commissioned Dr. John Connolly to act for the government of Virginia in the disputed area, as Captain Commandant of the militia. He seized the Fort at Pittsburgh and renamed it Fort Dunmore. He called musters of the militia and made himself so obnoxious to the Pennsylvanians that Arthur St. Clair, Clerk of Westmoreland County, caused him to be arrested. He was later released and continued to act as agent for Lord Dunmore much to the displeasure of the Pennsylvanians.

The Pennsylvanians had built up a large trade with the Indians of the Northwest and were fearful that the conduct of the Virginians would bring on a general Indian war. Arthur St. Clair wrote in May to Governor Penn, "I venture to say that an Indian war was a part of Mr. Connolly's plan, for he has already incurred such an expense by repairing the Fort and calling out the Militia, that I think it is impossible that Colony will ever dis-

2. Siebert, Loyalists in Pennsylvania. 4. 3. Borde, American Archives, 4th series, I, 267. This work will be hereafter cited as American Archives.
charge it unless disturbances be raised that may give his
manoeuvres [sic] the appearance of necessity."

On the other hand the Virginians accused the
Pennsylvania traders of buying horses which they knew
had been stolen from them.

As has been mentioned before, numerous outrages
had occurred during the years since the expedition of
Bouquet. They became unusually violent late in 1773
and early in 1774. There seemed to be a feeling on the
part of the settlers that an Indian war was unavoidable.
In October, 1773, a massacre took place in Powell's Val-
ley. In January, 1774, the Virginians fired upon some
Shawnee hostages who were being held by George Croghan,
the Pennsylvania deputy Indian agent at Fort Pitt. John
Floyd's surveyors on the Ohio heard in April that, "the
Shawnees intended to rob the Pennsylvanians and kill
the Virginians wherever they could meet with them." On
the fifteenth of April the whites and Indians had a skirt-
mish at the mouth of Beaver Creek, fifty-five miles below
Pittsburgh. One white man was killed, another was wounded
and one was missing.

On the twenty-first of April Dr. Connolly issued
a proclamation which almost amounted to an open declaration

4. American Archives, 4th Series, 1, 287
5. Ibid., 873
6. See list given by Lanmore to the Earl of
   Dartmouth, Thwaites and Kellogg, Lanmore's War, 389. This
   work hereafter will be cited as Lanmore's War.
8. John Floyd to Colonel William Preston, Ibid.,
   7-8
of war. During the latter days of April occurred two massacres by whites; one of these was by Michael Cresap, and the other the unprovoked killing of the family of Chief Logan at the instigation of a wretch named Greathouse. This was the celebrated "Yellow Creek Massacre". There can be no doubt that these two killings greatly aroused the Indians and made them eager for the warpath.

In May, Lord Dunmore received news of the disorders on the border. The House of Burgesses requested his Excellency "to exert those powers with which he was fully invested...for making provision against invasion and insurrection...to repel the hostile and pernicious attempts of those savage and barbarous enemies."

In the early days of June, Lord Dunmore sent a circular letter to the county lieutenants, which said in part: "The intelligence which I have received from Fort Pitt, of the motions and dispositions of the Indians, giving me now good grounds to believe that hope of pacification can be no longer entertained, ... you are therefore on receipt of this letter immediately [sic] to give orders that the Militia of your county be forthwith embodied and held in readiness either to defend that part of the Country or to march to the assistance of any other.

9. For the Yellow Creek Massacre and events leading up to the Dunmore war, see Illinois Historical Collections, VIII, 5.; also, Dunmore's War, 9-19.
as occasion may require". He also suggested that a
fort be built at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, which
would serve to cover a retreat in case one had to be made
from the upper side of the Ohio.

During the months of July and August while militia were being collected, there were numerous Indian
raizens. In order that Floyd's party of surveyors on
the Ohio might be warned Daniel Boone and Michael Stoner
were sent to find them.

The Indians seemed slow to take the warpath in
great numbers. Although the Shawnee had declared for
open hostilities in June, as late as July 4 some of their
warriors had escorted traders into Fort Pitt. Thereupon
John Connolly ordered out forty Virginians to make them
prisoners. Being warned of their danger by the traders
the Indians made off. They were followed by the force of
Connolly and one of their number wounded. This act of
the Virginians was construed by the Pennsylvanians as
further evidence that the Virginians were trying to pre-
cipitate a general Indian war.

In the emergency which faced the colony of
Virginia, Lord Dunmore acted with energy. He made himself
personally responsible for ammunition, since the House
of Burgesses had not voted a fund for a supply.

11. Dunmore's war, 33, 34.
12. Ibid., 34.
13. Captain William Rassell to Colonel William
Preston, Dunmore's war, 56.
15. Dunmore to the county lieutenants, Dun-
more's war, 36.
In order to get immediate respite from attack, Colonel Angus McDonald was ordered in July to take four hundred men against the Shawnee towns at Wabashokia on the Muskingum river. This expedition killed some few Indians, burned five towns, and destroyed a quantity of corn.

Lord Dunmore was of the opinion that the only way to secure lasting peace with the Indians was to invade their country in force. Accordingly he ordered General Andrew Lewis to collect as many men as possible from the western counties and lead them to the mouth of the Great Kanawha. Men were also to be collected at Fort Dunmore and led by Dunmore himself down the Ohio to join with those of Lewis at Point Pleasant. From there the excursion into the Ohio country was to be made with a force so large that the Indians would not be capable of facing it. While the men were being collected the frontier was to be defended by bodies of scouts.

General Andrew Lewis with the aid of county officials of Botetourt, Augusta, and Fincastle counties collected some twelve hundred men at Camp Union, now Lewistown, West Virginia. Early in September the march to Point Pleasant was begun. That place was reached October 6th,

16. For an account of this expedition, see McDonald to Council, ibid., 151-154.
17. Dunmore to Preston, July 3, 1774, Dunmore's War, 63.
18. Dunmore to Lewis, July 12, 1774, ibid., 87, 88
19. Dunmore to Lewis, July 24, 1774, ibid., 97, 98
20. ibid., 98.
21. Lewis to Preston, Sept. 8, 1774, ibid., 190.
by the main body of troops. The supply train and cattle were far behind.

It was at this place that the rendezvous with Lord Dunmore was to have been effected. But Dunmore, after some fruitless negotiations with the Indians at Pittsburgh, led a force about equal in number, down the Ohio to the mouth of the Hocking river and thence overland to the Indian towns on the Pickaway Plains.

But the Indians had not been idle. Chief Cornstalk had collected nearly a thousand warriors from the tribes of the Northwest. These he led to the Ohio, intending to fall upon Lewis first and after crushing him to deal with Dunmore. The savages crossed the Ohio a little above Point Pleasant, W. Va. On the morning of October 10, some of Lewis's men discovered Indians. A force was at once sent out against them, but it was soon discovered that instead of a mere raiding party it was a large army. Before long the battle became general and lasted with varying success until nightfall. The whites were hard pressed most of the time. General Lewis early in the day ordered Colonel Christian, who was guarding the supply train, to come with all haste with his three hundred men. They arrived but too late for the battle.

The whites' losses were somewhat less than a

22. American Archives, 4th Series, I, 873-875
hundred. Several of the best officers fell. The Indian losses in killed were perhaps forty.

During the night the Indians withdrew across the Ohio and did not return to the attack the next day. They were disheartened by their failure to destroy Lewis's army and shortly sought Lord Dunmore to sue for peace.

Shortly before the battle of Point Pleasant Lord Dunmore had sent orders to General Lewis to meet him across the Ohio. Lord Dunmore had moved his force to the Scioto river and had established himself at Camp Charlotte. This camp was located a few miles southeast of the present city of Circleville, Ohio.

After burying the dead, caring for the wounded, and leaving a force to protect the Point, General Lewis, in obedience to the orders of Lord Dunmore, crossed the Ohio on October 18. When within a few miles of Camp Charlotte he received word from Lord Dunmore that peace had practically been agreed upon. He was ordered to halt his army. This order was not heeded, partly because it had been fired upon by Indians earlier in the day. In moving forward the guide lost his way and led Lewis's men

24. Several accounts of the Battle of Point Pleasant are printed in Dunmore's War: Lloyd's account, 266 et seq.; Colonel Christian's account, 261 et seq.; Isaac Shelby's account, 269 et seq. They do not agree as to numbers engaged.

25. Butterfield, C. W., History of the Militia, 27. This work will be hereafter cited as Militia.


27. Letter of Colonel Christian to Colonel Preston, Dunmore's War, 303.
between the Indian Camp and Camp Charlotte. This caused the Indians to "quit" his lordship's camp rather precipitantly. With Chief White Fish and John Jibson, Dunmore rode over and demanded why his previous order had not been complied with. He explained that the presence of so many soldiers would make it difficult to treat with the Indians and ordered a retreat to the Ohio.

Although this order does not seem to have been well received by the men, it was complied with. The army returned to the Point and was disbanded.

Since the Minneos refused to comply with the terms of the treaty agreed upon, Colonel William Crawford was sent against their towns by Lord Dunmore. These towns were located on the Scioto. They were destroyed. It is thought that on this raid Crawford came as far north as the present city of Columbus.

The peace which Lord Dunmore negotiated at Camp Charlotte was rather of a preliminary nature with the aim in view of keeping the Indians on the upper side of the Ohio. A more permanent peace was to be negotiated in the spring of 1775.

29. Ibid., 356
30. General Lewis had to place an extra guard about the tent occupied by Lord Dunmore, ibid., 308 note 16.
32. Lord Dunmore in his official report to Lord Dartmouth enumerated a great number of hostile acts committed by the Indians since the Bouquet expedition. He stated that the prisoners which were to be restored by the Indians after the Bouquet treaty had been held by
The tradition has grown up that Lord Dunmore desired the defeat of Colonel Lewis. Unworthy motives have been attributed for many of his acts in this connection. It would seem that his later conduct towards the Colonists of Virginia gave rise to these beliefs. At the time there was undoubtedly a feeling that Dunmore had acted in the interest of the Colony. The freeholders of Fincastle County offered thanks to him for the expedition. The House of Burgesses by unanimous resolve offered the "thanks of the people of this Colony as a tribute justly due to our worthy Governor, Lord Dunmore, for his truly wise, noble and spirited conduct on the late expedition against our Indian enemies." According to John Connolly, Lord Dunmore shared the hardships of the campaign along with the common soldiers, wading the creeks and marching some four hundred miles on foot.

The importance of the Dunmore War lies in the fact that it tended to keep the Indians in the Ohio Country more or less peaceable during the next two years, 1775, 1776. The Indians had tasted defeat at the hands of the

33. Withers, A.S., Chronicles of Border Warfare.
34. For Dunmore's conflict with Virginia, see Tyler, History of Virginia, II, 155-170. This work will be cited hereafter as Tyler.
35. American Archives, 4th Series, II, 361, 362
36. Ibid., 170
"Long Knives", as they called the Virginians. The treaty with the Indians at Fort Pitt in 1775 would probably not have been made had the battle of Point Pleasant resulted otherwise. This two-year respite from attack gave opportunity for the rapid growth of the population of Kentucky. As one author says, "had it not been possible to occupy this region during the early years of the Revolutionary war, it is not improbable that the treaty of 1783 might have fixed the western boundary of the United States at the Alleghenies instead of the Mississippi."

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of History and Biography, XII, 313. This work will be hereafter cited as Pennsylvania Magazine.
THE YEAR 1776
During the winter and spring following the Dunmore war the revolutionary sentiment grew to large proportions. The sentiment was found upon the frontier as well as on the seaboard. A "committee of correspondence was organized at Fort Pitt in May...to care for the American interests in that part of the country... Delegates were sent to the conventions in Virginia held in March and July. Westmoreland, Pennsylvania, also organized at Hennastown and subscribed to the association." The boundary dispute of Virginia and Pennsylvania was, at the request of Congress, dropped for the time being.

Upon leaving Fort Pitt in November, 1774, Lord Dunmore left Major John Connolly in charge with a garrison of seventy-five men. With him also were left the Mingo hostages, twelve in number, the Shawnee hostages being taken to Williamsburg by his Lordship. A meeting was to take place in 1775 between the Virginians and the Indians for the purpose of making permanent the preliminary treaty of Camp Charlotte. But before the time of the meeting, Lord Dunmore had become so involved with his Virginia Assembly that he did not come out to Fort Pitt as he had planned.

Major John Connolly, although American born, was a British sympathizer. After a conference with Lord Dunmore, he attempted to secure the Indians for the King's cause. "He sent runners to the Delaware towns". In June some of the Delaware and Mingo chiefs came to Fort Pitt. In the presence of the Committee of Correspondence he negotiated with these Indians. He even laid his instructions from the Governor before them. On the whole it would seem that Connolly outwitted the patriots. He thought at least that he had secured the Indians for the King and it is probable that Dunmore's list of persons "well disposed" toward the mother country was the work of Connolly.

The meeting with the Indians did serve to keep them in temper for the time being, since "the committee at considerable expense provided a quantity of provisions with a present in goods which were to be distributed among the Indians".

One of the last official acts of Lord Dunmore as Governor was to order the evacuation of Fort Pitt and Fort Fincastle. Upon receipt of this order Connolly

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5. Revolution on Upper Ohio, 19.
6. Ibid., 37, 38.
9. Revolution on Upper Ohio, Introduction XI.

Fort Fincastle was located at the confluence of the Ohio and the Great Kanawha.
disbanded the militia and started to Williamsburg to join his chief. At the time he left Fort Pitt Connolly was much disgusted and declared that "the demagogues of faction were active". Lunmore had made himself so obnoxious to the Virginians that he fled for safety to a British man-of-war off York. It was there that he was met by Connolly.

Lord Lunmore, who was very zealous for the King's cause, and Connolly, now proceeded to form a plan which, had it been successful, would have seriously affected the Colonial cause. General Jage gave his approval to the scheme. Connolly was to proceed to Detroit and raise a regiment. Captain Lord with two companies of Royal Irish was to aid with field guns and stores. Indians were to be added to the force. Power was given Connolly to offer 300 acres of land and money as he thought proper to those who took part. He was to appoint and commission officers under him. With this irregular force, the Forts Pitt and Fincastle were to be reduced, in case they resisted. From there the forces were to be led to Alexandria and be met in April, 1776, by Lunmore, who was to land an army under the cannon of the ships of war.

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10. Quoted in Diirys, 36.
11. Tyler, II, 55.
As may be seen, there was much danger to the Americans in this scheme. If successful it would have effectually cut off the frontier from the coast. The forts were not strong enough to withstand field guns and certainly would have been destroyed.

Fortunately for the Americans Connolly never saw the plan brought to fruition. In November he was arrested near Hagerstown. Incriminating papers were found concealed in his saddle. He was taken to Philadelphia a prisoner.

In July, 1775, the Continental Congress divided the western country into three departments for the administration of Indian affairs. These were the northern, middle, and southern. "The northern to extend as far south as to the whole of the Indians known as the Six Nations and all the Indians northward of these nations. The southern department to extend as far north as to include the Cherokees, and all Indians that may be to the southward of them. The middle to contain the Indian Nations that lie between the other two departments". Five commissioners were appointed for the southern department and for the other two, three each. The purpose was further expressed, "that the commissioners have the power to

15. Ibid., 417.
17. Ibid., 175.
treat with the Indians in their respective departments in
the same, and on behalf of the United Colonies, in order
to preserve peace and friendship with the said Indians
and to prevent their taking any part in the present com-
motions". Funds were voted to defray the expense of
the treaties and presents to the Indians. The commissi-
ners were ordered to seize the King's agents if it could
be proved that they were among the Indians stirring up
trouble.

Congress also provided for trade to continue with
the Indians under license, which was following the policy
of the British as provided by the proclamation of 1763.
Congress planned to provide the Indians with gunpowder and
supplies of clothing which they had been accustomed to
get from the British. It is obvious that the Colonists
wished to maintain the goodwill of the Indians and were
aware of the dangers of their allying themselves with the
British.

Shortly after Fort Pitt was abandoned by John
Connolly, the Virginia assembly ordered Captain John
Neville to march with a hundred men to the post. The men
were in the pay of Virginia and remained there during the
remainder of the year.

18. Ibid., 176.
19. Ibid., 176.
20. Ibid., 176.
21. Revolution on Upper Ohio, 22, Footnote 46.
As the summer wore on the Indians with whom the treaty of Camp Charlotte had been made were becoming restive, since Lord Dunmore had not, as he had promised, come out to Fort Pitt to ratify the treaty.

The Virginia House of Burgesses "appointed Thomas Walker, James Wood, Andrew Lewis, John Walker, and Adam Stephens as commissioners to ratify the peace with the tribesmen". James Wood was to be sent to the tribes in Ohio to "give notice of a conference to be held at Pittsburg in September". He set out from Fort Pitt on July 18, 1775, taking Simon Dirty with him as interpreter. His course lay up through the Muskingum and Tuscarawas regions, then westward to near the present site of Upper Sandusky; thence back to Fort Pitt, where he arrived on the eleventh of August. During the expedition he had visited the tribes of the Delawares, Munseys, Wyandots, Tawass, Fluggy's band, Shawnee and others.

Wood made speeches to the Indian Chiefs, invited them to the general council to be held at Fort Pitt in September, and told the Indians when questioned of the difficulties between the Colonies and Great Britain. He

24. The journal kept by James Wood during this expedition is found in, *Revolution on Upper Ohio*, 34-67.
discovered that the British from Detroit had been sending agents among the Indians telling them that the Big Knives "were determined to strike" them by "two different ways, the one by way of the Lakes and the other by way of the Ohio", and "that the Virginians were determined to drive the Indians out of their lands". The Indians had been further advised against going to Fort Pitt to make a treaty, since any promise made by the Virginians would not be kept.

The Indians were evidently impressed by what was told them by Colonel Wood, although it is natural that they should be somewhat confused by this diverse advice given them by people who shortly before had been brothers in arms against the French.

The chiefs of the Indians began to arrive at Fort Pitt during the latter days of September. They were received with "Drum and Colors and a salute of small arms from the Garrison". Some of the more influential Indians were, Chief Cornstalk of the Shawnee, King Custaloga, Captain Pipe, and White Eyes of the Delawares, Flying Crow of the Six Nations, Half King of the Wyandots, Shagenhe of the Tawas, and the chiefs of the Mingoos. They were met

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26. American Archives, 4th series, III, 76-78
26. The facts concerning the treaty at Pittsburgh, 1775 are taken from an original Ms. in possession of Dr. William C. Hayes, Washington, D.C. a descendant of Dr. Thomas Walker in Revolution on Upper Ohio, 25-127.
27. Ibid., 74.
in conference by the Virginia representation already men-
ioned, and those sent by Congress, Lewis Morris, James
Wilson, and Thomas Walker.

The chief topics under discussion were the return
of the Virginia property, horses, negroes, and etc., which
had been taken by the Shawnee; the encroachment of the
Virginians upon the Indian lands, and the keeping of
peace between the Indians and the whites.

Powerful speeches were made to the chiefs to
dissuade them from allying themselves with the British.
Every argument that might affect the Indian mind was used.
It was pointed out to them that some of their brethren
had offered to join the Colonists, the union and strength
of the thirteen colonies was dwelt upon, and it was made
clear that should the Indians aid the British and be de-
feated, as they surely would, then the vengeance of the
united colonies would fall upon them with no gentle hand.

The conference ended October 21, with promises
on the part of the whites to keep below the Ohio river,
the Indians to keep peace on their side; and the Shawnee
were to return to the Virginians their property and pri-
soners. The Indians were provided with presents upon

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29. Ibid., 24, footnote, 47.
30. Speech of White Eyas, Ibid., 87.
31. Speech of the Commissioners to the Delaware
Chiefs, Ibid., 61.
32. Speech of Morris, Ibid., 92-97.
33. Ibid., 128.
leaving; the sum of 1000 pounds having been voted by the
d House of Burgesses for that purpose. The whites offered
to take the young Indians to be educated by them free of expense.

The British were not ignorant of what transpired
at Fort Pitt. They were informed of the progress of
affairs by a Frenchman, Pierre L'ouillard, who lived
ten miles from Pittsburgh, and also by a Delaware Indian,
Mahican John, who attended the conference. Governor
Hamilton of Detroit did not think the peace between the
Virginians and the Indians would be of long duration, be-
cause, said he, "the Virginians are haughty, violent and
bloody, the savages have a high opinion of them as war-
rriors, but are jealous of their encroachments, and very
suspicious of their faith in treaties, the Virginians have
furnished them with frequent cause, seizing their chiefs
and detaining them as hostages, during which time their
treatment has not been as mild as good policy should have
directed...If the affairs of the Colonists decline
next year as I think we may reasonably expect, from all
I can learn of the disposition of the savages, the fron-
tier of Virginia in particular will suffer very severely."

34. Ibid., 126.
35. Letter of Hamilton to Carleton, ibid., 128.
36. Henry Hamilton arrived at Detroit as Lieu-
tenant Governor, November 9, 1775. Revolution on Upper
Ohio, Footnote, 147.
37. Hamilton to Carleton, Dec. 4, 1775, Revolu-
tion on Upper Ohio, 136.
It was clearly the purpose of the Colonists at this convention to keep the Indians neutral. This was in keeping with the policy adopted by Congress at this time. Of the three possible courses open, namely; to treat the Indians as enemies, to make allies of them, or if possible to keep them neutral, the last seemed at this time the best to pursue. We find in the speeches which Congress sent to the Indian chiefs the desire expressed "to cultivate peace and friendship with them". And again, "This is a family quarrel between us and Old England. You Indians are not concerned in it. We do not want you to take up the hatchet against the King's troops."

39. Ibid., II, 572.
THE YEAR 1776
The year 1774 was one of comparative quiet on
the Upper Ohio. While there were many rumors of large
bands of hostile Indians preparing to fall upon the
whites, few of these raids occurred except in Kentucky.
The time was largely spent in preparing the border region
to withstand attack, drilling the militia, and negotiat-
ing with the Indians to keep them firm in their neutral-
ity. Early in the year, Congress looked with favor
upon plans for the reduction of the British posts of
Detroit and Niagara. Resolutions were in fact, passed,
empowering commissioners of the Indian departments to
enlist the aid of the Indians in the proposed enterprises.
As an inducement to them a bounty of 50 Pennsylvania cur-
cency and free plunder of the garrison were to be offered.
The post at Detroit was known to be poorly defended, there
being reported only one hundred and twenty soldiers with
a weak fort and not more than three hundred and fifty men
all told capable of bearing arms. The majority of these
were French militiamen. However, the plans against
Detroit never passed the tentative stage and later in
the year were lost sight of. The lack of means to

1. Revolution on Upper Ohio, 143, 144.
2. Ibid., Introduction XVI.
5. Revolution on Upper Ohio, 147, 150.
make adequate preparation was probably the chief cause.

Recognizing the need of a competent agent for Indian affairs at Fort Pitt, Congress, in April, 1776, appointed Colonel George Morgan to that important post, to supersede Richard Butler. The choice was a wise one. Colonel Morgan had had many years of experience in dealing with the Indians, as a trader in the Illinois Country. He well understood Indian dealings and had a reputation for fairness and honesty with them. If it was possible to keep the friendship of the western tribes, Colonel Morgan was the man to accomplish it.

Colonel Morgan’s instructions were “to convince them [the Indians] of the good wishes and good intentions of the Congress toward them and to cultivate harmony and friendship between them and the white people.” Disputes that might arise between the whites and Indians in their dealings were to be settled by arbitration if the Indians would consent. He was further, “directed in a particular manner, to prevent... any imposition upon the Indians by those who deal with them.”

Colonel Morgan arrived at Fort Pitt on May 16, 1776. At once he began active work among the Indians.

9. Ibid., 268. For the method of arbitration.
10. Ibid., 295.
He had reason to suspect the Senecas were planning an expedition against Fort Pitt, because the portage "had been reconnoitred".

A conference was held at Fort Pitt on July 6, 1776. Several Delaware and Shawnee Indians were present, as were representatives of the Senecas. These last Indians, who belonged to the Six Nations, had just returned from a conference with the British at Niagara. They informed the Colonists, as they had informed the British at Niagara, that they would not allow the passage of troops of either side through their country. They further desired that no expedition against Detroit be undertaken. Captain Mayville, commandant at Fort Pitt, assured the Senecas that their desire in the matter would be respected unless the British army should advance against them. This attitude of the Indians probably saved Fort Pitt from attack by way of Niagara during this year.

Later in the year another conference was held with the Indians at Fort Pitt. Chiefs and envoys from the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawnees, Muneses, and Moshicas to the number of 644 assembled for this meeting. Again promises were made to "keep peace with the United States and neutrality during the war with Great Britain".

11. Revolution on Upper Ohio, 158. (probably the Chautauqua Portage)
12. Ibid., 171, 172.
14. Ibid., 600.
Many of the western tribes were not represented at this treaty. Among these were the Wyandots, Chippewas, Miami, 15 and Ottowas. No doubt these were more directly under the influence of Hamilton.

As was frequently the case on the frontier, there was a shortage of gunpowder. In the correspondence of the county lieutenants and military officers they frequently speak of this lack. Congress to be sure had ordered some two thousand pounds of this article, to use the quaint phrase of the time, "Int for the defence of the western frontier". Further it was "to be used only in case that country is attacked".

In July Captain George Gibson and Lieutenant William Linn led an expedition down the Ohio "in order to procure supplies of powder from New Orleans". Through the aid of Oliver Pollock they found it possible to buy ten thousand pounds of gunpowder from the friendly Spanish officials. The British spies in the town were thrown off by a ruse. Captain Gibson was thrown into prison by arrangement with the Spanish governor. Later he was released and returned by ship to Virginia. Lieutenant Linn returned to Fort Pitt, meanwhile, by way of the

16. Ibid., 174, 177, 180, 183.
18. Revolution of Upper Ohio, 144.
19. Ibid., 220, footnote.
Mississippi and Ohio rivers. After a perilous journey, he arrived safely in May 1777. The powder which Lieutenant Linn brought was kept for the defense of the frontier.

George Rogers Clark and John Gabriel Jones were sent from Kentucky to carry a petition to the Virginia assembly. Upon showing the defenseless condition of the new settlement, Clark was granted five hundred pounds of powder for its defense. This was secured from Fort Pitt and carried down the Ohio to Limestone creek and hidden.

A party from Harrodsburg set out to secure the powder but were set upon by Indians and a few of them were killed, whereupon a larger band was sent and brought the precious cargo into Harrodsburg, "which gave universal joy". These raids into Kentucky were largely the work of Fluzzy's band. These Indians were members of a lawless band, who lived near the present site of Delaware, Ohio. They did not attend the parley of late 1776 at Fort Pitt. Captain Fluzzy himself was killed just at the close of the year in an attack on McClelland's Station.

Fort Randolph was constructed during the summer at the site of Fort Blair Point Pleasant, which had been burned by Indians in 1776. Numerous block houses were

20. Ibid., 252.
21. Ibid., 206, footnote 47.
22. Illinois Historical Collection, VIII, 214.
23. Revolution on Upper Ohio, 206.
24. Ibid., 185, note 15.
built also and the frontier put in a condition of defense.

There were some Indian depredations beginning during the summer and continuing through the fall and winter. Two boys from Kentucky were taken prisoner by warriors of the Six Nations. Colonel Morgan upon hearing of this hurried to the Shawnee towns on the Scioto. He called the Chiefs of the Six Nations, Shawnee, and Delaware, together and insisted that the prisoners be delivered to him. The chiefs behaved in a friendly manner and the boys were returned to their homes.

Another small raiding party of Shawnees, returning from the Cherokee Country, in July, killed one man and captured three girls. One of the latter was Jemima Boone, daughter of Daniel Boone. The other two were daughters of Colonel Callaway. Daniel Boone at once organized a rescue party. The Indians were overtaken, two of their number killed, and the girls rescued.

Later in the year more serious raids into Kentucky sent the settlers flying back to the more settled regions.

This same year Virginia and the Carolinas made
common cause against the Cherokee. Their country was laid waste and they were forced to sue for peace. This allowed Virginia to exert her resources in other regions during the next few years.

31. The Cherokee were capable of putting near two thousand warriors in the field. John Stuart, Indian agent for the Crown, exerted every effort to get "them to act for his Majesty's service". The British army and fleet were to operate against the southern coast region with the Indians and Tories co-operating from the back country (letter of Lord George Germain to Stuart, Sept. 6, 1776). The failure of the British at Charleston placed them at a disadvantage but it was hoped that General Howe could extend his operations to the south during the winter. Troops were sent out under General Atherford of North Carolina and Colonel Williamson of South Carolina who destroyed some of the lower towns and fought a battle or two of some importance. Virginia sent Colonel William Christian against the Overhill towns with sixteen hundred troops. No battle of consequence was fought but the Indians were willing to sue for peace when it became evident to them that their whole country would be laid waste. A treaty was negotiated the next year. Colonial Records of North Carolina, x., 607-884, also see Annals of Tennessee, 169-174.
THE YEAR 1777
It may be said that the year 1777 was a dark one on the frontier. It was during this year that the patriots had to face not only the growing hostility of the Indians but the plotting of the Tories of the back country as well. The defeat of the Indians in 1774 and the treaty of 1775 no longer held them in check. They were being urged on by the British from the posts of Detroit and Niagara.

Fort Pitt was re-enforced with one hundred men in February, since it was felt that active warfare with the Ohio tribes could not longer be postponed. The Six Nations appeared to be hostile and ordered the Colonists to quit their country.

Early in the year war bands began to fall upon the new settlements of Kentucky. In March Harrodsburg was assailed; in April, and again in May, Boonesborough was attacked.

An expedition against Fluggy's band was resolved upon; but fear that it might give offense to the friendly Indians caused Governor Henry to order it abandoned.

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1. See post. 31.
2. Orders of the Executive Council of Virginia, Feb. 12, 1777, Revolution on Upper Ohio, 236.
3. Colonel John Hallowell Morgan to Captain William Harrod, April 2, 1777, ibid., 245.
5. Governor Patrick Henry to Colonel David Shephard, April 12, 1777, Revolution on Upper Ohio, 247.
Congress, indeed, was not unmindful of the dangers of the frontier. In April one thousand rifles and five tons of lead were ordered to be sent to Fort Pitt. Three tons of powder were to be sent as soon as possible.

It was further decided to send an officer from the Continental Army to take charge of the defense of the West. The officer chosen for this task was Briga-
dier-General Edward Hand. It was expected that the presence of General Hand would dissipate the fears of the inhabitants of the frontiers. He was a resident of Lancaster, Pa. and was said to be "universally loved on the Ohio". It was thought that the people would "flock to his standard and cheerfully go forth to chastise the savage foe". The region he was expected to defend extended from Kittanning on the north to the mouth of the Great Kanawha. There were four regular forts, Kittanning, Pitt, Henry, and Randolph placed at strategic points, as well as block houses which the settlers had built between.

The Indians, as has been said, were under the influence of the British at Detroit and Niagara. Those of the Northwest looked to Detroit rather than Niagara for

8. Quoted from Maryland Journal, May 20, 1777, in ibid., 256.
9. Jirtys, 42.
supplies and trade. Henry Hamilton, known to American
history as "hair buyer Hamilton", called together a
council, at Detroit, in June, for the purpose of sending
10 war bands against the frontier. He plied the Indians
with oratory, gave them gifts, and placed the hatchet in
their hands. So successful was he that he hoped to have
11 a thousand warriors out before a month passed.

In his proposed use of Indians Hamilton had the
sanction of his superiors. General Guy Carleton writing
to Hamilton said, "The power of the sword is chiefly
and indeed only to be trusted, the keeping of the Indians
firm in the King's interest ought to be your first and
12 great object." Orders from Lord George Germain March
26, 1777 to Hamilton read, "It is the King's command, "that
lieutenant governor Hamilton" assemble as many Indians of
his district as he conveniently can, and placing proper
persons at their head, to whom he is to make suitable
allowances, to conduct their parties, and restrain them
from committing violence on the well affected and inoffen-
sive inhabitants, employ them in making a diversion and
exciting an alarm upon the frontiers of Virginia and
Pennsylvania."

10. Thwaites and Kellogg. Frontier Defense on
the Upper Ohio, 12. Hereafter this work will be cited as
Frontier Defense.
11. Hamilton's account of this Council,
Frontier Defense, 13.
12. Letter Feb. 2, 1777, Michigan Pioneer Col-
lections, 41a, 345.
13. Orders from Whitehall, March 26, 1777, Ibid.,
347.
While Hamilton did not get one thousand savages as he had perhaps anticipated, before the end of July two hundred and eighty-seven braves in fifteen parties were sent out by him.

The pressure of these bands was soon felt. General Hand had arrived at Fort Pitt on June 1. By August many reports of Indian depredations began to pour in. It was accordingly decided to send an expedition into the Indian Country to counteract the raids. Orders were thereupon dispatched to enlist militiamen for six months from the first of September. General Hand hoped to collect two thousand men to reduce the "Wyandots and Fluffy's town Confederacy".

The proposed expedition of General Hand against the Wyandots and Fluffy's band caused the Leleware Indians much uneasiness. Chief White Eyes sent to General Hand and to Colonel George Morgan to know if the proposed expedition might not injure them. David Zeisberger also wrote to know "if we the Christian Indians, or the Leelwares are in any danger, and if we have anything to fear of the white people". General Hand reassured the

14. Duryea, 42.
15. Revolution on Upper Ohio, 26f., footnote.
16. Frontier Defense, 36 et seq.
17. Hand to Fleming, Aug. 12, 1777, ibid., 42.
18. Hand to Jasper Yeats, ibid., 46.
Delawares that, "my soldiers shall not hurt your women and children. They shall go the road you have pointed out, and you shall have notice when I move". Since the Delawares on account of their friendship with the Colonists were subjected to dangers from the hostile tribes, General Hand offered to build a fort and place a garrison in their midst and to chastise any nation that attacked them. Letters were sent to the Delawares at the same time by Colonel Morgan which were of the same purport.

Much to the mortification of General Hand the expedition was not to materialize. Two attacks by Indians in August and September had some effect on the plans. One was at Fort Henry located at the mouth of Wheeling Creek.

On the last day of August a band of Wyandots and Mingoes with a few Delawares and Shawnees fell upon that fort. While they were not able to capture it they did kill a number of the whites. After killing all the live stock in reach and setting fire to the cabins they retreated across the Ohio.

Again in September a party led by Captain William Foreman was ambushed by Wyandots under their Chief Holf King. Captain Foreman along with twenty of the whites was killed; the Indians, however, got off with no  

23. Morgan to the Delawares, ibid., 115, 117.  
24. It is frequently stated that Simon Sirty led this attack on Fort Henry; this is not true since he was still at Fort Pitt. See Sirty's, 43-54.
loss.

As was frequently the case it is found hard to get the militia out for the proposed expedition. Trouble was being experienced with the Loyalists at this time also.

By December only eight hundred men had been collected in place of the two thousand desired by General Hand. On November 3 he asked the county lieutenants to submit to him their written opinion on the feasibility of continuing the preparations. This opinion was the work of John Campbell, County lieutenant of Yohosania, Daniel Marland, Colonel of Monongalia, John Gibson, Lieutenant Colonel of the thirteenth Virginia regiment, Alexander Bair, Colonel of Westmoreland, and James Chew, Major of Monongalia. They thought that not more than nine hundred and fifty men could be collected and that the cold weather and lack of proper clothing made it advisable to abandon the invasion of the Ohio Country. They further advised that four hundred men be placed on the frontier of Monongalia, Yohosania, and Westmoreland counties for the winter, and one hundred and fifty on that of the Ohio Country, as a means of defense. With

26. See post, 35.
28. Ibid., 148.
reluctance General Hand countermanded the orders for the
29
militia on November 5th.

There had been loyalist sentiment on the frontier
from the outbreak of the Revolution. As has been mentioned
before, Dr. John Connolly had made a list of all those
who were loyal to the mother country in 1775.

During the latter part of August it became
known that a Tory plot was on foot to capture Red Stone
Fort, which was the powder magazine of the West Virginia
31
Counties, and possibly to take Fort Pitt. The Colonists
were immediately upon the alert and kept a close watch
32
on the magazine. Colonel Lackwell Morgan collected some
33
five hundred men at Minor's Fort "to put a stop", as
he said, "to this unnatural unherd [sic] of frantic scene
of mischief that was in the very heart of our Country."

Numbers were taken "who confessed that they had sworn
allegiance to the King of Great Britain and that some of
the leading men at Fort Pitt were to be their rulers and
heads". The men referred to were Colonel John Campbell,
Captain Alexander Lockee, and Simon Dirty. The latter two

31. Colonel Thomas Suddie to Lieutenant Colonel
Thomas Brown at Becstone Old Fort, Aug. 26, 1777, Frontier
Defense, 51.
32. Brown to Hand, August 29, 1777, ibid., 52.
33. Minor's Fort spoken of was probably
Statler's Fort in Monongalia Township, Green County, Pennsy-
lvania, ibid., 53, footnote 4.
34. Colonel Lackwell Morgan to Hand, August
29, 1777, ibid., 53.
35. Letter of Morgan cited above.
died over to the British within the year. These men were all under suspicion as was General Hand.

Colonel Zackwell Morgan industriously worked to put the Tories in their proper place. One Wiggeson, a noted Tory, was drowned, it was said with his connivance. Colonel Morgan was arrested and tried for his act but was acquitted.

Late in 1777, Congress appointed a commission to aid General Hand. They were "invested with full power to suspend for misconduct officers in the service of the United States employed in that quarter, and appoint others in their room". This commission included Colonel Samuel Washington, Colonel Joseph Reed, and Gabriel Jones. This committee worked with General Hand to suppress the Loyalists and to investigate the conduct of those suspected.

The latter days of the year 1777 saw an event which had a far reaching influence on the relationship of the whites with the Indians. This was the murder of Chief Cornstalk with his son and two other Indians by some of the white militiamen at Fort Randolph. Cornstalk

36. Hand to the Committee of Congress, Dec. 21, 1777, Frontier Defences, 184, et seq. They were arrested, but were either acquitted or, as incase of Captain McKee, put on parole.
37. Colonel Morgan was acquitted by a committee of inquiry of Congress, in April, 1778. Footnote to 187, Ibid. Also letter of Colonel John Gibson to Hand, 143, and letter of Major James Chew to Hand, 142.
39. Ibid., 945.
had not been hostile to the whites since the Dunmore war.

he with the other Indians were being detained as hostages
by Captain Matthew Arbuckle but rather as friends. Some
Norfolk Indians killed a young man named Gilmore, who
had gone out to hunt, in sight of the fort. This so in-
flamed the militiamen that led by Captain Hall they
rushed into the fort and put the hostages to death. In
 vain did Captain Arbuckle attempt to protect them. This
act so incensed the Shawnees that the following year they
renewed the war with great vigor.

It may be said that Cornstalk was one of the
great leaders of the Indians. A later generation has
recognized this and placed to his memory a monument upon
which appears the single word "Cornstalk".

This excess on the part of the frontiersmen
brought forth from Governor Patrick Henry a vigorous
denunciation. Writing to Colonel William Fleming, after
it was apparent that the Shawnees were bent on war, he
said, "I must tell you Sir that I really blush for the
occasion of this war with the Shawnees. I doubt not that
you detest the vile assassins who have brought it on us
at this critical time when our whole force was wanted in
another quarter." But it seems that the frontiersmen

40. Narrative of Captain John Stuart, frontier
Defense, 157, et. seq.
41. Letter, February 19, 1773, frontier Defense,
207.
thought different. Although a reward was offered for the apprehension and conviction of the murderer by the Governor and Council of Virginia it availed nothing.

Thus ended the year 1777, with the failure to invade the Indian Country, internal dissention caused by the Loyalists, and the murder of one that might have proved a great aid to the whites.

With the close of the year General Hand had made plans for an expedition against the Indians which will be discussed in the following division.
THE YEAR 1778
The outlook at the beginning of the year 1778 was not encouraging. However this year saw a decided improvement in frontier affairs.

The period beginning roughly with the summer of this year and including 1779 has been well named "Frontier Advance". It was during this time that the Colonial power over the northwest Indians was greatest. For the sake of convenience the discussion will be divided into years.

General Hand found his situation at Fort Pitt to be a deplorable one. He had not been able to accomplish much. His dislike for the militia was a very real one and perhaps justifiable. In December, 1777, when bad weather put an end to all military movements, he wrote to the Secretary of War asking to be recalled and allowed to join the Continental Army again. He expressed the opinion that Colonel William Crawford could attend to all necessary matters at Fort Pitt. His recall did not take place for some time and he remained in command at Fort Pitt until August.

News was brought to Fort Pitt early in 1778 that the British had deposited quite a collection of stores and arms in Ohio about one hundred miles from Pittsburgh. These stores were for distribution to the

2. Crawford had been sent to aid Hand. Journals of Congress III, 342.
3. See post, 47
Indians. General Hand proposed to lead a force there and
effect the capture of the stores. Accordingly five hundred
men were collected and led across the Ohio in February.
Owing to the heavy rains and the melting snow the pro-
gress was slow. About forty miles up Beaver Creek some
Indians were sighted, who proved to be squaws. The war-
rriors were out hunting. A party sent to the Salt licks
up the Mahoning river was equally unsuccessful. Nothing
worthy of note was accomplished by the expedition which
in derision was called the "Squaw Campaign".

The Squaw Campaign was hardly over when General
Hand was faced with another distressing situation. In
March three men from Fort Pitt went over to the British
at Detroit. These men were Simon Jirty, Matthew Elliott,
and Alexander McKee. General Hand has been severely
criticised for allowing them to escape. They all had
been suspected of loyalist sympathy. From this time on
these three gave their aid to the British and led many
bloody raids against the frontier. At the time of the
flight General Hand and Colonel George Morgan suspected
that they had gone to the Delawares to stir them up against
the whites. Acting upon this assumption they both sent

5. From Hand's own account, *ibid.*, 216 et seq.
messages to these people to keep them peaceable.

Desertion seems to have been frequent at Fort Pitt. In April General Hand wrote, "in my last I informed you of the frequent desertion from the garrison and that fourteen eloped the night of the 22 inst. with Sleazer Davis and some others". Some of these were captured and executed.

However, there were other affairs besides those mentioned to claim the attention of the upper Ohio settlers. During the spring plans were made for three expeditions to be fitted out from Fort Pitt. They were George Rogers Clark's movement into the Illinois Country and two others to be led by Colonel David Rogers and Captain James Willing respectively. These latter were destined for New Orleans. The ill-fated expedition of Rogers will be discussed later; that of Willing does not fall within the scope of this paper.

In the early part of the year 1778 the Indians were unusually active. So successful were they that many of the settlers began to migrate back to safer country. The Colonists thought the Indians meditated a heavy stroke.

To add to the general uneasiness, there was a

7. Smith, 57. also Morgan to the Delaware, Frontier defense, 269.
9. ibid., 138.
10. Preston to Fleming, May 17, 1778, Thwaites and Tollock, Frontier advance on the Upper Ohio, 32. This will be cited hereafter as Frontier advance.
lack of firearms. In July Colonel Fleming wrote, "The inhabitants are mostly collected in the forts, and we are sorry to find that numbers of our effective men are not armed." Perhaps in a jesting mood General Band wrote, "If there is no possibility of obtaining lead, I wish we might be induced with a cargo of bows and arrows, as our people are not yet expert enough with the sling to kill Indians with pebbles".

The militia on the frontier as in other parts of the Colonies were a source of much difficulty. Their term of service was often only two months. This gave almost no time for campaign, for as one officer said, it "only gave time to collect, march out, and go home".

Other officers complained of the unreliability of the militia. General Andrew Lewis writing to Colonel William Preston says, "Have you any reason to hope for amendment in the conduct of your militia, are they lost to all sense of [duty] and self preservation"? At about the same time, (May, 1778), Colonel Archibald Lochry writing to General Band said, "The fronteers [sic] is all fled. The militia can't be got out I'm afeared [sic] we will be obliged to evacuate all our outposts". The backwardness of the militia to go on duty caused the abandonment

12. Fleming to Preston, July 8, 1778, ibid., 106.
15. Letter June 8, 1778, ibid., 79.
16. Letter May 8, 1778, ibid., 46.
of the posts at Culpeper and Island Creek now Summers Co. W. Va. and the giving up of nearly thirty miles of country. The need for regulars on the frontier was indeed pressing. "To repel the insurrections of the Indians and reduce the disaffected to obedience", wrote Timothy Pickering to Washington, "nothing, in our opinion will be effectual but a regular force, under the direction of good officers. The inhabitants appear to be a wild ungovernable race, little less savage than their own Iroquois neighbors; and by similar barbarities have in fact provoked them to revenge". General Washington did not turn a deaf ear to the needs of the frontier. General d'Estaing having asked to be recalled from Fort Pitt, Congress requested Washington to appoint a competent officer to take his place. He chose Brigadier-General Zachary MacIntosh. Also he wrote: "I put that part of the 13th Virginia regiment which remains here [Valley Forge] under marching orders, with the intent of sending them to Fort Pitt as they were raised in that Country. Immediately upon receiving the account of the alarming situation of the frontier inhabitants I ordered the 8th Pennsylvania regiment to march." "They were", he said, "also raised to the westward and are a choice body of men.

17. Preston to Fleming, May 17, 1778, ibid., 52.
Frontier Defense, 294.
about 100 of them have been in Morgans Rifle Corps. These two Regiments will march full to the number of 250 men from here. There are 100 of the men of the 13th Virginian now at Fort Pitt, and many deserters belonging to both will come in when they find the Regiments are on duty in that Country. In order to have an officer at Fort Pitt who was well acquainted with Indian affairs, Washington sent Colonel John JBison to command the 13th Virginia Regiment. The command of the 8th Pennsylvania was held by Colonel Brodhead. In the latter days of May General McIntosh was informed of his new command by Washington and ordered at once to Yorktown to receive instructions from Congress.

For the first time during the Revolution a considerable body of regular soldiers was to be placed at Fort Pitt. This caused the outlook for the frontier to appear brighter. General McIntosh had had experience in the Indian warfare in the South and Washington had high respect for his ability. Another source of encouragement was the news of the French alliance. It was received at Fort Pitt in late May and was instantly the cause of a great celebration. A "discharge of thirteen pieces of

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24. Washington to McIntosh, ibid., 60.
cannon and a Triple discharge of Musquetry" [sic] was thought not to be too great a waste of gunpowder even when that article was scarce to say the least.

Before the arrival of General McIntosh, Indians to the number of about three hundred fell upon Fort Randolph. Captain McKee was in command in the absence of Captain Matthew Arbuckle. The whites refused to be drawn from the fort and the Indians were not able to do much damage. They killed most of the cattle in the vicinity and withdrew but did not recross the river. Instead they started toward the Green Brier settlement by way of Kanawha. Captain McKee sent two soldiers to warn the settlers. These men failed to get past the Indians and returned to the fort. He then called for volunteers to undertake the hazardous trip. Two men, Hammond and Prior, offered to go. They were painted and dressed as Indians by the Grenadier Squaw. They passed the hostile Indians near the site of Camp Union and gave the alarm to Colonel Donnelly. No time was lost in collecting the neighbors into his fort. There were only about twenty men including Hammond and Prior to defend the sixty women

25. Frontier Defense, 299.
26. This attack on Fort Randolph and its defense is described by Captain Matthew Arbuckle in a letter to General Hand, June 2, 1778, Frontier Advance, 64, 65.
27. Sister of Cornstalk.
and children.

The defense of Fort Lenonolli was one of the most thrilling in frontier history. The attack began in early morning. Siames and a negro, Nick Pointer, frustrated the first surprise. The Indians used every art they knew to fire the buildings and drive out the besieged. Inside the fort the women ran bullets while the men attended to the defense. Late in the day Colonel Samuel Lewis effected the relief of the fort with less than one hundred men.

The capture of Detroit was one of the objectives of the Americans throughout the entire revolution. It was not surprising therefore to find plans being laid in 1778 looking to the reduction of that post. The defenses of the place were reported to be inadequate by the Ilelware Chief, White Eyes. Colonel George Morgan advised strongly that an expedition be undertaken. He gave as a reason that the Ilelware and Shawnees were friendly, and none of the other great tribes on the road were hostile. Further he stated that from Detroit alone were "the offending western Indians supplied and paid for all murders". He thought that the possession of Detroit by the Americans

28. Fort Lenonolli was located about eight miles north of the present city of Lewisburg, Virginia. Revolution on Upper Ohio, 183, footnote 17.
29. The defense and relief of Fort Lenonolli is described in an extract from Hugh Paul Taylor's "Notes", printed in frontier advance, 67-70.
would cause all the tribes of the Northwest to enter "our alliance through fear or influence". It was thought by Congress that a defensive attitude would never prove adequate against the inroads of the Indians and in short time prove "more expensive than a vigorous attempt to compel them to sue for peace". In short the best means of defense was attack.

Congress looked with favor upon the proposed expedition. Virginia was to be called upon for twenty-five hundred of the three thousand men thought adequate for the campaign. Patrick Heckhart was ordered to procure pack-horses, provisions, and other necessities for the campaign. A considerable quantity of money was advanced for the purpose. General McIntosh would be in the West in time to command the expedition.

The Governor and Council of Virginia did not look with favor upon the proposal. For this attitude there was perhaps good reason. It would be late in the season before necessary troops and supplies could be collected. It was even doubted if supplies and beef could be had without making a forcible collection from the people. In July 7, it was resolved to advise Congress against the

31. Morgan to the Board of War, July 17, 1778, Frontier Advocate, 112-113.
34. Resolutions of Virginia Council, July 7, 1778, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXIII, 257-258.
project which had little prospect of successful fulfillment. There can be no doubt that the Governor and Council took this action after due consideration and not from a desire to hinder the plans of Congress. At the same time that they advised against an expedition to Detroit they made it clear that they were willing for General McIntosh to collect militia from western counties to the number of fifteen hundred and make an invasion of Ohio. The supplies already collected were to be used for this purpose.

The British at Detroit were informed of the proposed expedition against their post. The next year they made much preparation to put the post in a good condition of defense. The capture of Hamilton by Clark may have had this influence.

In view of the exploits of George Rogers Clark in the Illinois Country with few men and in a hostile country, the question naturally arises, what might an expedition against Detroit have accomplished. With from two thousand to three thousand men under good leaders much might have been done. The temptation arises to speculate upon what Clark might have done with such a force. Such speculation is however vain. Perhaps the advice of the

35. Resolutions of Virginia Council, cited above.
37. Captain Drehm to General Maldimond, Ibid., 411.
Virginia leaders were present. General McIntosh arrived at Fort Pitt in August. His first object was to hold a convention with the Indians. The Indian Council was held from September 12 to 19. Congress had sent Andrew and Thomas Lewis as commissioners. The representatives of the Delaware Indians were Captain White Eyes, Captain Pipe, and Captain John Kilbuck. Brigadier-General McIntosh, Colonels Brodhead, Gibson, Bogard and Comby, and Majors McIntosh, Vernon, and Anderson, honored the Council with their presence. The treaty reversed the former policy of Indian neutrality and established a genuine alliance, defensive and offensive, between the contracting parties. The Indians gave permission for the troops to pass through their country toward Detroit or against other Indians.

The second object General McIntosh had in mind was the invasion of the Indian territory. Great difficulty was experienced in collecting both military stores and militia. The collecting of forage was found so difficult that it was necessary to take it from the inhabitants where ever found, leaving only enough for their immediate needs.

38. Letter of General Hand to Mrs. Hand, August 5, 1778, frontier advance, 125.
39. Frontier Levage, 133, 139.
40. A full account of the treaty with the Indians is given in Morgan's Letter Book, III, reprinted in ibid., 133-145.
41. McIntosh to Colonel Steel, October 19, 1778, ibid., 146.
The plan of the Indian expedition of General McIntosh was sound. He went due west from Fort Pitt to the mouth of Beaver Creek and there erected Fort McIntosh on the northwest bank of the Ohio River. From thence he went in a westerly direction to the Delaware towns and built Fort Laurens upon the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum River. Colonel Richard Campbell was left at Fort McIntosh as commandant. Whatever the result of the campaign upon the Indians, for Brigadier-General McIntosh it was a dismal affair. His request for two hundred men each from Washington, Montgomery, Botetourt, Greenbrier, and Rockbridge Counties of Virginia was countermanded November 20th by the Virginia Council. Provisions were lacking, and horses were so poor that in about ten days they covered only fifty miles. The recollections of some of the participants say that on the return from Fort Laurens food was so scarce that the men roasted cow-hides and ate them. General McIntosh left Colonel John Johnston in command of Fort Laurens. His original plan was to push further toward Lake Erie, but lack of provisions, bad weather, and the short term of the militia, caused him to order a halt for the winter and return to Fort Pitt.

42. *Frontier Advocate*, 164.
43. Orders of the Virginia Council, November 20, 1778, transcript printed in *Frontier Advocate*, 175.
44. Recollections of participants in the expedition are found in *ibid.*, 157-163.
earlly in 1778 a party of Indians invaded Ken-
tucky and were fortunate enough to capture Daniel Boone
and twenty-six other whites who were making salt. They
took their prisoners to Detroit in order to secure the
bounty money from Lieutenant Governor Hamilton. He was
much interested in Boone and asked him many questions
about conditions in Kentucky. Boone, according to Hamil-
ton, stated that there was a great lack of food and cloth-
ing, and worse, there was no prospect of relief from Con-
gress. Hamilton seemed to believe that his efforts to
secure the Kentuckian for the King's cause might bear
fruit. He wrote to General Carleton, "Their [Kentucky's]
delusion will probably induce them to trust to the savages
who have shown so much humanity to their prisoners and
come to this place before winter".

No doubt there were Tories in Kentucky, but
the settlers from that region did not by any means go
ever in a body to Detroit.

Not long after this Boone made his escape and
returned to Boonesborough. He had information that an
attack was intended on that place and used every effort to
put its defenses in condition to withstand siege. In the

46. Hamilton to Carleton, April 5, 1778,
Frontier Defense, 283.
47. Letter of Hamilton cited above.
48. Proclamations offering to pardon and employ
all those who would take up the King's cause had been sent
by Hamilton in 1777 to the settlers. Frontier Defense, 14.
49. June 28, 1778.
early autumn the attack came. The Indians to about the number of four hundred and some few French-Canadians were under the leadership of Blackfish. These Indians were of the Wyandot, Delaware, Cherokee, Mingo, and other tribes. This celebrated attack lasted from September 7 to 18. The Indians used every means possible to enter the fort, even to digging a tunnel, but were finally forced to withdraw with considerable loss. For the remainder of the year Kentucky was fairly free from molestation.

Thus ended the year 1778 on the upper Ohio. For the first time forts had been erected in the Indian territory. While some of the Americans did not believe that it had any value, it did have some effect upon the Indians. The British found that the Wyandots under Half King were willing to treat with the Americans. The same was true of Captain Lips. This illustrates the fickleness of the Indians. They were to say the most, "fair weather allies". This comment was frequently made by both the British and the Americans. This year also saw the making of a formal alliance with the Delawares; quite a departure from the neutrality of three years before.
II. Year 1779
The building of Fort Laurens late in 1778, while it tended to keep the Indians in terror during that winter and spring, offered much difficulty to the Americans, since it was hard to provision. It was subjected to several attacks by Indians but managed to hold out at great odds through the spring and early summer.

Colonel John Gibson with one hundred and fifty men had been left by General McIntosh to defend the place. Provisions were scarce and poor. The men were so poorly clothed that not half of them, at times, were fit for services.

Late in January a party of fourteen men under Captain John Clark, who were returning to Fort Pitt after having escorted supplies into Fort Laurens, were ambushed by Simon Girty and a party of Minnes. Clark's party lost two killed, four wounded, and one prisoner; the rest made good their retreat back to the Fort.

Again in late February a considerable body of Indians led by Captain Henry Bird and Simon Girty invested the place. This time the Indians ambushed a party of woodcutters and killed most of them.

Until March the Indians kept up a close siege and had the garrison reduced to the verge of starvation.

1. Gibson to McIntosh, Frontier Advance, 190.
2. McIntosh to Lockry, January 29, 1779, ibid., 216.
The supplies of the Indians were running low, however, and they returned home.

General McIntosh led a supply train from Fort Pitt to relieve the garrison. Unfortunately in the joy of receiving them, the garrison at Fort Laurens fired a salute and the result was a stampede of the packhorses and the loss of most of the supplies. At this time Colonel Gibson was relieved and Major Frederick Vernon was left with fresh troops at the post.

General McIntosh had the misfortune to incur the ill will of many of the officers and men who served under him. He was criticised by Colonel George Morgan for building forts in the Indian Country. John Dodge in a long letter to Congress, complained of the General for taking the farmers' grain and for building forts, not on Lake Erie where they might serve as a base of operation against Detroit, but in the interior where they served no purpose.

Colonel Daniel Brodhead, commander of the 13th Virginia regiment, was loud-spoken in his condemnation of McIntosh in a letter to Washington.

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3. History of the Jirtya, 93, 94.
4. McIntosh to Washington, March 19, 1779, ibid., 256. see also recollections of Benjamin McGee and Henry Jolly, 256-257.
5. Letter January 25, 1779, ibid., 206-210
While General McIntosh was not without his defenders, he requested to be relieved of the command of the western department. He was recalled by Congress and Washington appointed Colonel Brodhead to assume the office. General McIntosh looked upon Colonel George Morgan as the source of most of his difficulty. Morgan had characterized his conduct as "ignorant, absurd, and contradictory...throughout the campaign" of 1778. Morgan was interested in land cessions by the Delaware Indians and shortly after this was charged with having been absent from Pittsburgh, neglect of duty in supplying provisions, and using his office for his own ends. As a result he resigned and entered the army in the East.

In order to vindicate himself of the "slander" which he found so "industriously spread along the road" as he returned east, General McIntosh asked Washington to investigate his conduct while commander of the Western Department. Since no formal charge was made against him, the investigation was not carried out.

Colonel Brodhead spent most of the spring and summer in negotiations with the Indians. He sent messages

8. Washington to Brodhead, March 5, 1779, Frontier Advance, 238-240.
to the tribes of the Northwest. The Wyandots returned friendly replies. This attitude was more or less sincere although Colonel Brodhead was warned that they only wished to lull him into a false sense of security and thus avoid attack until their corn was ripe. Captain Bird at Sandusky found the "savages very uneasy and would fain Council". The capture of Hamilton by George Rogers Clark and the report that many tribes in the Illinois Country were making peace did much to weaken the hold of the British upon the Indians. LePeyster, who had succeeded Hamilton in command at Detroit was greatly alarmed over the change in Indian attitude.

The Lelawares proved faithful to their alliance of the previous year, but, although instigated by Colonel George Morgan, they did not desire to engage actively in war. Their efforts to keep the Americans informed of the movements of the British and Indians served a very useful purpose. Some of their Chiefs were invited to visit Congress. They did so and were greatly impressed with what they saw and heard. While on this visit plans were

17. Morgan to the Lelawares, January 5, 1779. Frontier Advance, 194.
made by some of the more vicious frontiersmen to capture and kill them. Colonel Brodhead warned Washington of this plot, and extra precaution being taken, the chiefs returned home safe.

A treaty was made at Fort Pitt with the chiefs of the Cherokee tribe in July of this year. It was agreed that a friendly alliance should be entered into between the United States and the Cherokees. The Americans were to have the right of passage through the Cherokee Country against their enemies. This last provision was perhaps to clear the way for an expedition against the British on the lower Mississippi. The treaty is of no great significance since the Cherokees broke it the next year.

Colonel Brodhead was very anxious to make a campaign against the Indians. It was decided early in the year by Washington that two expeditions should set out and with some unity of movement chastise both the Six Nations in the New York Country and the Allegheny Indians as well. Due to the distance the co-operative feature was dropped.

The Allegheny Campaign was to be extended from Fort Pitt while that in New York was carried out by

19. To the disgrace of the whites, Chief White Eyes had been killed just after the treaty at Fort Pitt 1778. It was reported that he died of smallpox in order to keep the Delaware peaceable. *ibid.*, Introduction, 20, 21.

20. Negotiations with the Cherokees, and the treaty are given in *Frontier Advance*, 392-400.


General Sullivan.

Colonel Brodhead, having gained Washington's permission, set about the work of preparation with great energy. The garrison at Fort Laurens, much to the rejoicing of the British, was called in. Fort Armstrong was built at Kittanning.

The expedition set out August 11th, 1779, with about six hundred men. The route followed led up the Allegheny river. The provisions were sent by boat to Mahoning, and thence carried by pack horses. Only a small skirmish with the Indians occurred close to Broken Straw Creek. Some few Indians were killed but none of...

23. The expedition against the Six Nations aimed at the total destruction of their settlements and the capture of as many of them as possible. It might also prevent the British from sending aid to the West which Washington feared. General John Sullivan with about 3000 men aided by General James Clinton with 1700 New York troops advanced into the Indian Country from its Camp at Wyoming on the last day of July 1779. A battle was fought at Newtown near the present site of Elmira, New York on August 29th. The enemies consisted of Rangers and Indians under the Butlers, Joseph Brant, and Captain McDonald. The battle resulted in victory for the Americans. The country all about Seneca Lake was overrun and the Indian settlements and crops destroyed. The chief result was to drive the Indians to Niagara for the winter where the English had to provide for them as best they could. The power of the Indians and Rangers was not broken.

Ford, Writings of Washington, VIII. Letter to Sullivan, 460; Letter to President of Congress, 430.
See also the "Journal" of Lieutenant Arkurias Beatty in Journals of the Military expeditions of Major General John Sullivan against the Six Nations...27 et seq. and "Sullivan's Official report" 473 et. seq.

24. Colonel Brodheads orders, June 14-17, 1779, Frontier Cadence, 304.

the whites were seriously injured. The army destroyed the Indian villages on the upper Allegheny, also laid waste their corn, and secured about $30,000 worth of plunder in skins, horses, etc. The return was made to Fort Pitt by the 14th of September.

There were other plans than those of Colonel Brodhead looking to the capture of Detroit. George Rogers Clark, while still in the Illinois Country, sent to Kentucky asking that a force be collected for this purpose. Men indeed were assembled by Colonel John Bowman but these he led across to the Shawnee towns just north of Sena, Ohio. The Indians fortified themselves in the council house so successfully that the Kentuckians could not dislodge them. They therefore destroyed the town and returned to the Ohio with considerable plunder. The men scattered to their homes so that there was no possibility of collecting enough for Clark.

One event of considerable importance occurred upon the western frontier during October 1779. This was the destruction of the supply boats coming up the Ohio from St. Louis destined for Fort Pitt. The expedition

27. Bowman to Clark, June 13, 1779, acknowledges the request of Clark but tells him that it will be impossible to collect men. Gives an account of his expedition described above. Illinois Historical Collections, VIII, 361, 332.
28. About 300 engaged in this expedition.
headed by Colonel David Rogers and under the authority of Virginia had gone down to St. Louis, thence to New Orleans, for official permission to purchase the St. Louis supplies. This was obtained through Mr. Oliver Pollock. To evade the British at Natchez, Rogers and six men went overland to the Arkansas Post, then to St. Louis; there taking the supplies and the rest of the men he returned up the Mississippi and Ohio to the Falls. There George Rogers Clark furnished him with some more men. Assuming the journey to Fort Pitt nothing happened until they reached the mouth of the Licking river. There Indians estimated to be about one hundred and seventy five in number attacked the party of Rogers numbering sixty five. Almost all were killed including Rogers. Only one of the five boats escaped back down the Ohio. This attack was led by Simon Girty and it is said that he killed Colonel Rogers. This was a heavy blow to the frontier, not only because of the loss of stores, but on account of the loss of prestige as well.

The remainder of the year Colonel Brodhead spent in negotiations with the Indians and making plans for a winter campaign against Detroit. But that post had been strengthened during the year and as the state of American affairs would not permit it, the idea was dropped.

29. Accounts of the expedition of Colonel David Rogers and his defeat may be found in Washington-Irvine Correspondence, 44, 45, also Dirty, II, 110, 111.
THE YEAR 1780
The year 1780 saw most of the advantages of the previous two-year period wholly lost. The frontier was on the defensive and it almost seemed that the cause would fail. Of course it is doubtful true that the frontier only reflected the desperate situation into which the whole American cause had fallen. The hope of speedy victory over the British had long ceased to be; only the most loyal were able to carry on. Many weak, timid, and vicious persons either refused co-operation or sided with the British.

The ill fate of the expedition of Colonel David Rogers was very disastrous to the newly won prestige of the Americans over the Indians. George Rogers Clark said that the British had largely re-established their influence over the Indians during the winter of 1779-80.

The British made the most comprehensive plans yet found in the west for pressing in the frontier. "Large detachments were to advance both from Mackinac and Florida, and after capturing the Spanish and American posts on the Mississippi, were to drive along the Ohio River with such a force as to crush the puny American posts, and sweep the frontier across the Appalachian Mountains."

2. Thwaites and Kellogg. Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio, 19 introduction. This work will hereafter be cited as Frontier Retreat.
It was fortunate for the Americans that the Spanish Governor Salvez of Louisiana forestalled the British plans in that region. In September, 1779, he captured Manchac and Baton Rouge and received the capitulation of all of the British posts on the lower Mississippi. Following this brilliant operation he began operations against Mobile and pensacola in March, 1780, that effectively saved the frontier from menace from that quarter.

The success of the Spanish did not hinder the plans for the expedition which the British intended sending out against the Americans in the Northwest. Two of these were planned by Major Arent De Peyster, commander at Detroit. One was to "amuse" George Rogers Clark in the Illinois Country. This expedition did not accomplish much.

It had been reported to Colonel John Bowman of Kentucky, by Lieutenant Abraham Chaplin, who had escaped from the Indians in the Spring of 1780, that "600 Green Coat Rangers from Canada and Indians to make a total of 2000" were preparing to attack Fort Jefferson with cannon. This was the second phase of the British plan.

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3. A full account of the Spanish operations may be found in Siebert, "The Loyalists in West Florida and the Natchez District," Mississippi Valley Historical Association Proceedings 1914-1915, VIII, 112-121.
5. Fort Jefferson was built at the Falls of the Ohio late in 1779.
Captain Henry Bird with one hundred and fifty Canadians and some seven hundred Indians accompanied by his interpreters, the three Girty brothers, Simon, George, and James, and Captain Alexander McKee, was on his way to attack not only Fort Jefferson but all the forts on the Ohio. He had two small cannon which could be used to good advantage against the frontier posts.

Bird did not attack Fort Jefferson owing to the arrival of Major Slaughter at the post with one hundred and eight men. He led his force to the mouth of the Licking River and up that stream to Huggles station. This small fort could not withstand his cannon. It was surrendered with the understanding that the prisoners should be protected from the Indians by the British soldiers. This promise was not kept due to the instability of Bird to control his dusky allies. The next station to fall was Martins. It also surrendered with no resistance. Bird now had some three hundred prisoners. His Indians had killed all the stock about Huggles station and provisions were scarce as a result. Due to this and to the difficulty of controlling his Indians, Bird returned to the Ohio and thence to Detroit.

7. Le Peyster to Sinclair, May 18, 1780, Michigan Pioneer Collection, IX, 582.
8. Frontier Retreat, 186.
10. A good account of the capture of these posts is found in Girty's, 119-121. It is based upon the Haldimand Papers.
"This expedition was the most successful against Kentucky of any during the war; and but for the intractability of his Indian allies, the whole region would have been depopulated."

To avenge this raid George Rogers Clark led an expedition against the Shawnee in early August. With about a thousand men he crossed the Ohio at the mouth of the Licking. At the approach of Clark's men the Indians set fire to the town of Old Chillicothe and retreated. A battle was fought at Piqua. The Indians led by James and George Girty were defeated with small loss. Clark took care to destroy all of their corn before returning to the Ohio River.

At Fort Pitt Colonel Brodhead was forced to forego any offensive movement against the Indians. This was not from lack of zeal upon the part of the rather ardent tempered Colonel. In March General Washington disapproved of any attempts upon Detroit but gave consent to excursions against the Indians.

11. Ibid., 126.
12. Piqua was about five miles south of Springfield, Ohio. Mandall and Ryan, History of Ohio, II, 287.
13. Clark's account of this expedition may be found in Ill. Historical Collection, VIII, 461 et seq. Compare with Henry Wilson's account 476 same volume.
Early in April Brodhead called upon the county lieutenants to muster the militia for a short campaign to begin after the middle of May. But it seemed that men could not be recruited. The artillery promised did not arrive as expected, supplies were lacking, and the expedition was postponed.

Two more proposed raids against the Indians fell through. One by cavalry "when corn was ripe" proved abortive, as did another which, because of inadequate supplies, failed to materialize in October.

Colonel Brodhead had the satisfaction of seeing one defeat inflicted upon the Wyandots by men under his command in the summer of 1780. A party of these Indians about thirty in number crossed the Ohio below Fort McIntosh in July. Their canoes being discovered by Captain McIntyre's men, an ambush was laid for them upon their return. Several Indians were killed and a prisoner re-taken along with some plunder.

As the close of 1780 drew near Brodhead's chief difficulty seems to have been to secure enough provisions for his garrison at Fort Pitt. Finding it almost im-

15. Brodhead to Colonel David Shepherd, April 13, 1780, ibid., 168.
17. Brodhead in a circular letter to the County Lieutenants, ibid., 214.
18. Brodhead to Colonel David Shepherd, ibid., 281.
20. Brodhead to Washington, Frontier Retreat, 283
possible to buy meat and flour, impressment was resorted to with the result that in some places the people were almost upon the point of resisting in arms. Appeal was also made to friendly Moravians to kill wild meat for the use of the garrison. That part of the difficulty lay with Colonel Brodhead there can be no doubt. He seems to have been impatient with the settlers and impertinent to his inferior officers. Graver charges than these were brought against him the next year.

One of the most, perhaps the most, dangerous situations which faced the frontier during 1780 was the plots of the Loyalists. They were especially active in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. In March, 1780, Colonel Preston learning of the plot ordered all suspected persons disarmed and seized "three of the ring-leaders" to be tried for their misconduct.

The details of this plot were to seize the lead mines at Fort Chiswell, destroy them, join the Indians, and "with them to burn, destroy, and cut their way to the British army and assist them in reducing the Country".

23. See post
24. Colonel William Preston to Governor Thomas Jefferson, Frontier Retreat, 143, 144.
This conspiracy seems to have been forming for a year, a certain John Griffith being active in administering "the oath of allegiance to King George". Of those who took the oath it seems that a list was to be made and sent to the King and Parliament. Promise was made of "400 acres of land to clear free of rent for twenty years, and 2/6 sterling per day", to the joiners.

In April it was reported that an "insurrection threatened the frontier from Georgia to Virginia", that fifteen hundred Cherokees were to be sent against the frontier. The date for the general rising was to be April 25.

Again in June it appeared that the Loyalists intended seizing the lead mines. Their plan failed and thereafter the mines were more closely guarded than ever. The Tories actually embodied two hundred men at Jades (on the south fork of the Aolston River in Wytho County Virginia) and killed nine patriots. So great was the apprehension that Colonel William Campbell was ordered "to turn his force against the internal enemies". The defeat inflicted by General Atherford upon the Tories at Ramsour's Hills, together with the energetic measures taken by Colonel Preston, for a short time quieted mat-

27. ibid., 25.
28. ibid., 198, footnote.
It was learned however that this apparent quiet was not so real after all. Two young men sent as spies by Colonel Hugh Crockett gathered the information that the Tories intended assembling on the 25th of August and after securing fort Chiswell, over run the country with the assistance of the British troops who they were made to believe would meet them and relieve the "Convention prisoners". A list of officers was gained by the spies which gave opportunity for arresting many of the offenders. To suppress this dissatisfaction a certain Colonel Charles Lynch seems to have taken very effective measures. He said that "some were kept for trial, some sent to the army, and some perhaps justice to the Country may require they should be made examples of". It seems clear that examples were made of some according to the well known "Lynch Law". By far the greater number were tried and many were allowed to enlist in the army for a term to expire the "1st day of December 1781". Others were set at liberty after giving bond for their good behavior. Much of the property of the Tories was confiscated in favor of the State.

29. Colonel Arthur Campbell to Colonel Preston, Frontier Retreat, 216.
30. Some of the prisoners taken at Burgoyne's surrender, about 1500 in number were in Virginia, May 1780, footnote, ibid., 242.
32. For Confessions of Loyalists see Frontier Retreat, 252, 253.
33. Frontier Retreat, 258-264.
Thus was put down the Tory menace. It does not follow, however, that the danger was entirely past since a great number of those who sympathized with the British went to the western lands of Kentucky and there were a source of great annoyance.

Although the affairs on the frontier were not in a prosperous condition and Indian raids were rather frequent settlers were not hindered from seeking homes in the new country. This year saw an immense number of people coming in to fill up the rich lands of Kentucky. Colonel Brodhead mentions this fact. These people were a hindrance in a way to the defense against the Indians since they were not accustomed to fighting and did not wish to turn out as militia and had to be defended by the older settlers. A petition from the inhabitants of Boonesborough to George Rogers Clark reads, "The few among us who have long experienced the intolerable hardships of maintaining our post against the barbarous savages, derive very little consolation from the vast addition of numbers now scattered through the various parts of this Country and the almost incredible number of distressed and defenseless families settled through our woods for the sake of sustinace instead of adding to our strength are in fact..."

a daily sacrifice to the savage brutality of our enemies."  

The year 1780 closed with the frontier barely able to defend itself to say nothing of offensive movements. The year had seen Loyalism cowed but not effectively destroyed. The prospect for the ensuing year showed no alleviation of these conditions.

It remains yet but to record the depths to which the American cause on the frontier sank in that year which witnessed the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

As early as 1778 Washington had become convinced that the Americans might be their own worst enemies. In writing to General Andrew Lewis in that year he said that he feared "want of virtue" more than all the force which the British might bring against the Americans. He said "for certain I am, that, unless extortion, forstalling, and other practices, which have crept in and become exceedingly prevalent and injurious to the common cause, can meet with proper checks, we must inevitably sink under such a load of accumulated oppression".

This very situation which Washington pictured had become reality on the frontier. Scheming men under the guise of patriotism were using their position to further their own selfish ends. The whole frontier seemed honey-combed with corruption. A few notable examples will be mentioned.

At Fort Jefferson Major George Slaughter caused the arrest of Captain John Lodge on charges that he was using the public money in private trade with the Indians. Slaughter complains in a letter to Jefferson that men em-

1. Washington, Writings (Sparks edition), VI, 91
ployed to work for the government did only one tenth as much as men in private employ.

At Fort Pitt speculation and forestalling had been rife for a long time. Colonel Brodhead seems to have been one of the chief offenders. He had written to President Joseph Reed suggesting that he, Reed, could make money by land speculation in the West. But President Reed rebuked Brodhead's suggestion. He said, "At present my station will prevent me engaging in pursuit of that nature lest it might give offense and give a reason to a censurous world to suppose I had made an improper use of my publick character".

What ever the attitude of President Reed might have been it is evident that Brodhead was to say the least indiscreet. As commander of the western department he should have been the last man to be accused of land jobbing. But the accusation was made. "Colonel Brodhead is actuated by motives selfish and interested, and...his views are totally confined to Lands, Manors and Hillseats", was the charge made by inhabitants of Pittsburg to Joseph Reed and the Executive Council of the state of Pennsylvania. Further he was accused of allowing the quartermaster's

3. Methods used against speculating traders at Fort Pitt, Craig, Cogan Times, II, 328-329.
5. Ibid., 156.
department to use the public teams and wagons for private purposes. Men were said to be drawing pay and rations from the government while engaged in building houses and tilling farms for their own profit.

Aside from this type of accusation Colonel Brodhead was accused of subjecting the inhabitants of the country about Pittsburgh to military law. These people felt that there was little to choose between a military oppressor who was near and a king who was far away.

Of a more serious nature were the charges that the discipline of the troops was poor and that Fort Pitt was in no condition to withstand attack. That the headquarters of the western frontier should not be well defended was a serious reproach upon Colonel Brodhead. From the condition of the defenses as reported by General Irvine in November of that year it would appear that the charge made was true.

In face of the conditions above described it is not surprising that measures of offensive warfare were largely lacking during 1781.

One movement, however, was planned and executed

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7. Alexander Bowler to President Joseph Reed, ibid., 356-360.
8. Petition of Pittsburgh inhabitants, cited above.
9. ibid., "Loc cit
e.
The faithful Delawares broke their alliance with the Americans early in the year and went to Detroit. As proof of their friendship Le Peyster ordered them to bring in "live meat", meaning Virginians. Upon them Colonel Brodhead took swift revenge. Collecting his regulars he dropped down the Ohio in mid-April to Wheeling. He enforced there he took the nearest route to Coshocton. The Indians were taken by surprise. Two towns, Coshocton and Indischaie, were destroyed. A few prisoners and scalps were taken. plunder amounting to 60,000 was taken and sold. This was the last expedition undertaken by Colonel Brodhead.

As in previous years the thoughts of the Americans turned to the capture of Detroit. Virginia desired to put an expedition under the command of George Rogers Clark for this purpose. Clark was made a Brigadier General of Virginia in order that he might have precedence over the officers who were to assist or accompany him.

But many circumstances militated against the success of the enterprise. Virginia itself was invaded in

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12. An account of Brodhead's campaign against the Delawares is given by C.H. Butterfield in Frontier Retreat, 376-381.
the East and needed all the resources it could command there. Although Washington had ordered Colonel Brodhead to give every assistance, that officer, no doubt offended because he was not given the command, did not co-operate. He made difficulty about allowing Colonel John Gibson with his men to go and refused to allow the artillery to be taken unless a special order from Washington could be obtained. He hindered the collection of supplies giving as a reason that his men would suffer on this account.

The boundary dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania was revived and made it difficult to collect men. Likewise the campaign of Brodhead caused the militia to refuse to go out again. Clark felt certain that the militia of Frederick, Berkeley and Hampshire counties would have "marched with cheerfulness [sic] had they not been incouraged [sic] to the contrary".

15. Washington to the board of war, April 20, 1781. ibid., VIII, 606.
17. Brodhead to Jefferson, January 17, 1781. ibid., VIII, 495.
18. In a letter to Colonel Lewis, William Croghan declared that the reason Clark was able to get so few men at Pittsburgh was "owing to the dispute that subsists here between Virginians and Pennsylvanians respecting the true bounds of the latter, and the General being a Virginian was opposed by most of the noted men here in the Pennsylvanian party". William Croghan to Colonel Lewis, August 18, 1871. Illinois Historical Collections, VIII, 589.
19. Clark to Jefferson, March 27, 1781. ibid., VIII, 517.
Upon finding that the necessary force could not be collected from the militia, Jefferson ordered that voluntary enlistment be resorted to. This too failed.

At last the expedition set out down the Ohio with four hundred men instead of the two thousand which had been anticipated. The Falls of the Ohio were reached in August.

Upon finding no re-enforcements there, Clark called a council of his officers to advise him as to what was the proper course to pursue. The decision was to drop the undertaking against Detroit and to use the men assembled for defensive measures against the Indians.

Perhaps one of the reasons for the decision to abandon the expedition was the destruction of about one hundred men who were being led by Colonel Archibald Lohrty to join Clark. This force, composed largely of Pennsylvania volunteers and rangers, was attacked on August 24, about eleven miles below the mouth of the Great Miami. The attacking party was led by Captain Joseph Brant and George Girty. Every one of the Americans was either killed or captured.

The giving up of the expedition was a bitter blow.

20. C. of Virginia State Papers, II, 40, quoted in Illinois Historical Collections, VIII, CXLVII.
22. Ibid., VIII, 601.
to Clark. To quote his own words, "I have lost the object that was one of the principal inducements to my fatigue and transactions for several years... My chain appears to have run out. I find myself enclosed with few troops, in a trifling fort, and shortly expect to bear the insults of those who for several years have been in continual dread of me."

Perhaps Clark was persuaded that peace with England was not far off. A letter to him of Arthur Campbell, if he received it, would lead us to think as much.

At this point it may be well to turn again to the officers at Fort Pitt. Washington wrote to Colonel Brodhead May 5, recalling him from that post. For some reason the doughty Colonel refused to turn over the command to Colonel John Gibson until Washington had written to him a second time. There could be no misunderstanding of this last letter and Brodhead quietly gave up the command of the western department, September 17, 1781. Colonel Gibson assumed temporary command. In November Brigadier General Irvine arrived to take over permanent command.

The year 1761 saw the suspension of hostilities with the British in the East. It did not bring relief to the frontier. Every tribe of Indians of the Northwest was hostile to the Americans. The strife with them continued on long after the treaty of peace was signed with England. It may be said, however, that before effective measures could be taken much had to be done to correct the conditions into which the frontier had fallen. What was needed as much perhaps as anything else was a new group of leaders who would inspire the people to put forth the best efforts they were capable of.
CONCLUSION
The defense of the western frontier presents a number of interesting phases. Defense against the British alone would have been relatively an easy task since there was no very serious menace from them at that quarter. The presence of the Indians and the Loyalists were circumstances which complicated and made extremely difficult the work of the Patriots.

It was the hope of the Colonists to keep the Indians neutral in the war. This was undoubtedly the safest course for them. This hope was not realized. The pressure of the British was enormous, due to the fact that they could and did supply the Indians with goods and presents. In this the Americans could not compete. Promises or threats were not enough to hold the good will of the Indians. The policy of alliance with them was also tried but proved not satisfactory except with the Delawares until 1780. With the close of the war the Indians were all hostile. No doubt the specific policy of the first few years of the war was of great advantage to the Americans.

The use made by the British of the Indians was unfortunate. It is not to be implied that all Englishmen approved, because they certainly did not. It is also true that some of the leaders of the war parties were seriously desirous of abiding by the rules of civilized warfare.
Captain Henry Bird was one of these. But Bird was rather an exception and the fact remains that the Indians could not be restrained as numerous incidents testify.

The fact of the Indians being in the war added to its horrors and cruelty. The reaction of the Colonists was what might have been expected. They fought the Indians in true Indian style. There was also an irresponsible element that exhibited a ferocity and diabolical cunning that more than matched their twain foes. It was this element that caused the death of White Eyes, of Cornstalk, and made numerous other attempts on friendly Indians. This action gave good grounds for the Indians thinking that the whites were not to be trusted.

At Fort Pitt in 1775 the Indians were warned that they would incur the hatred of the Americans if they sided with the British. They were further told that with the defeat of England they would suffer. This prophecy was made a reality in blood.

Upon the frontier the seamy side of the war made its appearance. There were many who used the war as a means to further their own ends. Indeed it seems that at Fort Pitt the most cordid creed was rampant near the close of the war.

The significance of the defense of the frontier lies in its relationship to the other phases of the Revolution. The defense of the back country was of the utmost importance. Had it broken down the effect upon the Ameri-
oans cause might have been disastrous. It must not be implied that the war was won in the east; but the fighting there was one of the important phases of the contest.

The British hoped to catch the colonists between the Iroquois and Indians of the back country and the regulars from the coast. In the resistance of this and the saving of the Colonies from being divided in the middle, the West played a heroic part. General Washington recognized the importance of Fort Pitt and kept colonial regulars there even though pressure was exerted upon him to recoll them east.

The capture of the posts in the Illinois country does not seem to have greatly affected the peace negotiations by which the Revolutionary war was brought to a close. Brilliant as was the work of George Rogers Clark, it must be said that the advantages secured to him were not permanent. There is reason to believe that the defending of the upper Ohio valley was more of a factor in obtaining for the United States all the lands to the Mississippi river than Clark's exploits. This defense made possible the migration into Kentucky which took place very rapidly during the years of the war. The best efforts of the British failed to drive the Americans east of the Appalachian mountains. Thus the Americans being in possession of a part of the Ohio-Mississippi valley were in better position at war's end than they would have been had conditions been the reverse. It is not known that the American Commissi-
ioners pressed the claim upon this ground, but it is al-
together that they did so. This does not in any measure
deny that England was influenced by her relations with
the European states. It is only to suggest that this was
one of many factors.
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