THE PEACE
OF
MAD ANTHONY

An Account of the Subjugation of the North-Western Indian Tribes

AND THE

Treaty of GreeneVille

BY WHICH THE

Territory Beyond the Ohio Was Opened for Anglo-Saxon Settlement

BY

FRAZER ELLS WILSON

ILLUSTRATED

MCMIX

CLEVELAND
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FOREWORD.

FOR the appearance of this little volume the author offers no apology, inasmuch as it is an attempt to emphasize a bit of local and national history which can be properly set forth only in a work of this kind.

The many excellent popular histories of the United States, and the briefer text books used in our public schools, give the main outlines of the fascinating story of national development and expansion, but fail to give that local emphasis and coloring which are peculiar to the well defined sections of our common country.

To obtain this very desirable information it is often necessary for the painstaking student to consult many voluminous works and be wearied with repeated accounts of the same events, thus detracting materially from the pleasure to be derived from perusing a briefer and more pertinent narrative.

The matter treated in this book ought to be of special interest to the residents of the Ohio valley and the region of the Great Lakes, and it is the writer's hope that he has presented it in a form suited to the importance of the subject.

The book in its present form is practically a revision of "The Treaty of Greenville," published in 1894, giving the same substance in a more readable, condensed and connected style.

Since writing the first volume the author has had access to original manuscripts and other sources of information formerly unavailable, and has embodied the results of his studies in various articles. The account of St. Clair's Defeat appeared, in substance, in Volume XI of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical

Society's publications, and the account of Wayne's Expedition and the Treaty of GreeneVille in the October number of the Ohio Magazine, 1906.

The first chapter covers many important events which are necessarily treated in a brief manner, serving as an introduction to the main subject.

For the convenience of students and instructors, a topical index has been inserted in the text, and a comprehensive general index added.

The illustrations have been carefully selected with a view to enliven the narrative and lend interest to it.

In order to assist the reader and avoid confusion of localities, the names of cities and towns which have been built on the sites of former army posts and Indian settlements are inserted in parentheses following mention of the places.

For much of the information contained in these pages special indebtedness is acknowledged to the following very valuable publications:

American State Papers, Vol. I, Indian Affairs.
Burnet's "Notes on the Northwest Territory."
Hinsdale's "The Old Northwest."
Albaugh's "Annals of the West."
Moore's "The Northwest Under Three Flags."
Brice's "History of Fort Wayne."
Stone's "Life of Brant."
Howe's "Historical Collections of Ohio."
Roosevelt's "Winning of the West."
Hulbert's "Historic Highways of America."
Lieutenant Boyer's "Journal of Wayne's Campaign."
Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society's Reports.
St. Clair's Narrative of His Campaign.

FRAZER E. WILSON.

Greenville, Ohio.

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Anthy Wayne

I.

THE OLD NORTHWEST.

WHEN our Anglo-Saxon ancestors first settled on the western shores of the Atlantic they were confronted by a type of man strikingly different in facial appearance and race manners from any with whom they had previously come into contact during the long period of migration from their ancient Asian home. The bronze skin, the picturesque head dress, the imperial carriage and the crafty conduct of the native American awed and attracted the white invaders. Friendly relations soon developed and continued until the primitive and confiding native discovered the intense land-lust of his expanding and vigorous neighbor, and realized that he must contend against an intelligent and active aggressor to retain what he claimed by divine right and lengthy occupation. The conflict which followed this discovery called forth the baser instincts of the savage occupier of the land, and tended to obscure the finer qualities which he manifested under more favorable conditions. The background of his portrait, as painted by the historian, is tinted with blood and fire, which only time will mellow into the softer hues of the setting sun.

Modern archaeological research tends to relate the North American Indian to the mysterious Mound Builder who constructed the curious earthworks scattered about the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. The coarse black hair, the high cheek bones, the swarthy complexion, and the cunning handicraft, combine to indicate a close relationship with the tribes of northern Siberia, and lend color to the conviction that America was peopled across Behring Strait at a remote date. Even to-day the Siberian natives and the Alaskan Eskimo cross the narrow northern waters in their primitive canoes to converse and traffic.

Mystery of Origin.

In the light of recent investigation it would seem probable that the ancestors of the White and Red men had both their original home in Asia. Migrating in successive waves at an early date, they advanced in opposite directions, leaving their descendants to confront each other after many centuries in an unknown land across the seas.

How long the various families and tribes of the North American Indians had occupied the tracts of land respectively claimed by them at the advent of the White man, it is impossible to say in the absence of any written records or authentic history. The legends of the tribes but add to the confusion of the

Length of Occupation.

historian and give little encouragement to the hope that a true account of their past wanderings and experiences shall ever be constructed. It is known, however, that some of the tribes made extensive migrations since the discovery of the continent by European explorers.

It has ever been difficult for the staid and cultured Anglo-Saxon to understand and delineate the true character of the American Indian. Some writers depict him as the red aristocrat of the forest, possessed of true virtue, chivalry and valor, while others would make him appear a fiend incarnate, delighting in rapine and brutal slaughter. These conflicting conceptions have arisen, no doubt, from the apparently inconsistent characteristics manifested by these primitive people in their dealings with the conquering Whites. Being children of nature, they reflected nature's changing moods; now dwelling peaceably in their secluded forest homes; again making the wilderness ring with their hideous yells, as they danced in frenzied glee at the prospect of the fearful slaughter of their foes. To them the forces of nature were spirits to be cajoled or implored according to the manner of their manifestation, and disease was an evil spirit to be driven out of the body by the weird maneuvers of the Medicine Man. Easily elated by success, they

Indian Characteristics

were just as readily dejected by defeat, causing them to waver in their various alliances as prompted by expediency. Living a rude and simple life they knew no law but necessity, and no government save expediency. Their meat was the flesh of the deer, the buffalo, and the wild game which they chased with craft and glee through the primeval forest. For a diversified diet they cultivated small areas of corn, beans, melons, etc., and gathered the nuts and wild fruits of the wood. The wife, or squaw, together with the children, cultivated the fields and did the drudgery incident to the care of the camp or village, while the brave or warrior roamed the forest in quest of game, warred with hostile tribes, constructed the tepee, or hut, the swift gliding canoe, and the various implements or war and the chase. Above all, he loved to idle about the camp and engage in racing, wrestling, gambling and dancing, while incited by the frenzied yells of his fellow abettors.

Like the ancient Scotch clansman, he was the best of friends and the worst of enemies.

Belonging to one ethnic group the North American Indians, nevertheless, manifested distinct characteristics and were separated into well-defined families and tribes, having distinct dialects, traditions, and definite places of abode. Two great families occupied the basin of the Great Lakes and the val-

ley of the Ohio river at the advent of the Whites. The Algonquin family were the more numerous, and were represented by the larger number of tribes, the more prominent being the Ottawas, Chippewas and Pottawatomies in the upper lake region; the ancient and powerful Miamis, with subject and related tribes, along the Maumee, the Wabash, and the upper Miami river valleys; the active and warlike Shawanese in the valley of the Scioto and neighboring territory; the Delawares in the valley of the Muskingum and upper Ohio.

Ethnic Relations.

The Shawanese had recently emigrated from the valleys of the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, from which they had probably been driven by the hostility of the neighboring southern tribes. They were active, egotistic, restless and warlike and were destined to become more frequently engaged with the advancing frontiersmen than any other of the Ohio tribes.

The Delawares had emigrated from the Delaware and Susquehanna river region, on account of the encroachment of the Whites and the hostility of their northern neighbors, the Five Nations, and are especially prominent in Colonial history because of their treaty with William Penn. Their peaceable disposition won for them the contempt of some of the more warlike tribes, who called

them "women." Their conduct in the Ohio country, however, proved them to be warriors worthy of respect.

The Miamis had lived "from time immemorial" in their secluded abode, and their title to the lands claimed by them was probably more valid than that of any of the Northwestern tribes. With their relatives, the Tawas, the Weas, the Piankeshaws, and Eel river Indians, they formed a powerful nation. Their central and established location, together with intelligent leadership, gave them a decided prestige among their neighbors.

All of these prominent tribes had, no doubt, absorbed the scattered remnants of the New England and coast tribes which otherwise would have been exterminated.

The other great family of Indians, identified with the territory under consideration, was the Iroquoian. This family occupied the lands between the Ottawa river and the lower lakes, and a portion of the region below the latter. Their influence, however, extended from Lake Champlain to the Mississippi, and from the Ottawa to the Ohio. Several of the smaller tribes of this powerful family roamed over the Ohio country and made some large settlements. Five of the most powerful neighboring tribes formed a confederacy known as the Five Nations, and later,

The Five Nations.

after being augmented by another tribe, the Six Nations. This confederation lived mainly along the lower lakes in northern New York and Pennsylvania, having several palisaded towns and considerable orchards and cultivated lands. Within historic times they had practically exterminated the Eries and Andastes who dwelt along the southern shore of Lake Erie, and belonged to the same family. They had also driven their brother tribe, the Huron Wyandots, from the region below the Ottawa river, causing them to retire to the southwestern shore of Lake Erie. The Wyandots, however, ultimately became the leading nation among the indians beyond the Ohio and were addressed as "uncle" by the other tribes. In their keeping was placed the Grand Calumet, or peace pipe, which entitled them to assemble the tribes in general council and open all deliberations.

The Five Nations came into contact with the Dutch and English traders at an early date and were supplied with fire-arms, which they used to advantage in awing and subduing the western tribes. Although comparatively few in numbers, they were intelligent, aggressive, eloquent and powerful, and continually waged war on the Northwestern tribes, whose lands they claimed by right of conquest.

While these children of the forest dwelt in this

Map of the Old Northwest, Showing Early French Posts and Water Routes. Drawn by Wallace Miesse.

delightful land of virgin rivers, lakes, prairies and woods, unmolested save by their own kindred, the White man planted settlements along the Atlantic seaboard and commenced a campaign of conquest and expansion that was not to cease until practically the whole continent had come into his possession.

Centuries of civilization had prepared the Anglo-Saxon for an abode where he might have sufficient room and resources to work out the destinies of a new and mightier nation than the world had ever known. His conquest was to be not merely a matter of might, but of fitness and greater service to the expanding race of man. Where a few savage tribes made a precarious living millions of a civilized people were soon to subdue the forces of primitive nature, establish the institutions of a higher life and raise a standard for all the nations.

Anglo-Saxon Expansion.

In the carrying out of this great enterprise two powerful nations, who had met on many a field of battle in their home land, were to try their strength on new fields, in rough places, and prove which was to be chosen for the high and responsible destiny of leading and shaping a mighty nation, yet unborn.

The circumstances which caused the English to settle on the James river in 1607 and on Cape Cod

Bay in 1620, and the French on the St. Lawrence in 1608, scarcely seemed to foreshadow the tremendous results that were to follow in less than two centuries. Thus two active forces were located on converging lines, and were to meet and come in deadly conflict beyond the apparent barrier of the Alleghany mountains. The hardy English, inheriting the vigor of their northern ancestors and inured to the rigors of the British Isles, settled the coast from Maine to the Carolinas, laid the foundations of an enduring civilization and depended largely upon the labor of their own hands for subsistence. They subdued the Red Man or drove him away, and gradually advanced the frontier westward. Desiring to extend the Catholic Church and the domain of France, the French took possession of the valley of the St. Lawrence, establishing a strong base on the rock of Qubec. From this advantageous center their missionaries, fired with a zeal to convert the savages, and their explorers, anxious to find new lands, followed up the water-courses of the St. Lawrence, crossed the upper lakes in their birch-bark canoes and passed over the divide by easy portages to the headwaters of the branches of the Ohio and Mississippi, and finally reached the Father of Waters.

English and French Settlement.

The most direct route from Quebec to the north-

ern lakes was by way of the Ottawa river and Lake Nipissing to Georgian Bay. This fact, together with the hostility of the Iroquois, who dwelt along the lower lakes, led the French to establish posts at Kaskaskia, Vincennes and other remote western points, several years before Cadillac fortified Detroit, the most strategic point on the lakes, in 1701. For the same reason, the territory now comprised in Ohio, with the exception of the Maumee valley and some lake points, was the last explored by the French.

The early enmity of the Iroquois, incurred by Champlain, was later taken advantage of by the British and became a powerful factor in directing the fortunes of the contending whites in the Ohio Country.

Early Water Routes.

The early water routes explored by the French were simply those which the Northwestern Indians had used from time immemorial. They led from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi and Ohio rivers by the most direct and convenient tributary streams and were traveled by means of canoes made from birch-bark, the skins of animals, or some light wood. These canoes were carried by the voyagers across the shortest portages between the headwaters of the approaching streams and launched at well known landing-places, thus providing the simplest,

swiftest, and most effective means of travel known to primitive man.

By gaining the friendship of the Northwestern tribes the French explorers soon learned their best routes and were enabled to make rough maps of their country to be kept for future reference and to support their later claims of discovery.

The more prominent routes established were: from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, (1) by way of Green Bay, the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, (2) by the Des Plaines and Illinois rivers, (3) and by the St. Joseph's and Kankakee; from Lake Michigan to the Ohio by way of the St. Joseph's and Wabash rivers; and from Lake Erie to the Ohio by way of the Maumee and Wabash rivers. For these early and important explorations we are indebted to the zealous and intrepid Catholic missionaries and daring French adventurers such as La Salle, Marquette, Joliet, Nicollet, Hennepin, Brule, and others, who faithfully served their country and their cause and left a record that shall long add luster to their names.

The Indian mind seems peculiarly suceptible to the elaborate forms and ceremonies of the Catholic Church, which ever appeal forcibly to the outward senses and objectify the teachings intended to be inculcated. Thus the spiritual labors of the missionaries were not in vain from the standpoint

of the Church and, in addition, helped to culivate a friendly disposition toward the French traders who soon followed.

The Frenchman is naturally volatile, sociable, and given to change and excitement or adventure. The wild, free, and changeable life of the savage appealed forcibly to the trader, who soon learned his dialects, married his women, adopted his customs, and finally won his affection and confidence. The influence exercised by this class is indicated by the freedom with which they penetrated to the western plains and planted a chain of trading posts reaching from the region of the Hudson Bay to the far south. They supplied the natives with the things which they desired in the way of fancy blankets, coarse, bright cloths, guns, ammunition, knives, hatchets, kettles, beads, tobacco, intoxicating liquors, etc. Whatever may have been France's ulterior motive in searching out these lands, her early representatives seemed content to establish posts on small tracts and live peaceably among the natives, caring only for the profit to be derived from their extensive trade.

French Outposts.

In due course of time, however, the French established fortified posts at Frontenac on the north-east shore of Lake Ontario, at Niagara, at Detroit, at Mackinac, and at Sault St. Mary, thus guarding

the entrances to the Great Lakes and strengthening their prestige in the vast lake region.

The English and Dutch also tried to plant posts on the upper lakes, but with small success. They impressed the Indians as being cold, unsympathetic, and avaricious, with an ill concealed and excessive lust for their diminishing lands. However, the Anglo-Saxon possessed a stubborn determination, industrious and conservative habits, and a system of fair and business-like dealing which were finally to turn the tide of savage sentiment in his favor and win respect and alliance.

English Aggression.

The question of boundaries between the French and English in America had not been definitely settled at the close of King George's War in 1748.

The colonial frontiersmen however, were steadily advancing westward and were climbing the eastern slopes of the Alleghanies and looking wistfully at the fertile lands beyond. They were largely the hardy Scotch-Irish who had settled the Alleghany mountain ranges and were now pushing forward and making considerable settlements southwest of the mountains. The country south of the Ohio was now being explored and the Ohio Company was formed to traffic with the Indians.

In 1749 the French Governor of Canada sent Celeron de Bienville to take formal possession of

the country drained by the upper Ohio river. With a motley following of some two hundred French officers and Canadian woodsmen he crossed Lake Ontario, skirted the southern shore of Lake Erie, crossed the portage to Lake Chau-
tauqua, and followed the Indian path to the headwaters of the Alleghany.

France Claims Ohio Country.

Here their birch bark canoes were launched again and the party proceeded on its spectacular journey down the Alleghany and the Ohio as far as the mouth of the Great Miami, thence up that stream and across the well worn carrying place to the St. Mary's branch of the Miami of the Lakes (Maumee), and thus on to Lake Erie and back to Quebec.

English traders were found at several of the prominent Indian villages along the route. These were admonished to discontinue trespassing on territory claimed by the French, and the Indians who showed partiality to the English were threatened with summary treatment should they continue to trade with them.

Thus was completed the eastern end of the great circuit which comprised the valley of the St. Lawrence, the Lake region, the upper Mississippi, and the Ohio basins and gave tangible form to the extensive claims of the French to this immense territory.

The outposts of the English colonists were already being firmly established within striking distance of the coveted and disputed lands beyond the Ohio and the hardy backwoodsmen chafed at the prospect of being arbitrarily prohibited from settling in this fertile country.

In the fall of 1750 the Ohio Company sent Christopher Gist, an experienced explorer, from the Yadkin country, to explore the lands along the Ohio as far as the falls (Louisville). At the Indian Village at the mouth of the Muskingum he was joined by George Croghan, the veteran trader, and Andrew Montour, an interpreter.

Gist Explores Ohio Country.

Early in 1751 these intrepid woodsmen proceeded to the Delaware and Shawanese villages on the Scioto, and, finding them well disposed, made arrangements for a friendly conference at Logstown (below Ft. Pitt)in the spring. The exploring party now struck across country to the upper waters of the Great Miami. At the mouth of the Pickawillany (Loramie Creek) they found an extensive settlement of Miami Indians under chief Old Britain, who han recently moved from the Wabash in order to get in touch with the English traders. A strong stockade had been erected here in the previous fall and considerable business was being transacted. A friendly council was held at this place and numerous valuable pres-

MAJ. GEN. ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

ents were given to the Indians, who thereupon promised to favor the English in the way of trade. Gist and his party then returned to the Scioto and proceeded down the Ohio to their destination, returning homeward through the beautiful Kentucky country in the spring.

The French became jealous of the rising favor shown to the English traders by their former friends and in June, 1752, Charles Langlade, a Frenchman from Michilimackinac, led a band of Chippewa and Ottawa Indians against the trading station at Pickawillany. This party rowed past Detroit, crossed the western end of Lake Erie, turned up the Maumee and continued up the St. Marys branch to the old Indian portage. They destroyed the stockade at Pickawillany, and killed several of its defenders, including an English trader. As a special mark of disfavor these northern savages boiled and ate Old Britain who had shown marked preference for the Frenchman's foe.

Pickawillany Destroyed.

By some historians this is regarded as the opening engagement of the French and Indian war, inasmuch as the parties engaged represented the opposing nations, contending on disputed soil and kindling a conflict which was destined to scourge the frontier with blood and fire for over forty years.

The time was ripe to fortify the forks of the Ohio. This important step was delayed, however, on account of the contending claims of jurisdiction over this territory by the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia. In 1753, while these disputes were in progress, the French Governor of Canada sent a mixed force to seize and hold the upper branches of the Ohio. This was the signal for decisive action and Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent Major George Washington to remonstrate against this move. Washington was courteously received by the French Commander, but his message was referred to the Governor General of Canada and the new posts established were held awaiting the action of the latter official.

Upper Ohio Fortified.

On July 3rd, 1754, Washington, while moving towards the forks of the Ohio with a force of some three hundred men, was intercepted by a force of French and Indians three or four times as large at Great Meadows. An engagement followed which lasted from noon till dark, when Washington capitulated on favorable terms. The French now built Fort Du Quesne at the forks of the Ohio and prepared to actively resist the English. The Indians, having a natural love for war and realizing their dangerous position, soon allied themselves accord-

Engagement at Great Meadows.

ing to inclination and fancied interest. The Northwestern tribes mostly joined their interests with the French, while the Six Nations favored the English.

From a frontier skirmish the conflict developed into an international war. England sent General Braddock over with a large army of regulars, drilled and disciplined in the field tactics of Europe, but practically ignorant of the mode of warfare of the Amarican savage and unwilling to take the advice of the frontier soldiers, who alone knew the nature of their foe. This magnificent army was reenforced with troops from Virginia and proceeded against Fort Du Quesne. When near this post the army was suddenly attacked from ambush by a mixed force of Canadian French and Indians on July 9th, 1755. An obstinate fight followed with success long in doubt, but the British were finally forced to give was after great slaughter and the loss of their commander. Colonel Washington was aide to Braddock on this campaign and rendered valuable services. Had his advice been followed perhaps the day might have been saved and the war shortened.

Braddock Defeated.

During the opening years of the conflict the French and their allies won victory after victory, and thus attracted the wavering alliance of many tribes. Even some of the Iroquois deserted the

British as they saw them defeated time after time, but when the scales finally turned they resumed their old alliance.

In 1758 the British gained the ascendency, taking Louisburg and Fort Du Quesne, two of the most cherished strongholds of the enemy. In 1759 Wolfe, by a bold and hazardous stroke, reduced Quebec, the backbone of Canada and seat of government of the French. This was the climax of the struggle on the American continent that won for the Anglo-Saxon the supremacy in the new world and deprived France of her American possessions. Measured by results, it has proven to be one of the most decisive struggles in recent history. The valley of the Ohio was not destined to be governed from Quebec, neither were the language, laws, customs and religion of a Latin race to be engrafted on the hardy stock of the virile pioneers and mould the destin- of a budding nation. In 1760 the surrender of Montreal virtually ended the war on the continent but the conflict continued two or three years on the ocean. A treaty of peace was signed at Paris in 1763, and nearly all the French possessions east of the Mississippi passed into the hands of the British.

Anglo-Saxon Ascendency.

Fearing the encroachments of the English, the destruction of their fur trade, and the curtailment

of their supplies of food and firearms, the savages formed a confederacy under the leadership of Pontiac, a crafty Ottawa chief. and planned the simultaneous capture and destruction of all their forts west of the Alleghany mountains. The plot against Detroit was revealed, but before the middle of the summer of 1763, all the posts except Niagara, Fort Pitt and Detroit had been taken. Early in 1764 Pontiac again laid seige to Detroit and the attacks on the frontier were renewed. In order to counteract these movements, subjugate the Indians and force them to acknowledge the sovereignty of England, General Gage of the Colonial army sent Colonel Bradstreet with a large force against the lower lake tribes of Ottawas, Chippewas and Wyandots, and Colonel Bouquet against the Delawares and Shawanese near the forks of the Muskingum. Bradstreet proceeded toward Sandusky and met with indifferent success, but Bouquet, by decisive action, caused the tribes against whom he had been sent to deliver up a large number of prisoners and make arrangements for peace.

Pontiac's Conspiracy.

England now attempted a new policy in reference to her newly acquired western and northern lands, with a view of retaining them for the benefit of the Crown and thereby excluding the American colonists from settling them. Peaceful rela-

tions with the Indians, the extension of the fur trade and the safety of the colonies were the reasons assigned for this policy.

By a treaty at Easton, Pennsylvania, the English had engaged not to settle west of the mountains. Colonel Bouquet at Fort Pitt endeavored to enforce the provisions of this treaty, but Colonel Michael Cresap and the agents of the Ohio Company eagerly tried to trade with the Indians and to establish the settlements planned before the war. The eager frontiersmen were not to be easily restrained, however, and soon began to cross the mountains and irritate the Indians. In order to conciliate the latter, Colonel Johnson, the British Indian agent, held a treaty with them at Fort Stanwix (Rome, N. Y.) in 1768, at which all the country south of the Ohio to which the Iroquois had any claim was transferred to the British for $6,000 in money and goods. This region was being explored but it was twenty years before the lines of emigration were directed north of the Ohio.

Treaty of Fort Stanwix.

The opening of the Revolution in the East soon attracted attention in that direction. The West was also the scene of conflicts of momentous import. The hardy Scotch-Irish mountaineers of the border states pressed into Kentucky, and the region from Pittsburg to the southwest was the scene of

great activity. Boone, Harrod, Logan and other pioneers built fortified stations near the upper Kentucky river and the romantic days of old Kentucky were ushered in. The Ohio Indians did not consider themselves bound by the treaty of Fort Stanwix and were not disposed to allow this valuable portion of their ancient domain to be quietly taken from them. When they saw the white emigrants floating down the Ohio in constantly increasing numbers they decided to dispute their advance. The murder of the relatives of Logan, a prominent Mingo chief, hastened hostilities.

Kentucky Settled.

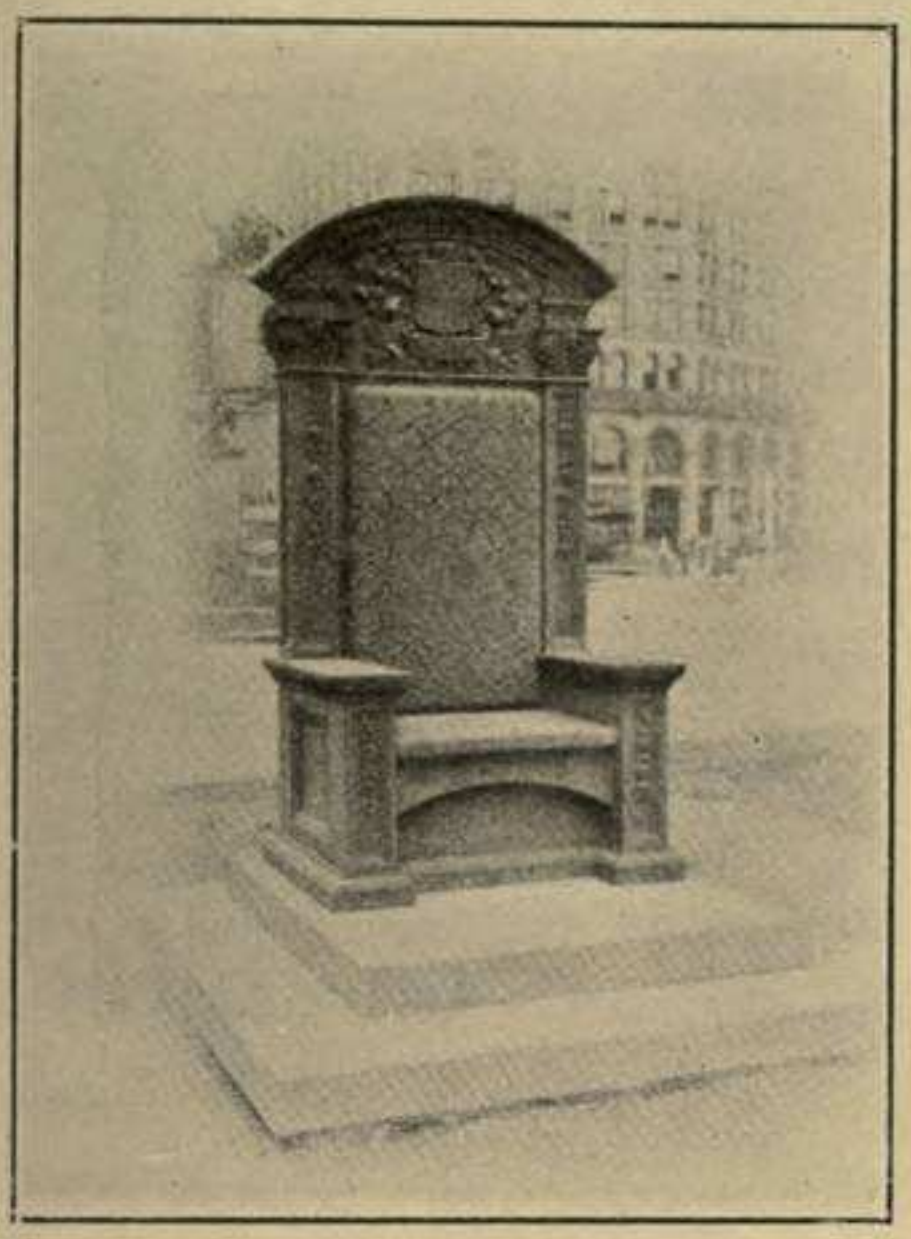
Matters soon assumed such a serious turn that the Earl of Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, called out the militia and raised an army to check the hostile demonstrations in territory claimed by that colony. The troops were finally collected in two divisions, one of some fifteen hundred men under Dunmore, the other of some eleven hundred men under General Andrew Lewis. The former collected at Wheeling, proceeded down the Ohio and crossed to the Scioto plains. Lewis's division, composed of Virginia backwoodsmen, proceeded along the Great Kanawha, intending to cross the Ohio and join Dunmore. On October 10th, 1774, however, Lewis was intercepted at the mouth of the Kanawha by the combined Indian

forces under Cornstalk, the famous Shawanese chief. A spirited all-day battle ensued, in which the backwoodsmen adopted the tactics of the savages, flitting from tree to tree and fighting hand to hand. The Indians were about equal in numbers to the Whites and had among them some of their best chiefs and warriors. They had found their superiors in the "Longknives," however, and were forced to retreat across the Ohio at dusk, taking their dead and wounded with them.

Battle of Point Pleasant.

This was probably the most severe whipping ever administered to the Red Men at the hands of the Whites. Besides driving them back to their retreats and causing them to sue for peace, it showed the temper of the Americans, and, no doubt, deterred the Indians from harassing the hardy and adventurous pioneers who held the land beyond the mountains during the Revolution.

Considering the encouragement given to the Indians from the British in the north and the failure of Dunmore to take part in this engagement, along with the magnificent conduct of the backwoodsmen, this might be regarded the opening conflict of the great contest between the mother country and her colonies. No doubt it nerved many a patriot for the great battles in the south during the Revolution and will always be looked to with



Monument Commemorating
the Founding of Detroit
by Cadillac in 1701,
Erected in 1901 on the
Site of the Old City Hall.

Old Fort Pitt Blockhouse,
Pittsburg, Pa.

Memorial Erected
On the site of
Pickawillallany
by the Piqua Chapter
D. A. R.

Monument
On the Site of
Fort Washington,
Third Street, near Ludlow,
Cincinnati, Ohio.
Erected by the
Patriotic Societies of Ohio.

pride by coming generations of Americans.

In 1774 the Quebec Act, establishing civil government in the Northwest, was passed by Parliament. By its provisions Detroit, then a place of some fifteen hundred inhabitants, was made the capital of this immense territory, and Henry Hamilton was appointed Lieutenant-Governor with civil and military powers. Upon assuming office in 1775 he proceeded to use heroic measures in dealing with the Americans, employed the notorious renegades, Simon Girty, Alexander McKee and Matthew Elliott, and sent war parties against the border. To check these incursions George Rogers Clark, a dashing young surveyor, who had been appointed commander of Kentucky militia by Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia, was sent on a secret expedition against Kaskaskia. With some one hundred and seventy-five picked men he proceeded from the Falls of the Ohio to a point opposite the mouth of the Tennessee river and followed the trail to Kaskaskia, which place he took by a bold stroke on July 4th, 1778. He then proceeded to subdue the neighboring tribes and sent Captain Helm with a guard to hold Vincennes. Governor Hamilton then advanced from Detroit by the Maumee and Wabash with a mixed force, enlisted some savages, pro-

Quebec Act.

Clark Takes Kaskaskia and Vincennes.

ceeded to Vincennes and, with their assistance, dislodged Helm on December 17th. Early in February, 1779, Clark left Kaskaskia with about one hundred and sixty men, made a hazardous forced march across the frozen and inundated plains of the Illinois country and, after great hardships, appeared before Vincennes. With his brave and determined men he invested the town on the night of February 23d, and forced Hamilton to surrender on the 24th.

The whole country along the Mississippi and Wabash was now in the possession of Virginia. This state had anticipated the results of Clark's expedition by creating the county of Illinois in October 1778, and now claimed by conquest what she had formerly claimed by virtue of her Colonial Charter. This conquest was the death blow to British ambition in the country between the mountains and the Mississippi. Hamilton was planning to lead the united western and southern tribes and, with the assistance of the terrible Iroquois, drive the Americans beyond the Ohio, thus making that stream the ultimate boundary between Canada and the United States. Especially does the significance of this conquest appear when viewed in the light of the Quebec Act, which aimed to establish interior colonies dependent upon a government on

Virginia Claims Illinois Country.

the St. Lawrence, instead of on the Atlantic coast. This act also deprived the colonies of their charter lands in the west and was one of the causes of the Revolution.

In the fall of 1778, Brig. Gen. McIntosh of the Continental Army built a fort thirty miles below Fort Pitt. He then proceeded with a force of one thousand men to attack Sandusky, but stopped upon reaching the Muskingum and built Fort Laurens. Both of these posts were afterwards abandoned, leaving no American defences in the west except Fort Pitt, Kaskaskia and Vincennes.

The aggressiveness of the hardy pioneers, who had settled south and east of the Ohio, had gradually driven the Indians toward the northwest, so that by 1779 they had retreated in large numbers to the headwaters of the Scioto, the two Miamis, and the watershed between these streams and the Maumee. This was a beautiful tract of land, with fine timber and rich meadows, affording ideal hunting grounds and fertile fields for the remnants of the dwindling tribes.

Retreat of the Tribes.

The principal seat of the ancient Miamis was at at the junction of the St. Joseph and St. Marys, and from this important center trails radiated in many directions. It was well located with reference to the lake region and the headwaters of the

Wabash and Miamis. Important villages were also located along the Maumee, on the headwaters of the Auglaize and the the Great Miami, and on the portages between these streams. The Weas and Piankeshaws dwelt along the Wabash and were in intimate relation with the mother nation on the Maumee.

In the summer of 1780, Colonel Byrd of Detroit invaded Kentucky, by way of the Kentucky and Licking rivers, with a mixed force of Canadians and Indians. He attacked and took a few stations but soon abandoned the invasion. In order to retaliate for this raid, Colonel Clark raised a large force of frontiersmen, crossed the Ohio and proceeded against the Indians of the upper Miami valley. He destroyed the old Shawanese town of Piqua on Mad river (New Boston, Ohio) and several other villages, together with considerable standing corn. This raid brought security to the Kentuckians until the following year, when attacks on the exposed pioneer stations were renewed. In April, 1781, Colonel Brodhead of Fort Pitt led an expedition against the Delaware tribes on the Muskingum, destroyed several villages, and killed and captured a few Indians. In August, Colonel Lochry with a force of one hundred and seventy mounted Pennsylvanians was surprised by a large body of Indians near

Raids and Retaliations.

the mouth of the Miami while on his way to aid Clark in the west. Several of his men were killed and the balance captured.

The Moravians, a Christian sect of marked missionary zeal, who had followed the Delaware Indians from their former home in Pennsylvania, settled in the valleys of the Tuscarawas and Muskingum rivers in 1768. Here they purchased small tracts from the natives, cultivated a portion of them, founded four substantial villages, and established places of worship under the leadership of Zeisberger and Heckewelder. They were peaceable and industrious, being opposed to war and aggression, many of the neighboring Indians of various tribes were converted to their doctrines. Being on important Indian trails, leading from Fort Pitt and the frontier settlements to Sandusky and the northwest, their position became more hazardous as the American settlements advanced, on account of the opposing war parties which passed through their villages. Trying to be hospitable to all, they naturally incurred the suspicion of the turbulent frontiersmen. In 1781 Colonel Brodhead urged these Christian Indians to move to Fort Pitt in order to be under the protection of the Americans. This they refused to do, but later in the same year were forced to settle near Upper Sandusky by orders from the British authorities of

Detroit. The winter of 1781-82 was a hard one on the exiled Moravians and early in the spring a party of them returned to the towns of Ghadenhutten and Salem to harvest the corn left ungathered the previous fall. While engaged in this work, a band of some eighty or ninty militiamen under Colonel David Williamson stealthily captured and deliberately murdered ninety-six men, women and children, thus perpetrating one of the most pitiable and atrocious crimes of frontier history. Williamson's party was composed largely of the brutal and ruffianly frontier bordermen and their atrocious deed caused a storm of protests from the better class along the border.

On May 25th, 1782, an expedition of some five hundred Americans set out from the Mingo Bottoms under the leadership of Colonel William Crawford to chastise the Indians of the Sandusky plains who had been harassing the borders. Hearing of this, the commandant of Detroit sent Captain Caldwell with a troop of Rangers and Colonel McKee with some Canadians to intercept the Americans. The Indians, comprising many doughty warriors of the Delawares, Wyandots and Shawanese, met the Americans in a grove near Upper Sandusky on June 4th. Crawford dislodged the advance party from the timber. The Indians

Crawford's Expedition.

then took a sheltered position in the low grassy ground which surrounded the grove and were reenforced on the 5th by other tribes and the Rangers. The fight was continued and the Americans held their position throughout the day but were forced to retreat under cover of the night with a loss in killed, wounded and captured of some one hundred and fifty men. Colonel Crawford was captured, and on the following day Colonel Williamson drove back the pursuing savages in a rain storm. The Indians, still smarting under the cowardly and inhuman massacre of their Moravian brethren, wreaked vengence on Colonel Crawford in lieu of Williamson, the real offender, by burning him at the stake. Simon Girty was with the savages and witnessed this, one of the most revolting tortures in the annals of Indian warfare. Crawford was a friend and compatriot of Washington during the Revolution and was highly esteemed by his people.

Crawford Burned.

In August, 1782 Simon Girty was sent from Detroit with Caldwell and a party of Indians and militia against Bryant's station near the upper Kentucky river. Failing to take this place they were pursued by a force of Kentuckians whom they defeated in a hard fight at the Blue Licks. The Americans lost seventy men in this engagement and the Cana-

Battle of Blue Licks.

dians only seven. Aroused at this raid a thousand riflemen assembled under Clark and desolated the Miami Valley. They destroyed an Indian town on the the present site of Piqua, Ohio, also Upper Piqua, (Pickawillany) three miles above, and burned Loramie's store fifteen miles beyond at the head of the portage leading to the St. Mary's river. This punishment cooled the ardor of the savages who now began to realize the growing numbers and strength of the Americans. The frontiers of Pennsylvania and western Virginia were still harassed somewhat, but the close of the Revolution soon caused these incursions to abate.

Miami Valley Raided.

After Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the Colonies she still retained possession of the principal lake posts, contrary to the express specifications of the treaty of 1783. To justify this policy she pointed out that the United States had violated certain articles of this treaty referring to the payment of debts due British subjects and had even permitted the confiscation of many of her subjects' estates. The Americans contended that they had done all that they had promised in enforcing these provisions but that difficulty had arisen in trying to get the various states to change their laws to conform to the order recently inaugurated.

England Retains Lake Posts.

In the eyes of the mother country the new government was considered somewhat of an experiment and was to be confined, if possible, between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic. The great struggle had bound the colonies together in a common cause but, that being over, they were loosely held by the Articles of Confederation until the adoption of the Constitution in 1787. Moreover, the Lake posts were the receiving stations for the very valuable fur trade and decided points of vantage for equipping the Indians and influencing them against the Americans.

The French had concerned themselves mostly with trade and religious propagandism during their ascendeney and had purchased only small tracts about their posts from the natives. At the peace of 1763 these had been transferred to Great Britain and finally, in 1783, to the United States. Congress, however, regarded all the lands north of the Ohio as fofeited on account or hostilities during the Revolution and by virtue of the British cession. Peace was accordingly granted to the Indians and their bounds fixed without further purchase of lands.

Policy of Congress.

In October, 1784, the Six Nations held a treaty with the United States at Fort Stanwix (Rome, N. Y.) These powerful tribes had aided the British materially during the recent war but had

been somewhat weakened by the expedition of General Sullivan against them in 1779. Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee represented the new Government in the negotiations, while Cornplanter and Red Jacket took the chief part on behalf of the Indians. The latter desired to have a general council in which the principal tribes living northwest of the Ohio might participate but the Government desired to deal directly with the Six Nations who had most actively aided the British in the late war. Red Jacket urged the assembled tribes with great spirit and eloquence to continue to fight the Americans. The saner counsel of the older chiefs finally prevailed, however, and a treaty was signed establishing peace with the hostile nations and securing them in the possession of the lands then actually occupied by them in return for the release of all prisoners then in their possession and the relinquishment of all claim to the country west of an irregular line beginning near Niagara, extending to the intersection of the western boundry of Pennsylvania by the Ohio river, thence down that river.

Second Treaty at Ft. Stanwix.

Red Jacket was dissatisfied with the terms of this compact and continued to spread disaffection among his tribesmen. Chief Brant, who was absent in Canada at the time of the treaty, was

highly displeased when he heard some of its provisions. This courageous chief cherished the plan of forming a grand confederacy of all the prominent Northwestern tribes, together with the Six Nations, probably expecting to be made the Great Chief of the united tribes. For this purpose he now went here and there in the upper lake region and held councils with the tribes. Late in 1785 he made a trip to England, partly with the purpose, no doubt, of sounding that government concerning its attitude in case of a general uprising of the confederated tribes. He bore a captains commission in the British army and, being intelligent, tactful and refined, was received with marked favor by the people whose government he had so zealously served. From this time until the end of the Indian wars he played an important part in leading and influencing his people.

Brant Protests.

In January, 1785, a treaty was held at Ft. Mc Intosh, (Beaver, Pa.) with the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa and Ottawa nations, at which these Indians agreed to relinquish their claim to the lands lying east of the Cuyahoga river and south of a line running near the fortieth paralell to Loramie's Store on the headwaters of tbe Miami, together with small tracts about Detroit and Michilimackinac,

Treaty of Fort McIntosh.

some 30,000,000 acres in all. These tribes, however, were to retain their right of hunting as far south as the Ohio river. With some modifications this treaty was the basis of later negotiations with the new government.

At Fort Finney (mouth of the Great Miami) the United States held a treaty with the Shawanese, Delawares and .Wyandots in January, 1786. The Shawanese agreed to confine themselves between the Great Miami and Wabash but paid small attention to carrying out its provisions. A very bad spirit was manifested at this treaty and the Wabash tribes, whose presence was especially desired, absented themselves, probably being influenced by the British agents. The remoter Indians, however did not cease their depredations. Two expeditions were accordingly sent against them; one in command of General Clark against the towns of the Wabash; the other, under Colonel Logan, against the Shawanese between the Miami and Scioto rivers. On account of the delay in the arrival of provisions, the discontent of the soldiers, and the desertion of a large body of troops, Clark's expedition was abandoned. Logan, however, destroyed several towns, a lot of corn, and killed and coptured some of the enemy.

Treaty of Fort Finney.

In December 1786 a grand council of the tribes

was held near the mouth of the Detroit river. Together they formulated an address to Congress expressing surprise that they had not been considered in the treaty of peace with Great Britain; stated their desire for continued peace provided the United States did not encroach upon their lands beyond the Ohio; and recommended that the Government make no treaties with separate Indian tribes or nations, but with the Confederation alone. This was the grand ultimatum delivered to the United States by the Confederated Tribes prior to the general war that came later and it shows the true points of contention between the Indians and the new government. Great Britain, through her Indian Agent, John Johnson, kept in close touch with the movements of her former allies and took advantage of every rupture with the new government to show her continued friendly attitude toward them.

Grand Council of N. W. Tribes.

During the course of the Revolution, Congress offered grants of land to volunteers in the American service, but Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut claimed portions of the West by virtue of their old Colonial Charters, and purchase from the Indians.

After the close of the war and the reawakened interest in the western country. Congress decided

to open up these western lands for settlement, but was confronted by the conflicting claims of these states. The old Colonial charters, given when the extent of North America was unknown, extended the grants of land "from sea to sea." The Crown, however, claimed the country between the Alleghanies and Mississippi after the French and Indian War, and the United States after the Revolution, by virtue of conquest. Maryland, and other states having no western claims, contended that all such claims should be ceded to the United States Government for the general welfare. A lengthy controversy ensued which threatened the stability of the Confederation, but the whole matter was settled satisfactorily in 1786 when Connecticut followed the example of the other states interested and completed the cession of these western claims, excepting a tract between the 41st paralell and Lake Erie, reserved by this state, and one between the Scioto and the Little Miami rivers, reserved by Virginia for her soldiers, together with a small tract at the falls of the Ohio.

Colonies Cede Western Claims.

In 1787, while the last Congress under the Articles of Confederation was in session, a petition was presented by Dr. Manasseh Cutler in behalf of a company of New Englanders, organized to purchase lands and make a settlement north and

west of the Ohio. In the meantime the famous "Ordinance of 1787," one of the wisest and farthest reaching charters ever given to any people, was passed. It provided for the organization and government of the "Territory Northwest of the river Ohio." Among its wise provisions were, the prohibtion of slavery; the promotion of education, morality and religion; and the formation of not less than three, nor more than five states, as conditions suggested.

Ordinance of 1787.

The grant of land asked for was made to the New England Company, and soon afterward John Cleves Symmes negotiated for the purchase of land between the Little and Great Miami rivers. In 1788 emigrants floated down the Ohio from Pittsburg to the mouth of the Muskingum and founded Marietta, which became the captital of the new country. Thus the initial step was taken and from this time a steady flow of emigration set in. In a few years Gallipolis, Manchester, Columbia and Fort Washington (Cincinnati) dotted the northern shore of the Ohio, and the soldiers of the Revolution, whose fortunes had been lost in the struggle for freedom found a new home.

Marietta Founded.

Thus was inaugurated a new era in the old Northwest. New forces were being set in motion which were destined to change the current of the

ancient order and set up in the matchless forests and sacred hunting grounds of this western country a new and better civilization. With Fort Washington as a base the new government was about to engage in a series of hazardous conflicts with a savage foe, goaded on and assisted by the subtle agents of the British at Detroit.

Only time could tell whether the Anglo-Saxon settlers were to be confined east of the mountains or spread indefinitely to the far west. The great White Chief at Washington desired peace, but was schooled in the art of war, and directed a free, hardy and vigorous constituency who would brook no interference from a vanquished adversary without severe and protracted resistance. The battle-fields of the Revolution had schooled a host of warriors who knew how to reckon with a stalwart foe and these were to show their mettle on many a new field of conflict.

ME-SHE-KUN-NO-QUO, or LITTLE TURTLE,
Great Chief of the Miamis.

II.

THE TRIBES PROTEST.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR was appointed Governor of the new Northwest Territory July 13th, 1788, and immediately became actively engaged in the great work entrusted to him. A Scotchman by birth, he had emigrated to North America in 1755 and rendered valuable service with the British during the French and Indian War. Settling in Pennsylvania, he espoused the cause of the Colonies during the course of the Revolution and was prominently engaged at Three Rivers, Trenton, Princeton, Hubbardstown and Ticonderoga. Washington and La Fayette were his warm friends and a large and prominent circle enjoyed his polished attainments. His adopted country appreciated his loyal service and distinguished talents, and in 1786 he was elected President of Congress. Thus equipped he was soon to receive even greater honors and direct the energies of an expanding people. On Jan. 9th, 1789, Gov. St. Clair concluded two separate treaties of confirmation, one with the Five Nations, the Mohawks excepted; the other with the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas,

St. Clair Appointed Governor.

Treaties at Fort Harmar.

Chippewas, Pottawattomies and Sacs, at Fort Harmar, opposite Marietta, thus counteracting the formation of a grand Indian confederacy which had been agitated by some of the far seeing chiefs of the various tribes. At the grand council of the Northwestern tribes, held on the Maumee in the previous fall, the general sentiment was for peace. The Miamis. Shawanese, and tribes of the Wabash, however, failed to concur and desired to make the Ohio river the final boundary separating them from the Anglo-Saxon invaders. This sentiment was especially strong among the younger warriors who could scarcely be restrained by the wise counsels of the older chiefs.

Early in 1790 Governor St. Clair went to Fort Washington, Vincennes and Kaskaskia to set in motion the new government. This was the signal to the British and Indians to co-operate in opposing the advance of the frontier settlements, and attacks were accordingly commenced. The Wabash tribes became especially aggressive and Major Hamtramck of Vincennes tried to pacify them, but in vain. Hearing of these movements St. Clair hastened to Fort Washington, consulted with General Josiah Harmar commanding the U. S. Infantry, and decided to send an expedition against the hostile tribes. He requested the militia of Western

New Government Inaugurated.

Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky to co-operate with the federal forces and notified the British Commandant at Detroit that the proposed expedition was not directed against any British post but intended solely to punish the Indians who had been attacking the frontiers.

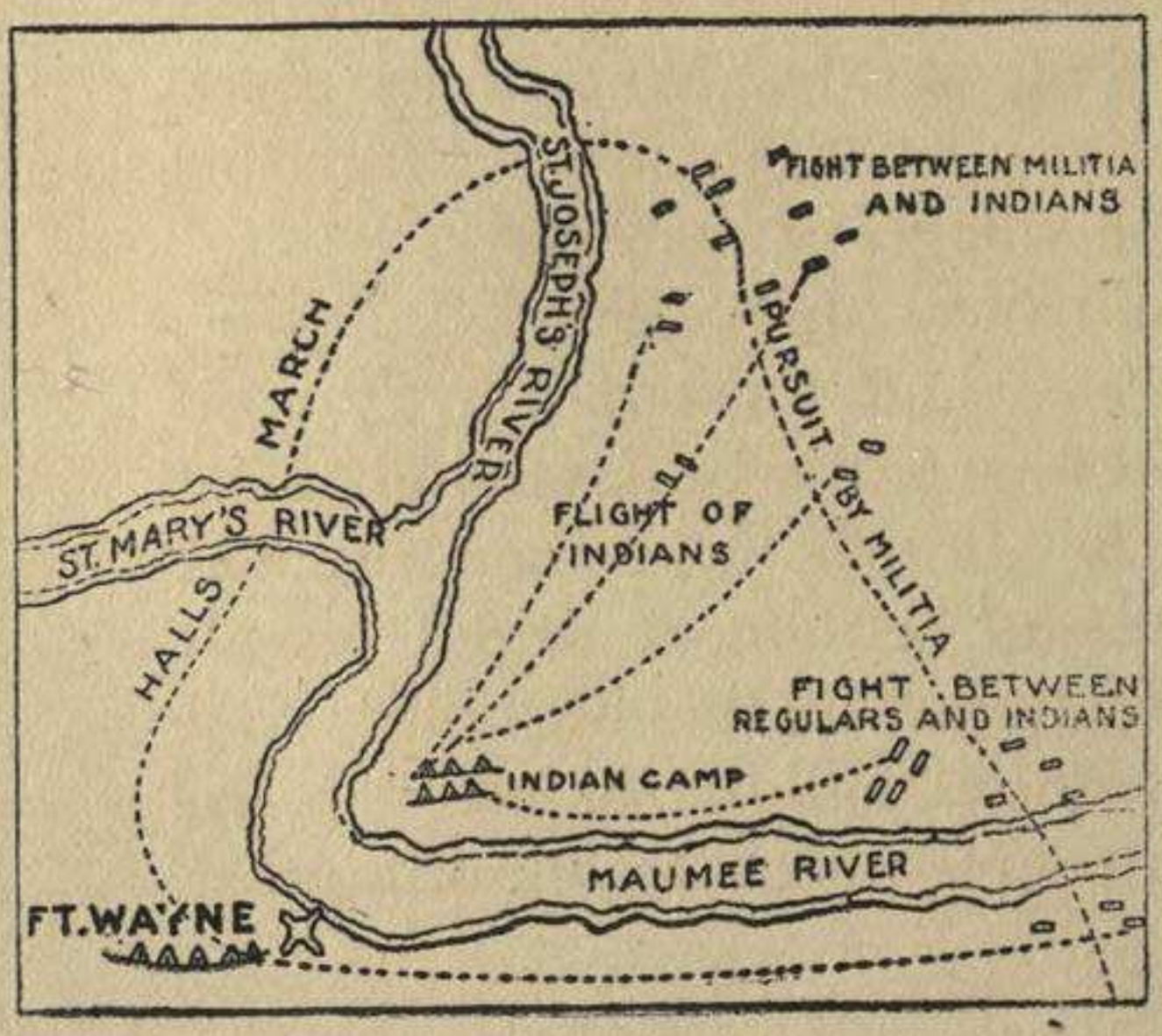
Harmar's Expedition.

A mixed force was assembled at Fort Washington, which, when ready to move, was composed of three battalions of Kentucky militia, one battalion of Pennsylvania militia, and one battalion of mounted riflemen, together with two battalions of regulars and a company of artillery. The entire force numbered fourteen hundred and fifty-three including many boys and infirm men unfit for the hard service before them. This army, being hastily assembled, was necessarily poorly equipped and disciplined, and as usual, where mixed troops are employed, jealously soon arose between the militia and regulars. Harmar was first in command and Colonel John Hardin led the militia, subject to his orders.

The militia advanced on Sept. 26th, and the main army followed on the 30th, taking the trace made by Geo. R. Clark up the Little Miami Valley, passing the sites of Reading, Sharon and Lebanon; crossing Mad river at the old Piqua town (between Dayton, Ohio, and Springfield, Ohio,) proceeding northwesterly and crossing the Great

Miami above the site of Piqua, Ohio; thence to the site of Loramie's Store, across the old Indian and French portage to the St. Mary's (near St. Mary's, O.) and on to the Maumee towns (Fort Wayne, Ind.)

Harmar arrived at the deserted villages on Oct. 17, and seen burned several of them, together with much corn. He then sent out Colonel Trotter, with 300 men, who soon returned reporting the killing of only two Indians. Colonel Hardin was next dispatched with the same detachment, and was ambushed and defeated, with great loss, by the enemy under Little Turtle on the 19th. The army began its return on the 21st, but Major Wyllis was sent back with 400 picked men to surprise the savages on the site of the villages. The forces were divided, Major Hall being sent with some militia to gain the enemy's rear, while the other troops were to engage them in front. This plan miscarried on account of the imprudence of



Harmar's Battlefield.

Hall's militia. The other militia began the attack before the arrival of the regulars. Little Turtle, grasping the opportunity, threw his entire force first against the militia and then against the regulars with disastrous results. The Americans lost 183 killed, including the brave Major Wyllis and several valuable officers.

The shattered and dispirited army now resumed its dreary march toward Fort Washington. Bad feeling developed between Harmar and Hardin on account of the unsatisfactory action of the troops. Both were courtmartialed later and acquitted, but Harmar soon resigned his commission in the army and retired to private life.

The Government, seeing the inefficiency of its first attempt in dealing with the Indians, adopted stronger measures. It was decided to offer peace to the western Indians; to organize expeditions in the west against the villages of the Miamis, Shawanese and Weas, should they refuse to make peace; and to send a large force to build forts and take possession of the enemy's land. The British, who now seemed disposed to a peaceful settlement urged Joseph Brant, the intelligent chief of the Mohawks and moving spirit of the Six Nations, to use his influence among his people for peace, thinking that

Decisive Measures Adopted.

the United States would allow the tribes to retain their possessions along the Maumee.

On the night of Jan. 29th, 1791, a band of savages stealthily massacred a number of New England settlers at Big Bottom blockhose on the Muskingum.

The Government still hoped for peace, however, and in March, sent Col. Thomas Proctor to placate the Senecas and proceed with their friendly chief, Cornplanter, to the council of the Miamis on the Maumee. In April Col. Timothy Pickering was also sent to the Senecas on a like mission.

Soon after Harmar's expedition the frontier settlements of western Pennsylvania and along the Ohio river were again attacked and terror spread among the people south of the river. It is estimated that the population of the West at this time was between one hundred and fifty and two hundred thousand, scattered in groups; one in southwestern Pennsylvania; two in western Virginia, about Wheeling and the mouth of the Kanawha; and one in Kentucky, below the Licking river. These settlers had poured in from the eastern states as well as from several European countries since the close of the Revolution, being attracted largely by the great fertility of the land and the exceptional busi-

Settlements South of the Ohio.

ness opportunities. For the most part they had floated down the Ohio in crude flat boats, but many had come overland by Boone's celebrated wilderness road. To the hardships of their life in a new and exceedingly rough country were added the terrors of Indian attacks, inspired by the killing, wounding, and capturing of some fifteen hundred men, women, and children since the peace of 1783.

Delegates from several of the exposed counties of Virginia petitioned the governor, and the Legislature of that state authorized him to make temporary provision for the protection of the frontier until the United States Government should take proper steps in the same direction. Chas. Scott was appointed Brigadier General of the militia of Kentucky, then a part of Virginia, and was ordered to raise a volunteer force to co-operate with several companies of rangers from the western counties, and proceed against the Wea villages on the Wabash. The expedition was delayed until May 23rd, 1791, awaiting the return of Proctor, but, hearing nothing from him by that time, Scott crossed the Ohio at the mouth of the Kentucky with eight hundred mounted men and arrived at Ouiatenon, June 1st. Here he found a village of some seventy houses with a number of French inhabitants

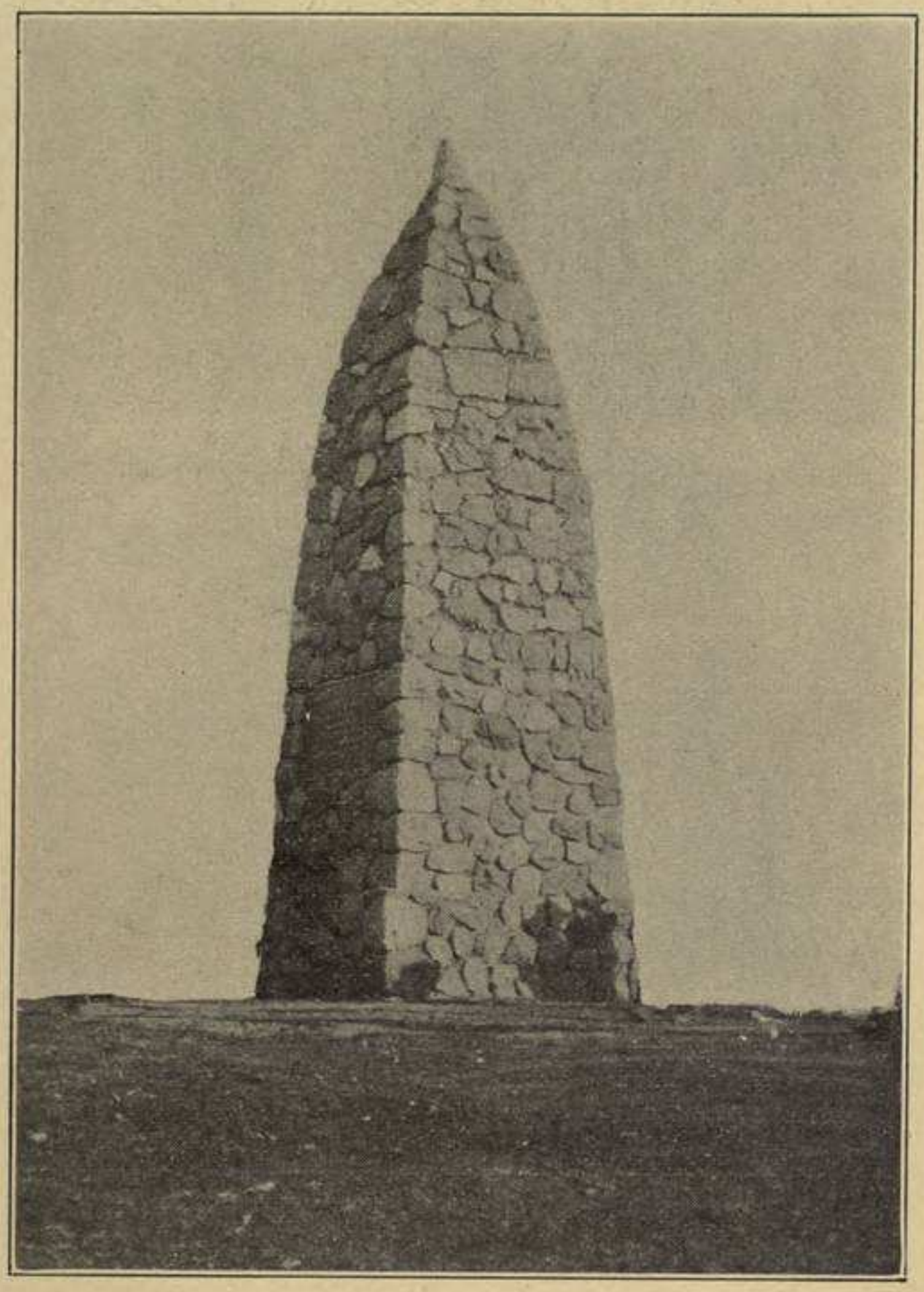
Scott's Expedition.

living in a state of civilzation. The village was burned and a large quantity of corn and household goods destroyed. A detachment was sent on foot against Tippecanoe, the most important village, which it also destroyed. The army returned with several prisoners, reaching the Ohio in twelve days with the loss of only two men.

On Aug. 1st, 1791, Col. Wilkinson was sent against the Indians of the Eel river with a command of 525 mounted men. He encountered much difficulty in his march from Fort Washington on account of the boggy land. Arriving at the mouth of the Eel river he attacked the village located there, killed a few Indians and captured others. Proceeding to Tippecanoe and Ouiatenon the army destroyed the corn which had been planted since Scott's raid. The army reached the Rapids of the Ohio on the 21st, having marched some four hundred and fifty miles.

Wilkinson's Expedition.

The results accomplished by these desultory raids were similar to those of Harmar's expedition and left the savages in an enraged state of mind ready for the intrigues of the British agents of Canada and the lake posts. Col. John Johnson of the British Indian service, especially encouraged the Indians in the idea that the Americans had no valid claim to any of their lands beyond the line



Boulder Memorial on Site of Fort Jefferson
Erected by the Greenville Historical Society, October 24, 1907.

established at the treaty of Fort Stanwix after the French and Indian War. The actions of the Americans in assembling councils in various places for the apparent purpose of making peace and at the same time inviting the Six Nations to espouse their cause against the western tribes added to the confusion and gave the British agents a pretext to renew friendly relations with their old allies.

The American peace commissioners who had been sent out in the spring carried on negotiations with the Six Nations. Col. Pickering held a successful council with all except the Mohawks in June 1791. Col. Proctor and Cornplanter had tried to promote friendly relations with them in the spring, but Brant and Col. Butler, of the Indian service, had previously warned them against the American agents. A long conference was held at Buffalo, but Brant had been sent on to the Council of the Miamis in the meantime and the Indians would do nothing definite in his absence, inasmuch as the sentiment of their people was much divided. The British Commandant at Fort Niagara refused to allow the use of a schooner to carry Proctor, Cornplanter and some friendly warriors across Lake Erie to Sandusky thus defeating the purpose of their mission. While Brant was inflaming the Miamis Proctor returned to Fort Washington

Result of Peace Negotiations.

without having reached them with his message of peace.

The Tribes Confederate.

Little Turtle, chief of the Miamis, a warrior of great intelligence, craft and courage, who led the attack against Harmar and who had great influence among the western tribes, together with Blue Jacket, the great chief of the Shawanese, and Buckongehelas, Chief of the Delawares, formed a confederacy of the northwestern savages to drive the white settlers beyond the Ohio. These chiefs, with the assistance of Simon Girty, Alexander McKee and Matthew Elliott, the renegades, headed a band of warriors whose discipline has probably never been equaled in Indian warfare. Nothing but a decisive blow by a large and well disciplined force could quell the uprising being stirred up by these leaders. Accordingly Governor St. Clair, who had been appointed a Major General in the U. S. army, March 4th, 1791, and placed in chief command of the forces to be employed against the Indians, was instructed to speedily assemble his forces. The object of the main expedition planned by the government was to establish a post at the Miami (Maumee) village (Ft. Wayne) for the purpose of awing and curbing the Indians in that region, and preventing future hostilities. This village had been the seat

St. Clair Prepares For Action.

of the powerful Miami nation from time immemorial and it was called by Little Turtle at the treaty of Greeneville, "That glorious gate through which all the good words of our chiefs had to pass from the north to the south and from the east to the west." The troops were to consist of two small regiments of regular infantry, two regiments of levies and 300 or 400 Kentucky militia. "The mounted men were to receive two-thirds of a dollar per day and to be under command of their own officers, while footmen were to receive three dollars per month and be subject io military law. It proved a difficult task to preserve harmony among the regulars and volunteers, as the latter would scarcely submit either to the discipline of the army, or to the slow movements which one having a road to cut every step he advanced, and forts to build was necessarily subjected to—neither would they labor."

Preparations for the expedition were now pushed vigorously but at a great disadvantage. The Secretary of War was just getting initiated in a newly created office and suffered for want of adequate equipment. Maj. Gen. Richard Butler had been placed second in command with orders to remain in Pennsylvania to recruit and forward troops. Two thousand levies were to be raised, marched to Fort Pitt

Obstacles Encountered.

(Pittsburg) in companies as soon as collected; and there receive orders from St. Clair. They could be safely sent in small companies but were held back by Butler to protect the frontiers according to orders from the War Department much to the annoyance of St. Clair, who kept urging that they be sent to Ft. Washington. Mr. Samuel Hogdon had been appointed Quartermaster General of the army and, although zealous, seems to have been totally unfit for the responsibilities of the position. The delay in forwarding troops was also partly due to his failure in furnishing horses, supplies, provisions, and the necessary boats for transportation. St. Clair arrived at Fort Washington on the 15th of May after passing through Lexington to arrange for the forwarding of the Kentucky Militia. Here he found a garrison of but eighty-five men fit for duty. The arms and accoutrements left from Harmar's expedition were in bad condition and the supplies forwarded later by the Quartermaster from time to time were deficient both in quantity and quality. New gun carriages had to be made; the deficiencies of the camp equipage supplied; nearly all of the ammunition had to be made up and a laboratory equipped for this purpose. Musket shells, artillery cartridges, and shells for the Howitzers had to be filled---a tedious and laborious business. Not

only ammunition for the campaign but also for the garrison of 1200 or more for the projected post at the Maumee and intermediate posts must be prepared. Workshops and an armory had to be built and tools constructed. In his report the General said—"A great number of axes, camp-kettles, knapsacks, kegs for the musket cartridges, and spare cannon ball, and boxes of ammunition, had to be made; and cordage of various kinds, and the cartridge boxes to be repaired. Splints for the wounded were to be made of half-jacked leather prepared on the spot. In short, almost every art was going forward, and Fort Washington had as much the appearance of a large manufactory on the inside, as it had of a military post on the outside." To perform all this labor smiths, carpenters, harness-makers, colliers, wheel-wrights, etc., had to be drafted from all that could be found among the troops as they slowly arrived. Considerable cattle and horses for the use of the army had to be cared for and, on August 7th, the country near the fort being eaten off, all the troops that had arrived, except the artificers and a small garrison, advanced about six miles northward to Ludlows's station. On the 1st of September the Secretary of War wrote to St. Clair: "The President enjoins you by every principle that is sacred to stimulate your operations in the highest degree,

and to move as rapidly as the lateness of the season and the nature of the case will possibly admit." The balance of the troops, however, had not yet arrived at the above date but soon came on and joining those at Ludlow's station,

St. Clair Advances.

moved on about twenty miles to the Great Miami river where a fort was built to command the river crossing, to serve as a place for depositing provisions, and to form the first link in the chain of forts projected between Ft. Washington and the Indian villages on the Maumee. St. Clair described this post in the following very interesting manner: "A stockade fifty yards square, with four good bastions, and platforms for cannon in two of them, with barracks for about two hundred men, with some good store houses, etc." * * * "The circuit of that fort is about one thousand feet, through the whole extent of which a trench about three feet deep was dug to set the picquets in, of which it required more than two thousand to enclose it; and it is not trees, taken promis-

Fort Hamilton Built.

cuously, that will answer for picquets, they must be tall and straight and from nine to twelve inches in diameter (for those of a larger size are too unmanageable) of course few trees that are proper are to be found without going over a considerable space of woodland. When

found they are felled, cleared of their branches, and cut into lengths of about twenty feet. They were then carried to the ground and butted, that they might be placed firm and upright in the trench, with the axe or cross-cut saw; some hewing upon them was also necessary, for there are few trees so straight that the sides of them will come in contact when set upright. A thin piece of timber, called a ribband is run round the whole near the top of the picquets, to which every one of them is pinned with a strong pin, without which they would decline from the perpendicular with every blast of the wind, some hanging outwards and some inwards, which would render them in a great measure useless. The earth thrown out of the trench is then returned and strongly rammed to keep the picquets firmly in their places, and a shallower trench is dug outside about three feet distant, to carry off the water and prevent their being moved by the rains; about two thousand picquets are set up inside, one between every two others; the work is then inclosed. But previously, the ground for the site of the fort had to be cleared and two or three hundred yards round it, which was very thickly wooded and was a work of time and labor. (The ground where this fort stands is on the east side of the Miami river, on the first bank; but there is a second bank consid-

erably elevated, within point blank shot, which rendered it necessary to make the picquets, particularly along the land side, of a height sufficient to prevent an enemy seeing into the area, and taking the river in reverse, and a high platform was raised in one of the bastions on the land side to scour the second bank with artillery. Another made with the trunk of trees, and covered with plank, as that was, was raised in one of the bastions towards the river, in order to command the ford, and the river for some distance up and down. Plank was sawed for the platform and the gate, and barracks for one hundred men; a guardroom, two store houses for provisions, and barracks for the officers were constructed within it, and all this was done in about fourteen days, almost entirely by the labor of the men; though some use was made of oxen in drawing the timber, the woods were so thick and encumbered with underwood, it was found to be the most expeditious method to carry it.) This post was named Fort Hamilton.

The main part of the army, consisting of two small regiments of regular infantry, and the levies, about two thousand in all, left this place October 4, and were followed on the 5th by some 350 Kentucky militia. St. Clair, in describing the marching order of the troops, observes: "When the army was in march,

Marching Order of Troops.

it was preceded by a small party of riflemen, with the surveyor, to mark the course of the road; for we had no guides, not a single person being found in the country who had ever been through it, and both the geography and the topography were utterly unknown; the march was, therefore, made up on a compass course, conjectural indeed, but which proved to be sufficiently correct, as it brought us into a large path leading to the Miami towns about twenty miles from them; from that party scouts were sent out to scour the country every way; then followed the road cutters with a party to cover them; then the advanced guard, and after them the army in two columns, with one piece of artillery in front, one in the center, and one in the rear of each. In the space between the two columns marched the remaining artillery, destined for the fort at the Miami towns; then the horses with the tents and provisions, and then the cattle with their proper guard, who were to remove them in case of the enemy appearing. Without the columns, at a distance of about one hundred yards, march the cavalry in file, and without them at the same distance, a party of riflemen, and scouts without them; then followed the rear guard at a proper distance." Roads for the artillery had to be cut through the thick timber nearly all the way and some considerable bridges built.

Progress was necessarily slow and by the 13th, the army had advanced but forty-four miles from Fort Hamilton. Finding a suitable place, a halt was made and the work of erecting another post was entered into. This fort was about one hundred feet square, with four good bastions and was built of logs laid horizontally, the walls forming the outer sides of the soldiers' burracks. It was garrisoned by a small detachment, two pieces of artillery left in it aud given the name Fort Jefferson.

Fort Jefferson Built.

While the work was going on at this place, General Butler, who was second in command, proposed to St. Clair that he be allowed to take one thousand picked men and go to the Maumee villages, and there esteblish the projected post, leaving the commander-in-chief to finish the fort and follow at his leisure. The season was late, and as St. Clair was advanced in years and very much indisposed at times by attacks of the gout, this was proposed, ostensibly, to relieve him and hasten the consummation of the campaign. The general, however, was very disagreeably surprised by the proposition and refused the proffer. Butler seems to have taken offense at the rebuff and grown more reserved in his relations with St. Clair, although the latter thought that his own action was a proper exercise of his power as head of the army.

On the 24th of October the troops marched about six miles, still following the same Indian trail, and camped on the present site of Greenville, Ohio, a creek being in front and a large prairie on the left which afforded excellent forage for the jaded horses. Here the army halted a week awaiting provisions and sending out spies to ascertain the whereabouts of the Indians. On the 30th the march was continued seven miles, the direction changing to twenty-five degrees west of north. On the 31st sixty of tee Kentucky militia deserted, threatening to plunder the second convoy of provisions which was then thought to be within twenty miles on the trail. In order to save the supplies which were necessary for the sustenance of the army, and to prevent further desertions, the whole of the First regiment of regulars, the best organtzed and disciplined part of the army, was detached, and sent back. The quartermaster had failed to start the convoy at the appointed time, however, and this regiment was separated from the main body by a greater distance than anticipated, thus reducing the effective fighting force to about 1,400 men. On November 1 the army halted to allow the road-cutters to get some distance ahead. A few Indians had been observed hanging about the flanks of the army and on the 3d a larger number than usual

GreeneVille is Reached.

Army Camps on Wabash

were noticed. After a hard march through the cold on short rations the army arrived about sunset on that day at a small stream flowing southward, which was supposed to be the St. Mary's branch of the Maumee, but was in fact a branch of the east fork of the Wabash. Here an encampment was made in two lines on a slightly elevated piece of timbered ground with the creek in front and on the right and a ravine on the left. The first line was composed of Butler's, Clark's and Patterson's battalions of levies, and commanded by Gen. Butler. The second consisted of Bedinger's and Gaither's battalions and the Second regiment of regulars commanded by Lieut. Col. Darke, and was about 200 feet to the rear of and parallel with the first. The right flank was protected by the creek; the left by a steep bank, Faulkner's corps and some of the infantry. The militia advanced about a fourth of a mile across the creek bottom and camped on high ground. It had been a hard day's march and was near 8 o'clock before the scanty mess was cooked. The soldiers, tired and worn, were soon sleeping heavily. Capt. Slough of the First battalion of levies was sent out with a small number of picked men with instructions to advance one, two or three miles along the trail in search of Indians. About midnight they returned, with the report

that they had fired on a party of six or seven savages, killing one, and had been passed by a much larger party later going toward the camp. The report, according to Capt. Slough's testimony, was made to Maj. Gen. Butler, who then dismissed him for the night without instructions to inform St. Clair. Col. Oldham of the militia also predicted an attack in the morning. Gen. St. Clair had observed on the afternoon previous that he did not expect an attack yet and in the evening concerted plans with Major Ferguson of the artillery for throwing up a small earthwork, wherein to have deposited the knapsacks and heavy luggage. He then intended to make a forced march to the Maumee village, which he thought to be about fifteen miles, but which was, in fact, some fifty miles distant, as soon as the First regiment came up. He was permitted to do neither, for on the 4th about sunrise, jurst after the regular morning parade, and while the soldiers were preparing breakfast, the swarming savages made a sudden attack on the pickets of the militia across the creek. A few shots were exchanged, but fear seized the Kentuckians, and they rushed pell mell into camp, pursued by a large party of Indians, whooping and yelling fiercely. A volley from the artillery in the front rank drove the latter back to cover but they

Indians Surprise Camp.

soon renewed their fire and gradually encircled the encampment, concealing themselves behind trees, brush and logs and pouring in a galling fire. The soldiers were cramped for room and exposed because of the nature of the ground on which they were encamped and made an easy target for the savages, who were expert marksmen. The main fire was directed against the men at the guns in the center of the encampment and they were driven away again and again with great slaughter. This was kept up for perhaps an hour and a half until nearly every officet of the artillery had been killed or wounded and all the guns silenced. The roar of the artillery and rattle of the muskets of the regulars may have tended to awe the savages, but much ammunition was wasted by the random shooting of the untrained troops. Men were falling in great numbers in all parts of the camp, confusion was spreading, and the Indians, becoming emboldened, swarmed forward to seize the guns. Previously they had flitted from cover to cover under the pall of smoke but now they became more exposed at close quarters. A spirited charge was made against them under Col. Darke and they were driven back across the creek at the point of the bayonet. For want of a sufficient number of riflemen to follow up this charge, they were forced to return and

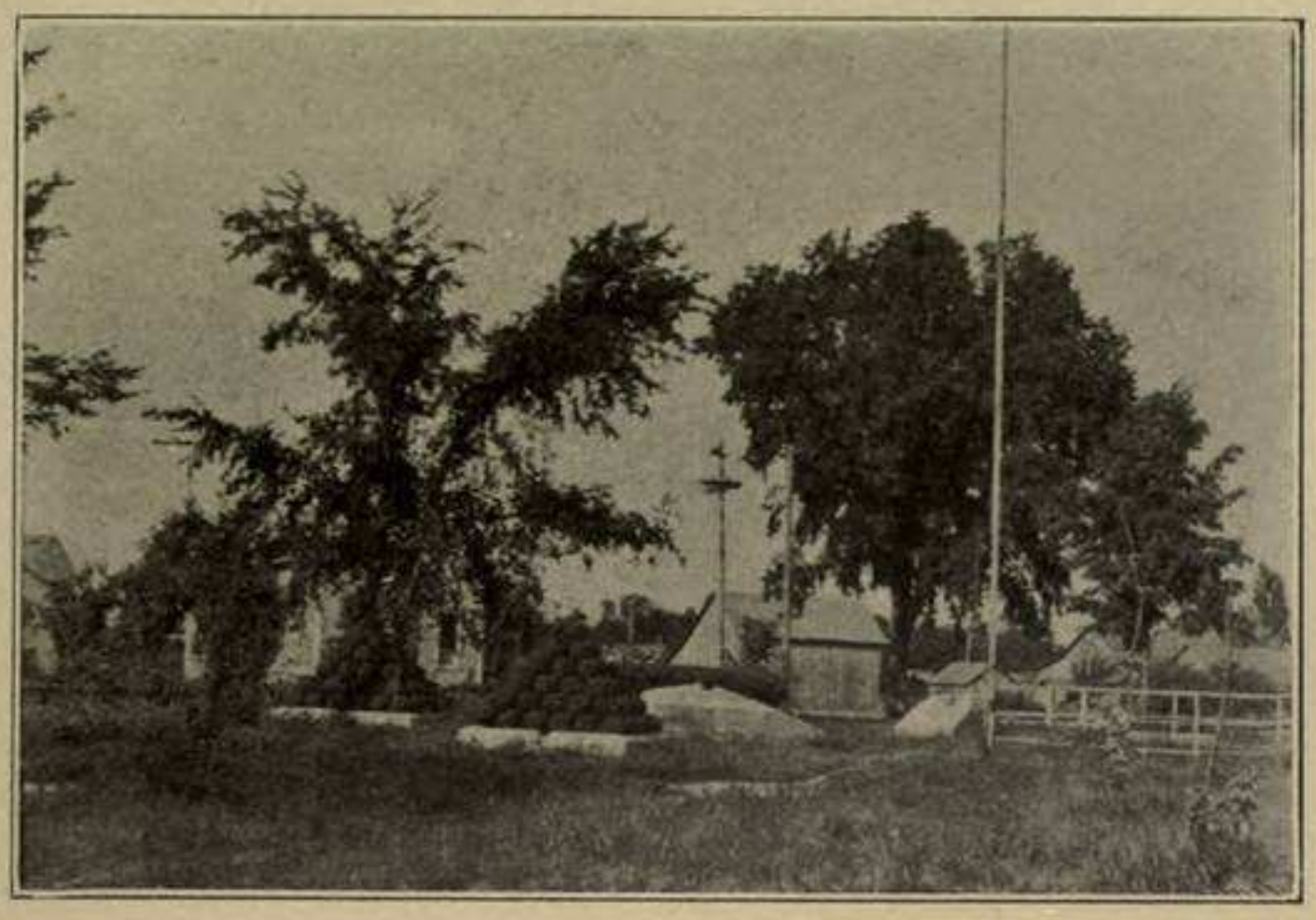
A Spirited Engagement

were gradually followed by the Indians, who pressed forward from tree to tree and soon came into camp on the left flank. Here they met by a spirited charge from the Second regiment, Butler's and Clark's battalions, and pushed back. Again and again was this repeated, but with great loss, especially of the officers who had to expose themselves to rally the raw and undisciplined troops. In these charges Major Butler was dangerously wounded and all the officers of the Second regiment fell except three. Both St. Clair and Butler exhibited great bravery throughout, the former, although indisposed, having had three of his horses killed and eight bullet holes shot through his clothes; the latter, having been mortally wounded, continued to give orders while propped up in the center of the camp. In spite of his advanced age and enfeebled condition St. Clair rode up and down the lines attempting to rally and reasure the fearful troops. The fire was continued nearly three hours until the majority of the officers, and half of the army were either killed or wounded. The soldiers now crowded to the center of the camp, being pressed gradually closer from all sides by the exulting savages. The remnant of the army became stupefied and bewildered and it became necessary to order a retreat. Accordingly, about 9

Americans Routed

o'clock Col. Darke was ordered to make a charge and with a number of the best men made a feint, driving the Indians beyond the road and thus making an opening through which the balance of the troops hurried pell mell with the militia in front. The Indians had been thrown into confusion by the charge, but, discovering its object, soon pursued the straggling army along the trail and harassed the rear for three or four miles. Attracted by the rich booty, however, they soon returned to plunder the camp and kill or torture those of the wounded who had been left on the field. Here a sickening sight presented itself. Huddled in a comparatively small space were piles of the slain on the frozen ground, the silent cannon, the deserted tents and valuable camp equipments all abandoned in the flight for life. While the Indians were securing their plunder, scalping and disfiguring the slain, and gloating over their victims, the routed army continued its retreat and kept throwing away arms and equipments in the panic of fear. Nearly all the horses had been taken or killed and St. Clair, mounted on a slow pack-horse, was unable to reach the front himself and the other officers found it impossible to establish order and check the flight. The rout continued along the road to Fort Jefferson, a distance

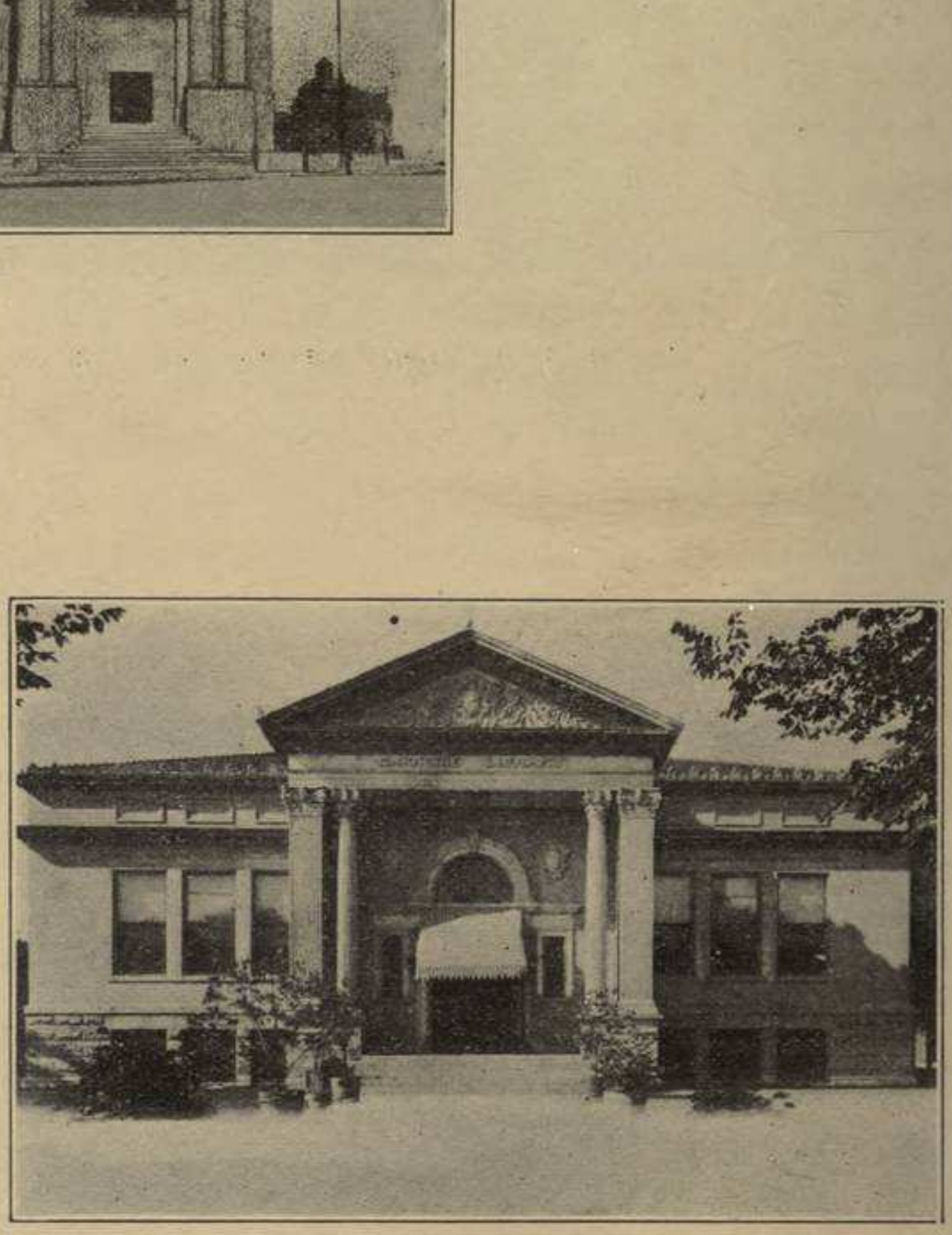
Camp Plundered



Park and Burial Ground at Fort Recovery, Ohio.
The remains of some six hundred of St. Clair's soldiers are buried on this site.

Site of Fort St. Clair, near Eaton, Ohio,
Showing graves of six volunteer soldiers killed on this spot, Nov. 6, 1792.

Soldiers and Sailors Monument
on the site of
Fort Hamilton,
Hamilton, Ohio.



Carnegie Library and Museum, Greenville, Ohio,
Containing a Valuable Collection of the Relics of St. Clair's and
Wayne's Expeditions.

of about thirty miles, where the men arrived just after sunset. Here the First regiment, which had been sent back to intercept the deserters, was met, but in view of the broken condition of the troops, the lack of provisions in the fort, and the strength of the enemy, it was decided to leave the wounded here and continue the march toward Fort Washington on the next morning with the prospect of meeting a convoy on the way.

The number of Indians, Canadians and half-breeds in this engagement has been variously estimated at from 700 to 2,500 or 3,000, but 1,000 or 1,500 is considered a conservative figure, and the amount of government property either lost or destroyed is put at about $34,000. Little Turtle, chief of the Miamis, was their leader, and was ably assisted by Blue Jacket, Bukongehelas, Black Eagle, and the renegades Simon Girty and Blackstaffe. The warriors had poured in from the Wabash and the far north; and it is even asserted that Captain Brant with one hundred and fifty select Mohawk warriors took part in this remarkable engagement. Their loss was estimated at about 150 killed and several wounded, but because of their custom of carrying away or concealing the slain it is difficult to ascertain their exact number. The Americans had thirty-nine officers killed and twenty-one

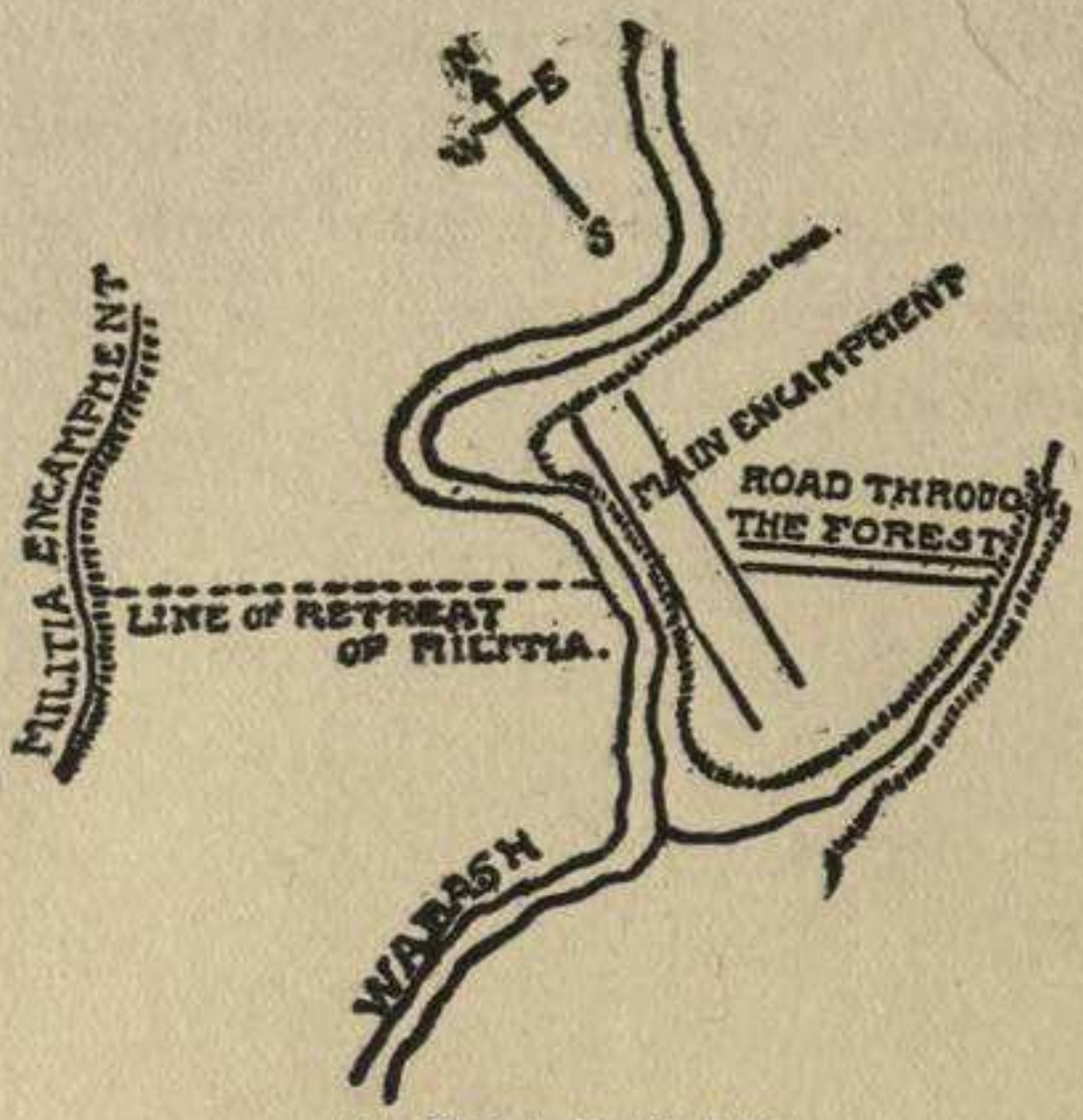
Comparative Losses.

wounded and their entire loss was estimated at 677 killed, including thirty or more women, and 271 wounded. The remarkable number of officers killed bears unmistakable testimony to the bravery and patriotic devotion of these men. The list is as follows: Gen. Richard Butler, Col. Oldham, of the Militia; Majors Ferguson, Hart and Clark; Captains Bradford, Phelan, Kirkwood, Price, Van Swearingen, Tipton, Purdy, Smith, Piatt, Gaither, Crebbs and Newman; Lieutenants Spear, Warren, Boyd, McMath, Burgess, Kelso, Read, Little, Hopper and Likens; Ensigns Cobb, Balch, Chase, Turner, Wilson, Brooks, Beatty and Purdy, besides two quartermasters and two adjutants. Among the wounded were: Col, Sargent (the Adj. General,) Lieut· Col. Gibson, Maj. Thomas Butler and the Viscount Malartie, Aide de Camp to St. Clair.

The new government was experimenting in Indian warfare and had much to learn. Washington recalled Braddock's defeat and had warned St. Clair before departing. The latter sent his aide, Major Denny, with the news of the defeat to the President at Philadelphia. On account of the ice in the Ohio River and the bad condition of roads it took twenty days to reach Wheeling from Fort Washington and ten more to reach the capital. Presi-

President Washington Enraged.

dent Washington received the dispatch while eating dinner, but continued his meal and acted as usual until all the company had gone and his wife had left the room, leaving no one but himself and Secretary, Col. Lear. He now commenced to walk back and forth in silence and after some moments sat down on a sofa. His manner now showed emotion and he exclaimed suddenly: "St. Clair's defeated—routed; the officers nearly all killed, the men by wholesale, the rout complete! too shocking to think of—a surprise in the bargain," Pausing again, rising from the sofa, and walking back and forth, he stopped short and again broke out with great vehemence: "Yes! here on this very spot I took leave of him; I wished him success and honor. 'You have your instructions,' I said, 'from the Secretaty of War: I had a strict eye to them, and will add but one word, beware of a surprise! you know how the Indians fight us! He went off with that as my last solemn warning thrown into his ears. And yet, to suffer that army to be cut to pieces—hacked by a surprise, the very thing I guarded against! "O God! he's worse than a murderer. * * " The President again sat down on the sofa and his anger subsided. At length he said: "This must not go beyond this room." After a while he again spoke in a lower tone; "General St. Clair



St. Clair's Battlefield.

shall have justice. I looked hastily through the dispatches—saw the whole disaster, but not all the particulars. I will hear him without prejudice, he shall have full justice." A committee of the House of Representatives investigated the cause of St. Clair's defeat and acquitted him with honor because of the stupendous obstacles encountered in forwarding the expedition and the marked courage shown by St. Clair and the officers during the terrible engagement. St. Clair retained the confidence of Washingion to the last and continued to serve as Governor of the new territory until the admission of Ohio as a State in 1803. He served his country well at his own personal loss and died at Greensburg, Pa., in 1818, at an advanced age and in comparative poverty, having seen the final overthrow of the hostile tribes and the permanent founding of civilization in this matchless region of the Northwest. It has been

proposed by the Ohio State Historical Society to erect a suitable memorial to his memory in the State House grounds at Columbus, and such action deserves the hearty co-operation and approval of all patriotic Americans.

III.

MAD ANTHONY VICTORIOUS.

THE defeat of St. Clair cast a gloom over the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky and along the Ohio, causing immigration to the Northwest Territory to cease abruptly. The tribes did not seem immediately disposed to make a united stand but predatory bands lurked about the stations and attacked the scattered settlements north of the Ohio.

President Washington sincerely desired peace and early in 1792 made overtures and took proper steps to make the friendly disposition of his government known to the sulking savages. In response to his urgent invitation fifty warriors, representing the Six Nations, came to Philadelphia, the new capital, early in March. The President and Commissioner Pickering addressed them, setting forth the just and humane disposition of the Americans and urging them to use their potent influence with the western tribes in order to conciliate them and bring about peace without resort to arms. This they promised to do but did not set out for the offended tribes until September.

United States Seeks Peace.

Capt. Alexander Truman, of the First United States Regulars, and Col. John Harding, of the Kentucky Horse, were dispatched to the Miami village (Fort Wayne) by way of Fort Washington. Captain Hendrick, a Stockbridge Indian, and Captain Brant, of the Mohawks, were urged to attend the grand council of the tribes, to be held during the summer on the Maumee, and make known the friendly attitude of the new government with a view to peaceful negotiations.

Brigadier General Rufus Putnam was sent to the Wabash tribes with an exceptional commission. He was given copies of all the treaties which the new government had consummated with various tribes and nations and instructed to convince the Indians that peace is desired, all unjust land claims renounced, to urge the treaty of Fort Harmar as a fair basis of negotiations, insist on the safety of the outposts, and insure the just, liberal and humane co-operation of the government in all matters pertaining to their welfare. Captain Peter Pond and William Steedman were sent out as secret spies, with instructions to mingle with the tribes on the Maumee and Wabash in the guise of traders, ascertain their views and intentions, and, if practicable, openly announce the peaceable and benevolent intentions of the Great Father at Philadelphia.

The well laid plans of the new government were doomed to miscarry. The spies were intercepted at Niagara; Truman and Hardin were treacherously murdered. Brant arrived at his destination after the council had broken up, and Hendrick yielded to the wiles of the British agent, McKee, and failed to attend the council.

Putnam, however, proceeded to Fort Washington, where he met the Commandant Brigadier General James Wilkinson, who reported that a band of Indians had made an attack upon a body of men near Fort Jefferson, capturing and killing sixteen of the latter. The murder of four other whites was reported and Putnam hastened to Vincennes accompanied by Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary. Here he concluded a treaty with the Wabash and Illinois tribes on September 27th, which, however, was not ratified by the Senate because it provided that the tribes should retain all the lands to which they had a just claim.

In October, 1792, a grand council was held at Grand Glaize (Defiance, Ohio). It was attended by the chiefs of all the Northwestern tribes, about fifty chiefs of the Six Nations, besides many from remoter tribes. As usual, the Shawanese chiefs clamored for war and then requested an explanation of the instructions of Congress. Red Jacket, on behalf of the

Grand Couucil Of Tribes.

Boulder Memorial With Bronze Tablet
Placed by the Greenville Historical Society
August 3, 1906.

Six Nations, plead for peace and reminded the Shawanese that the Indians had sold all of their lands lying east of the Ohio to the British, and that they had assisted the latter during the Revolution, at the termination of which the States took possession of all the lands which the English had formerly taken from the French. The Shawanese then recalled St. Clair's expedition and defeat; stated that peace messengers, who had fell by the way, had been sent by this bloody road, and that, consequently, the voice of peace must now pass through the Six Nations. They consented to treat with the President early in the following spring and to lay aside the tomahawk until they should hear from him through the Six Nations. The latter promptly informed the President of these proceedings and urged him to send suitable men to the coming council and to forward a message to the western tribes without delay.

The armistice agreed upon was not kept, for, on November 6th, 1792, a large party of Indians furiously attacked a detachment of mounted Kentucky volunteers, encamping near Fort St. Clair (Eaton, Ohio,) a post recently established between Forts Hamilton and Jefferson, to assist in the transportation of forage and supplies to the latter post. A desperate conflict followed in which the Indians

Attack Near Fort St. Clair.

were severely punished and the Americans lost ten men, six being killed and four missing, besides five wounded. The enemy lost a similar number, but carried off most of the horses belonging to the detachment.

In spite of these hostile demonstrations the government still confidently hoped to establish peace, and for this purpose sent General Benjamin Lincoln, Beverly, Randolph and Timothy Pickering to meet the tribes at the Maumee rapids early next spring. They were instructed to insist on the provisions of the treaty of Fort Harmar, demand the relinquishment of certain posts established beyond the stated boundary, and agree to pay to the several tribes proportionately the sum of fifty thousand dollars, besides ten thousand dollars annually forever in case an amicable agreement should be reached,

Proceeding to Niagara in May, 1793, the commissioners were detained until late in June, when they embarked for the Detroit river to await the meeting of the Indians. They were again detained at Erie by contrary winds, and on July 5th Colonel Butler, of the British Indian service, and Captain Brant, with some fifty Indians, arrived from the Maumee. The latter had been deputized by the assembled tribes to confer with the commissioners in the presence of the Governor of

Upper Canada. Brant stated that the tribes had not assembled at the time and place appointed because of their distrust of the warlike movements of the United States and asked an explanation of the same. He also inquired if the commissioners were properly authorized to establish a new boundary line between the Americans and the Indians.

The commissioners replied that all hostilities had been forbidden until the result of the proposed treaty at Sandusky should be known; that peace was desired and that they were authorized to establish boundaries. They further assured the British agents that they would promptly inform the President of the proceedings and request him to restrain the military commanders, who were at that time actively engaged in strengthening and suppying tthe frontier posts and preparing for contingent hostilities.

Being reassured by the statements of the commissioners Brant agreed to deliver their peaceful message to the chiefs in council on the Maumee and then accompanied them across Lake Erie to the mouth of the Detroit river. From this place the commissioners communicated with the assembled tribes and patiently awaited their reply.

The Indians were suspicious of the warlike preparations of the Americans, of which they kept well informed by runners and spies, and, after

Tribes Deliver Ultimatum.

much serious deliberation and spirited debate, delivered their grand ultimatum through Elliott and Simon Girty, asserting that the tribes had not been properly represented at former treaties, and insisting that the Ohio river must be the final boundary line separating them from the whites, as provided by the treaty of Fort Stanwix.

In answer the commissioners called their attention to the inconsistency of their position in insisting on the first treaty of Fort Stanwix as a basis of final adjustment, inasmuch as several treaties had been held since, at which large tracts of land had been purchased in good faith and later opened for settlement. They stated further that the treaty with Great Britain in 1783 made the boundary run through the center of the Great Lakes, instead of down the Ohio, but that in spite of this fact the Americans were willing to make reasonable concessions in boundaries, give liberal hunting privileges, and deliver annually large quantities of valuable goods suited to the needs of the Indians, provided that the terms could be arranged in a properly called general council.

After much delay, due to the divided sentiment of the tribes, and, no doubt, to the machinations of Elliott, Girty and the British agents, the Indians finally replied that the recent treaties had been

held with a few irresponsible chiefs, representing only part of the tribes, and were, therefore, not binding on the great Confederacy; that the money offered did not appeal to them; that Great Britain had no right to cede their lands to the Americans; that they had already retreated to the last ditch, and that no agreement could be reached unless the Ohio river was made the final boundary between themselves and the United States.

The commissioners replied that it was impossible to concede this unreasonable demand anp thus put an end to the negotiations which had occupied over three months of very precious time.

From the standpoint of the Americans, the second treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1784, and those that followed at Forts McIntosh, Finney and Harmar, were valid and binding, and taken in connection with the offer of further negotiations, seemed reasonable ground for the procedure which followed.

With the exception of the Wyandots, Shawanese, Miamis and Delawares, the tribes seemed mostly disposed toward peace, and it seems very probable that a mutually satisfactory treaty might have been made, but for the continued pressure exerted on the savages by the schemeing British agents from Detroit and Canada.

All hope of agreement being ended the commis-

Peace Negotiations Ended.

sioners returned to Erie and dispatched messengers to the Secretary of War and the new commander of the American forces, informing them concerning the results of their negotiations with the Northwestern tribes.

In order to understand the fears and the final decision of the tribes, it is necessary to take note of the movements of the Americans just prior to and during the peace negotiations. Upon the withdrawal of St. Clair after his defeat, the President recommended Maj. Gen. Anthony Wayne, of Pennsylvania, to succeed him, and

Wayne Succeeds St. Clair.

Congress confirmed the selection. As usual in such cases the appointment caused some dissatisfaction and disgust, especially in Virginia, among the friends of Lee, Morgan, Scott and Darke, who seem to have figured as possible appointees. The sequel of the appointment, however, proved the sagacity of Washington, who had profited by his association and experience with these various officers during the course of the Revolution.

Wayne at the time of his appointment was about forty-seven years of age. He came of old fighting stock and was naturally bold, dashing and courageous. In build he was of medium height, with an inclination to stoutness. His forehead was high and finely formed, his nose slightly

aquiline, his face well proportioned, his hair was dark, his eyes were dark hazel, bright, keen and expressive, giving him, on the whole, a fine and animated expression.

At the outbreak of the Revolution Wayne raised the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment and was commissioned Colonel. During the course of war he attained the rank of Brigadier General, and at its close was brevetted Major General. He served his country well at Three Rivers, Brandywine, Germantown, Valley Forge, Green Springs, Monmouth and Yorktown. His most popular service, however, was at Stony point, a rocky promontory on the Hudson, commanding an important crossing place. On the night of July 15th, 1779, he surprised this place and forced his way into the citadel by a bold bayonet charge, for which he was afterwards familiarly called "Mad Anthony." His experience in fighting Indians was confined to a successful campaign against the Creeks in Georgia after the Revolution.

Army Reorganized.

At about the time of Wayne's appointment Congress decided to thoroughly reorganize the military establishment, increasing the army enlistment to some five thousand men. The organization, when completed, was to consist of one squadron of Cavalry, of four troops; one battalion of artillery, or-

ganized on the same plan, and five regiments of infantry, each of three battalions, as above, with one regiment composed entirely of riflemen. In addition provision was made for the employment of mounted militia and scouts.

No doubt President Washington had a lengthy conference with Wayne before the latter left Philadelphia, in which the peculiar methods of Indian warfare and the exigencies which might arise in fighting in the Western forests, were thoroughly discussed.

Proceeding to Pittsburg in June, 1792, Wayne promptly began to organize his army with a number of the survivors of St. Clair's unfortunate troops as a nucleus. Raw recruits were rapidly enlisted, and, in the winter, these forces were collected near Fort McIntosh (Beaver, Pa.) some twenty miles down the Ohio. Here the troops were thoroughly and rigorously drilled and prepared for the hardships incident to savage warfare.

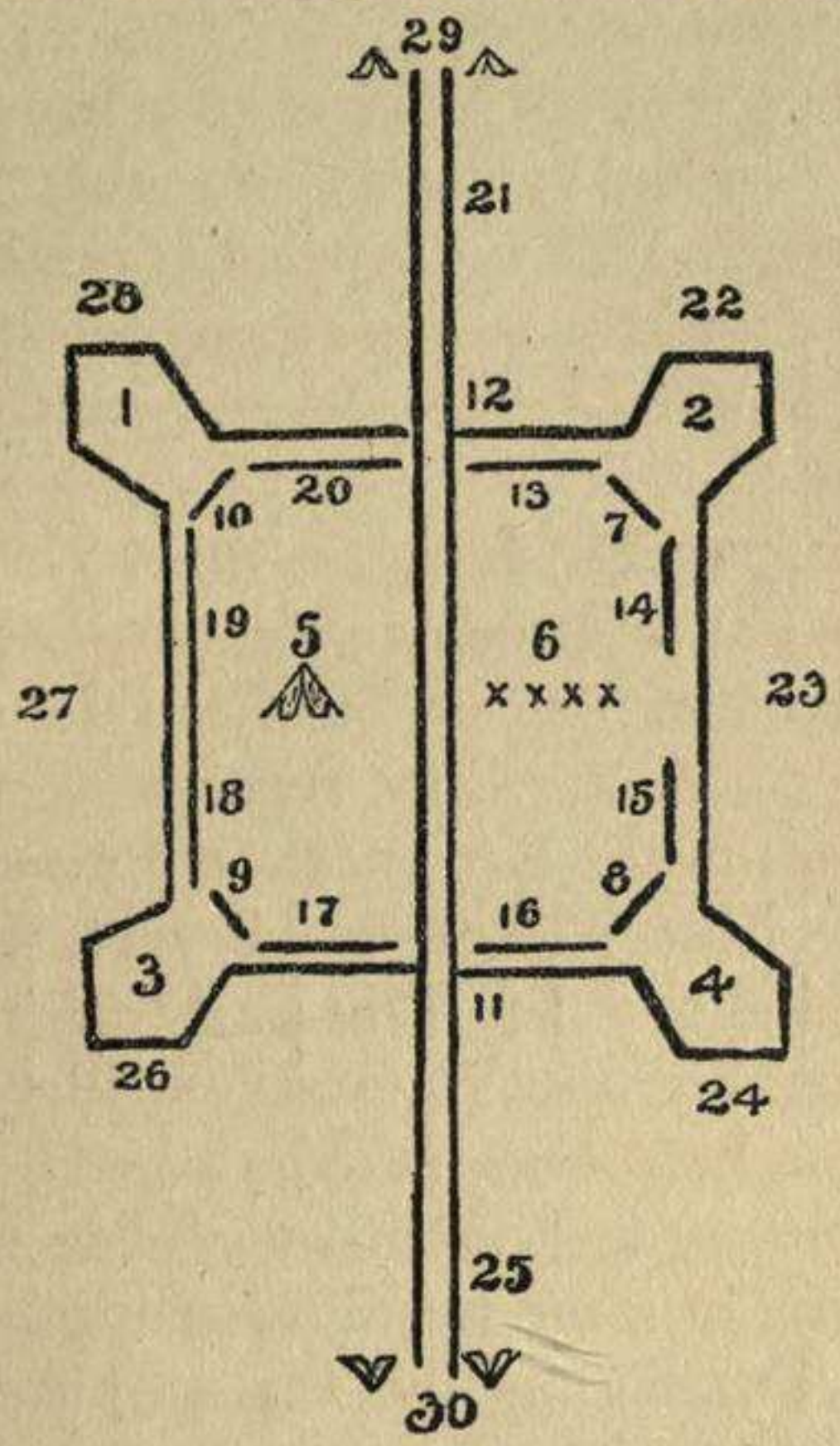
By spring the new commander had a well organized army of some twenty-five hundred troops.

Army Camps at Ft. Washington.

Descending the Ohio in April, 1793, the nfantry and artillery encamed between Fort Washington and Mill Creek, which place was appropriately called Hobson's Choice. The cavalry, composed of one company each of sorrels, greys, bays and chestnuts,

found a more suitable camp for their purpose, south of the river, where they practiced throughout the summer for the coming campaign.

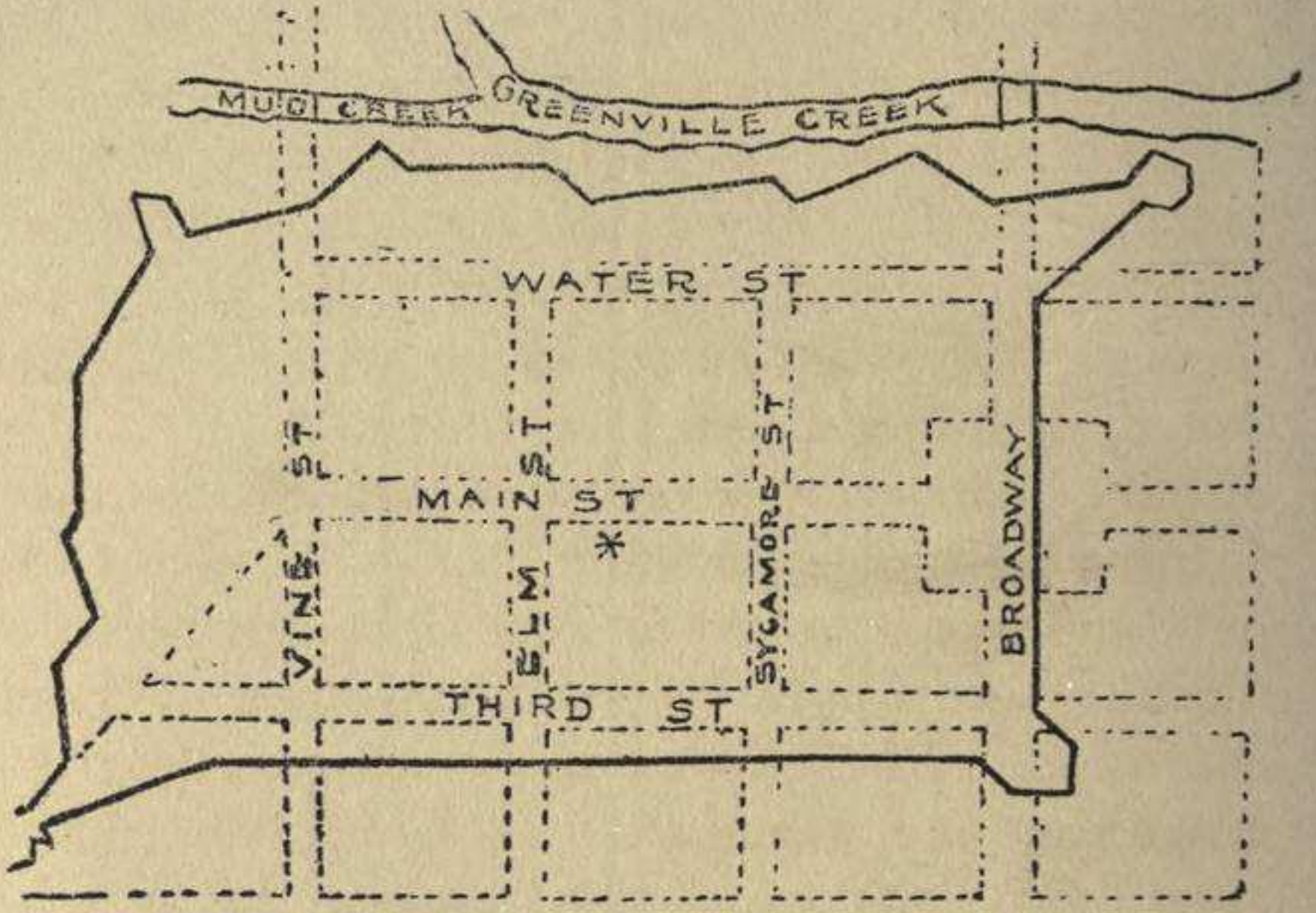
From Fort Washington a military road was cut



PLAN OF WAYNE'S ENCAMPMENT AT GREENEVILLE.

1. Lieut. Massie's Bastion.
2. Lieut. Pope's "
3. Capt. Porter's "
4. Capt. Ford's "
5. Headquarters.
6. Park of Artillery.
7. Second troop of Dragoons.
8. First " " "
9. Fourth " " "
10. Third troop of Dragoons.
11—12. Gateways.
13—14. Third Sub Legion.
15—16. First " "
17—18. Second " "
19—20. Fourth " "
21 to 28. Picket Guards.
29. Advance.
30. Rear Guard.

through the dense wilderness to a branch of the Stillwater (site of Greenville, O.) some six miles in advance of Fort Jefferson; the intermediate posts Hamilton, St. Clair and Jefferson were supplied with large quantities of provisions, and herds of



OUTLINE OF FT. GREENE VILLE,
With reference to the Northern part of the present city of Greenville, Ohio.
*Reputed Site of Wayne's Headquarters.

horses and cattle were gathered beyond the advanced post under the protection of troops.

When Wayne received news of the failure of the negotiations of the commissioners, about September 1st, 1793, he repaired to Fort Washington with the balance of his troops. The quiet condition of the frontier convinced him that the Indi-

ans were at that time gathering in force to oppose his advance to the Maumee. Accordingly he took time by the forelock and decided to advance with the troops then available and fortify the strong position beyond Fort Jefferson, hoping thereby to keep the Indians in check until he might strike with greater assurance of success.

Breaking camp at Fort Washington Wayne marched northward on the seventh of October with a force of twenty-six hundred regulars, thirty-six guides and spies and three hundred and sixty mounted militia. The army advanced in parallel lines with a strong front guard in addition to the usual sentinels, and was arranged in such a manner that a fighting line might be readily formed without confusion. This proved to be an excellent arrangement and was adopted by Gen. Wm. Harrison in his later expeditions against the Northwestern tribes with much success.

Army Advances Northward.

The rate of advancement was about twice that of St. Clair's undisciplined army, and on the thirteenth of October a beautiful high plain on the south bank of the southwest branch of Stillwater was reached, the army now being some eighty miles in advance of Fort Washington and six miles beyond the advanced post, Fort Jefferson. This was the same spot where St. Clair en-

camped two years previously while awaiting the arrival of supplies. For a similar reason Wayne decided to halt and encamp. From this place he wrote the Secretary of War complaining of the difficulty experienced in furnishing a sufficient escort to guard the provision and supply trains from sudden assaults, and, at the same time, keeping a sufficient force in camp to properly sustain his advanced position. He then related the unfortunate experience of one of the convoys, consisting of twenty wagons of grain and one of supplies, which

Indians Attack Convoy.

was attacked on the morning of October 17th, at a place known as "The Forty Foot Leap," about seven miles in advance of Fort St. Clair. The escort was in charge of Lieutenant Lowery, of the Second Sub-Legion, and Ensign Boyd, of the First, and consisted of some ninety men. The attacking savages, far outnumbering the escort, soon drove the latter from the field, with the exception of a small party who offered an obstinate resistance. As the result of this engagement the commanding officers together with thirteen non-commissioned officers and privates were killed and some seventy pack horses either killed or carried off. The wagons and supplies were left standing in the road and were later brought to camp with small loss. This incident caused Wayne to increase and strengthen

the escort recently sent out under Col. Hamtramck and forewarned him, no doubt, of the constant danger which menaced his further progress at that time.

The season being well advanced, and a large number of men on the sick list, Wayne dismissed the Kentucky militia and prepared to go into winter quarters at the place of his encampment. Accordingly a large fortification was constructed overlooking the extensive prairie to the southwest and the creek in front, and was named GreeneVille, in honor of Gen. Nathanael Greene, a fellow officer of Wayne in the Revolution. This post covered some fifty acres and was fortified to resist any attack that the savages and their allies might make against it. The soldiers were quartered in commodius huts, each sheltering six men, and extensive provisions were made for the convenience and comfort of the entire army. Store houses, artificers' shops, mess rooms, officers' headquarters, and a magazine were also erected at suitable places.

Fort Greene-Ville Built.

During the winter Wayne sent a detachment to the site of St. Clair's defeat, twenty-three miles in advance and built Fort Recovery. This post was garrisoned and placed in charge of Captain Alex Gibson. Early in 1794 painted scouts and spies were sent

Fort Recovery Built.

among the savages and kept informed of their movements and designs. The road-cutters were also working in various directions, leaving the Indians in doubt as to the route to be followed in the advance march, because of which they called Wayne "The Black Snake." Early in June it was reported by some Indians captured on the Maumee that probably two thousand warriors of the Chippewas, Wyandots, Shawanese, Tawas, Delawares and Miamis were then collected on the Maumee, and if joined by the Pottawatomies the numbers would be augmented to over three thousand; also, that the British to the number of 400, besides the Detroit Militia, were at the foot of the Maumee Rapids on their way against the Americans. Later it was ascertained that the warriors of seven nations were assembled at Grand Glaize (Defiance,) with the chiefs in council, and that war or peace depended upon the conduct of the British assembled at the rapids. These reports were soon credited, for on June 30th an escort of ninety riflemen and fifty dragoons, commanded by Major McMahon, was attacked by a very numerous body of Indians under the walls of Fort Recovery, followed by a general assault upon the post and garrison in every direction.

Fort Recovery Attacked.

They were soon repulsed with great slaughter, but renewed the attack and

kept up a heavy and constant fire, at a good distance, for the remainder of the day. They again renewed the attack on the following day, but were finally compelled to retreat with disgrace from the same field where they had formerly gained such a signal victory over unfortunate St. Clair. Wayne estimated the number of savages in this engagement at from 1,500 to 2,000. The Americans lost twenty-two officers, including Major McMahon. The Indian loss was much heaver.

Major General Scott, of Kentucky, arrived at GreeneVille on July 26th with 1,600 mounted volunteers. William Lewis and Meriwether Clark, who explored the far west in 1804, were with Scott. The army commenced to advance on the 28th, marching some twelve miles per day. Wayne wished to deceive the enemy and had previously made such demonstrations as would induce the savages to expect his advance by the route of the Miami villages to the left or towards the rapids of the Maumee by the right. Instead he took a circuitous route in a central direction, while their attention was directed to the above points.

Wayne Advances.

On the evening of the 29th the army camped one mile beyond Fort Recovery. On the thirtieth Beaver Swamp was reached and two days were spent for constructing a seventy foot bridge of

logs over this swale. On August 1st the army arrived at the St. Mary's, twenty-four miles beyond Recovery, where a small fort was erected, provisioned, garrisoned and named Fort Adams. Crossing that stream the march was directed towards the Northeast, and on the 7th the "Oglaize Town," on the Auglaize river, was reached. The army reached the junction of that stream with the Maumee on the 8th, some seventy-seven miles beyond Recovery.

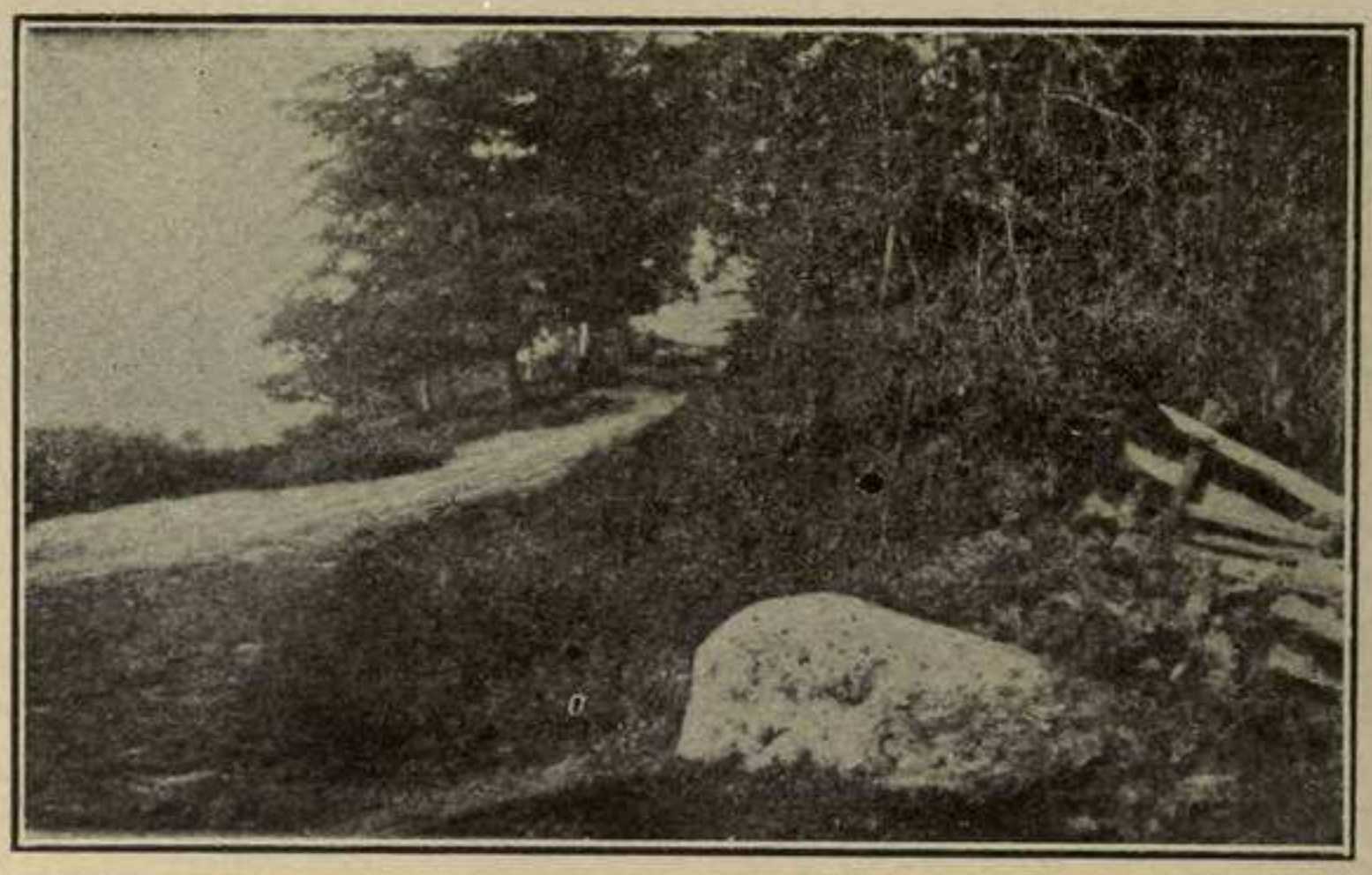
Referring to this spot in his report to the Secretary of War, Wayne says: "Thus, sir, we have gained possession of the grand emporium of the West, without loss of blood. The very extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens show the work of many hands, the margins of those beautiful rivers, the Miamis of the lake, and Au Glaize, appear like one continued village for a number of miles, both above and below this place; nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America, from Canada to Florida."

Here a strong garrison was established and called Fort Defiance. A last overture of peace was now made to the assembled Indians, who thereupon sent word that they would decide for peace or war if the Americans would wait ten days at Grand Glaize (Defiance). Impatient of delay, Wayne moved for-

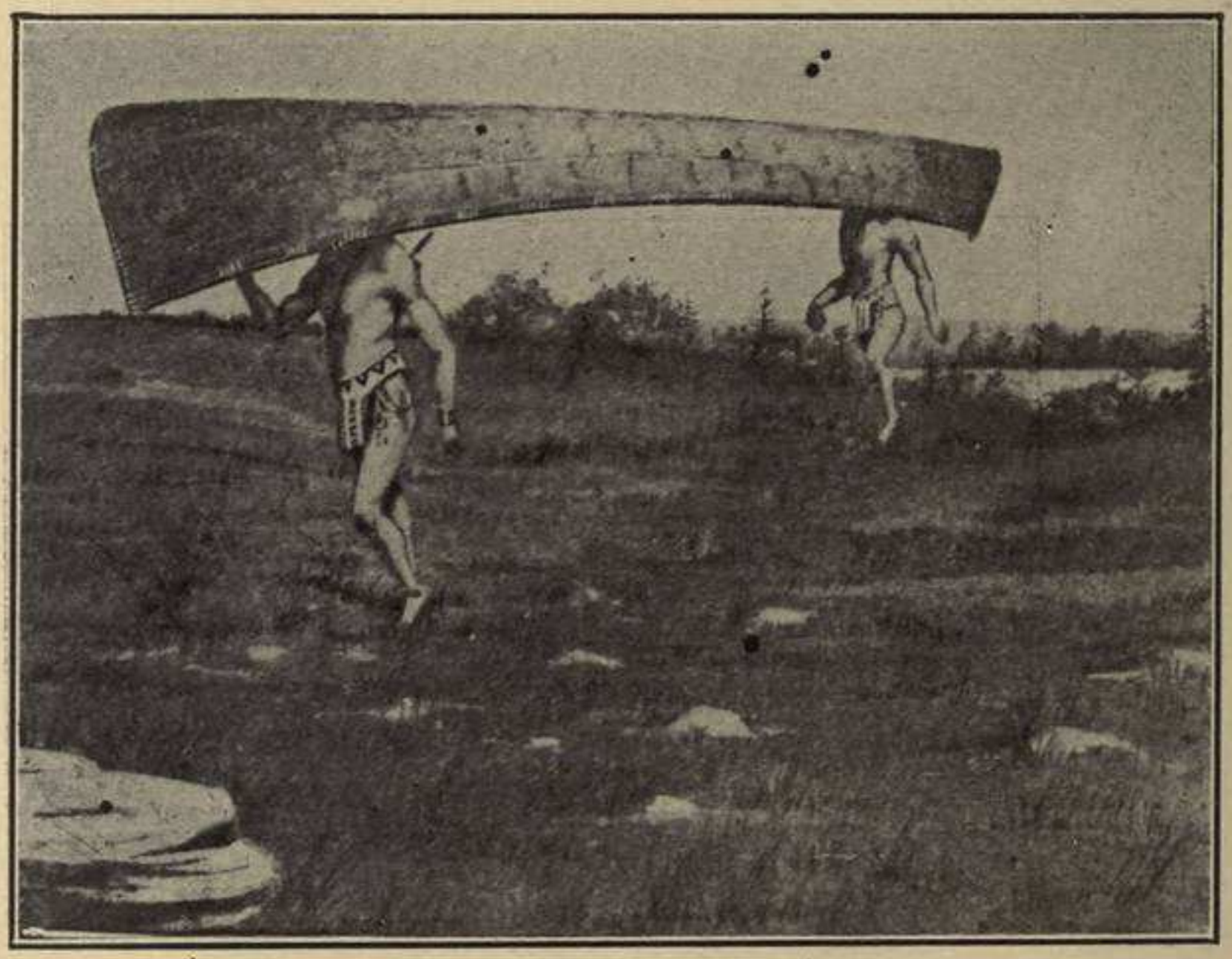
Fort Defiance Built.

Blockhouse Erected on Original Site of Wayne's Burial,
Soldiers and Sailors Home, Erie, Pa.

St. David's Churchyard, Radner, Pa.
F.n. 1 Resting Place of Wayne's Remains.



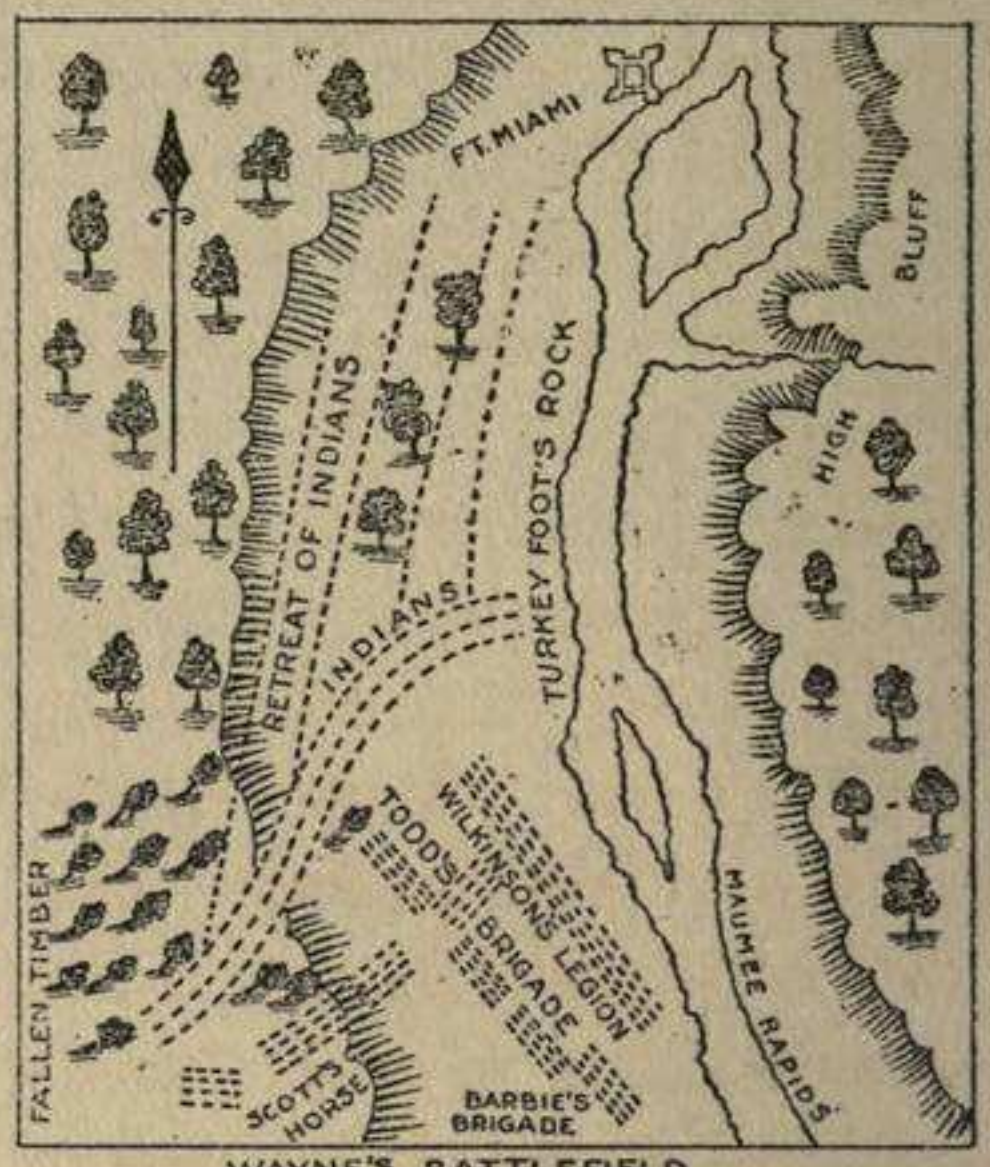
Turkey Foot Rock, Northeast Border of Wayne's Battlefield. Near Maumee, Ohio
(Courtesy Ohio Arch. & Hist. Soc. Pub.)



Ind ans Carry ing a Birch Bark Canoe Across Portage.
(Courtesy Ohio Arch. & Hist. Soc. Pub.)

ward and on August 20th arrived in sight of Fort Miami, the British garrison on the Maumee, 150 miles from GreeneVille, having previously deposited all the heavy baggage and prepared for light action. The enemy were encamped behind the thick, bushy wood and the British fort. Advancing about five miles down the north bank of the river, the front guard of mounted volunteers were suddenly fired upon by the enemy at about 11 o'clock and put to confusion, retreating through the front guard of the regulars. A stand was soon made, however, and the position held until joined by a battalion of riflemen about fifteen minutes later. The Americans immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close thick wood of fallen timber, where the Indians had sought refuge, hoping to find shelter for fighting after their usual manner. The savages were formed in three lines within supporting distance of each other and extending for nearly two miles at right angles with the river. Wayne ordered a charge made by the front line with trailed arms, to rouse the enemy from their coverts. This was to be followed by a well directed fire on the backs of the enemy when aroused, and a brisk charge so as not to give them time to reload. The second line was ordered to support the first, the mounted volunteers directed to turn the

Battle of Fallen Timbers.



WAYNE'S BATTLEFIELD

enemy's right, and the cavalry to turn the left. These orders were all obeyed with spirit and promptness and with such impetuosity that the first line drove the Indians and Canadians from their positions so quickly that the second line could scarcely get up to participate in the action, the enemy being driven in one hour more than two miles through the thick woods by half their numbers. The savages with their allies fled and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving the victorious Americans in full and quiet possession of the field of battle. In this engagement the official loss of the Americans was thirty-three officers and privates killed and 104 wounded. The enemy, who were estimated at from 1,500 to 2,000, probably lost twice the number. The American troops actually engaged in this decisive battle were less than nine hundred.

On the night before the battle, it is said, the Indians held a council to decide what action

should be taken, and Blue Jacket, the chief of the Shawanese, spoke in favor of an engagement, but Little Turtle was inclined to peace. The latter is credited with speaking thus: "We have beaten the enemy twice under separate commanders; we cannot expect the same good fortune always to attend us. The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps; the night and the day are alike to him, and during all the time that he has been marching upon our villages, notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of it. There is something whispers me, it would be prudent to listen to his offers of peace."

Being reproached for cowardice, which was foreign to his nature, he laid aside resentment and took part in the battle, but left the leadership to his opponent. The result proved his sagacity.

After the battle the army encamped near Fort Miami, a post built by order of the British Governor of Canada in 1794 and commanded by Major William Campbell, who was ordered to withdraw and remove to the nearest military post occupied by the British at the peace of 1783. This he refused to do, and Wayne contented himself with burning everything within reach of the fort.

The army returned to Fort Defiance on the 27th after laying waste the villages and cornfields

on both sides of the Maumee along the route.

Referring to this engagement Rufus King said: "The battle at the rapids of the Maumee opened the land for the Ordinance of 1787. Measured by the forces engaged it was not a great one, nor was that which had been fought on the heights of Quebec. But estimated by the difficulties overcome and the consequences which followed, both were momentous. To the bold spirit of Pitt, Earl of Chatham, is due presumably that the people of the Mississippi valley are not to-day Canadian-French. Next in honor with the people of the Northwest, as among their founders, might well be placed the lion-hearted Anthony Wayne, who opened the 'glorious gates of the Ohio' to the tide of civilization so long shut off from its hills and valleys."

Roosevelt says of the Battle of Fallen Timbers: "It was the most complete and important victory ever gained over the Northwestern Indians during the forty years' warfare to which it put an end, and it was the only considerable pitched battle in which they lost more than their foes."

After the return to Defiance this post was greatly strengthened and a road cut along the Maumee to the Indian villages at the confluence of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph, forty-seven miles distant.

The army left Defiance on September 14th and arrived at the villages on the 17th, where it en-

camped until a suitable fort was erected, provisioned, garrisoned and called Fort Wayne. On October 28th the march for GreeneVille was taken up, and the army arrived at that place November 2nd, saluted with twenty-four rounds from a six pounder. Wayne re-established headquarters here and sent out detachments to build forts at Upper Piqua, Loramie's Store, St. Mary's and the old Tawa towns at the head of navigation on the Auglaize. These posts were established for the storage of supplies to facilitate their transportation by water in proper seasons, and also with the view of abandoning the old route and adopting this one, "as the most economical, sure and certain mode of supplying those important posts, at Grand Glaize and the Miami villages, and to facilitate an effective operation towards the Detroit and the Sandusky, should that measure eventually prove necessary;" also to "afford a much better chain for the general protection of the frontiers," etc.

Fort Wayne Built.

IV.

THE GREAT PEACE.

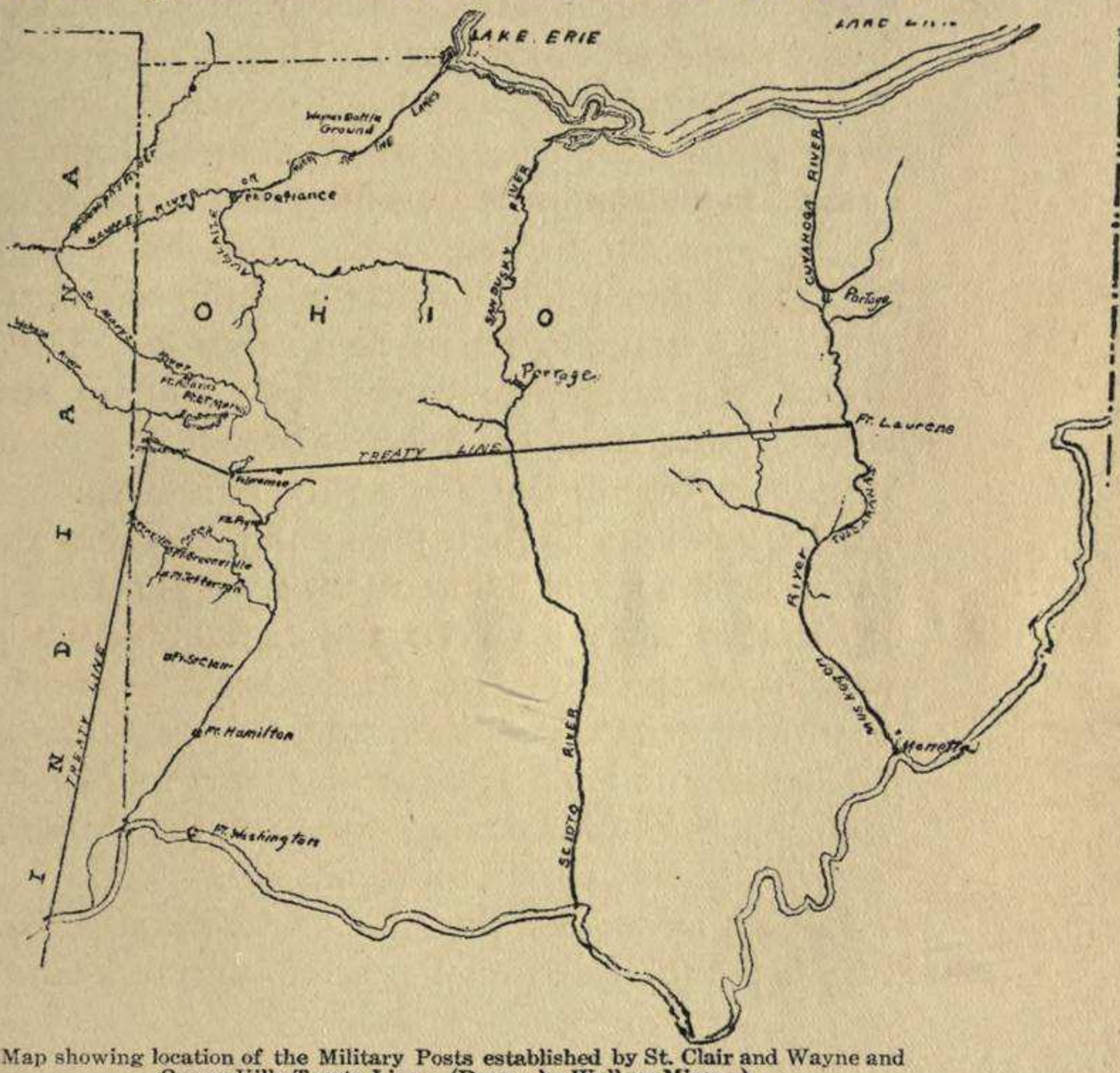
AFTER the battle on the Maumee the Indians of the Northwest still hesitated to seek peace. The British agents, Simcoe, McKee and Brant, stimulated them to continued hostilities. They strengthened Fort Miami, supplied the savages from their magazines, called a council and urged them to propose a truce or suspension of hostilities until spring, in order to deceive the Americans, that they might neglect to keep sufficient troops to retain their position. They advised the savages to convey their land to the King in trust, so as to give the British a pretext for assisting them, and, in case the Americans refused to abandon all their posts and possessions on the west side of the Ohio, to make a general attack and drive them across the river. Notwithstanding all this advice the Indians began to understand their critical condition and to lose faith in the British. Some in despair crossed the Mississippi, but the humane disposition of the Americans finally won their confidence.

British Agents Incite Indians.

Late in December the chiefs of several tribes manifested their desire for peace to the command-

ant at Fort Wayne. Proceeding to GreeneVille representatives of the Chippewas, Ottawas, Sacs, Pottawattomies and Miamis entered, together with the Shawanese, Delawares and Wyandots, into preliminary articles with General Wayne, January 24th, 1795. It was agreed that all the sachems and war chiefs

Preliminary Overtures.



Map showing location of the Military Posts established by St. Clair and Wayne and GreeneVille Treaty Line. (Drawn by Wallace Miesse.)

representing the above nations should meet Wayne at GreeneVille on or about June 15, to consult and conclude such a peace as would be for the interest and satisfaction of both parties. In the meantime hostilities ceased, prisoners were exchanged and the Indians were preparing to meet in June as agreed. The first to arrive were a large number of Delawares, Ottawas, Pottawattomies and Eel River Indians. On June 16th Wayne met these in general council for the first time.

Parkman, the historian, says:

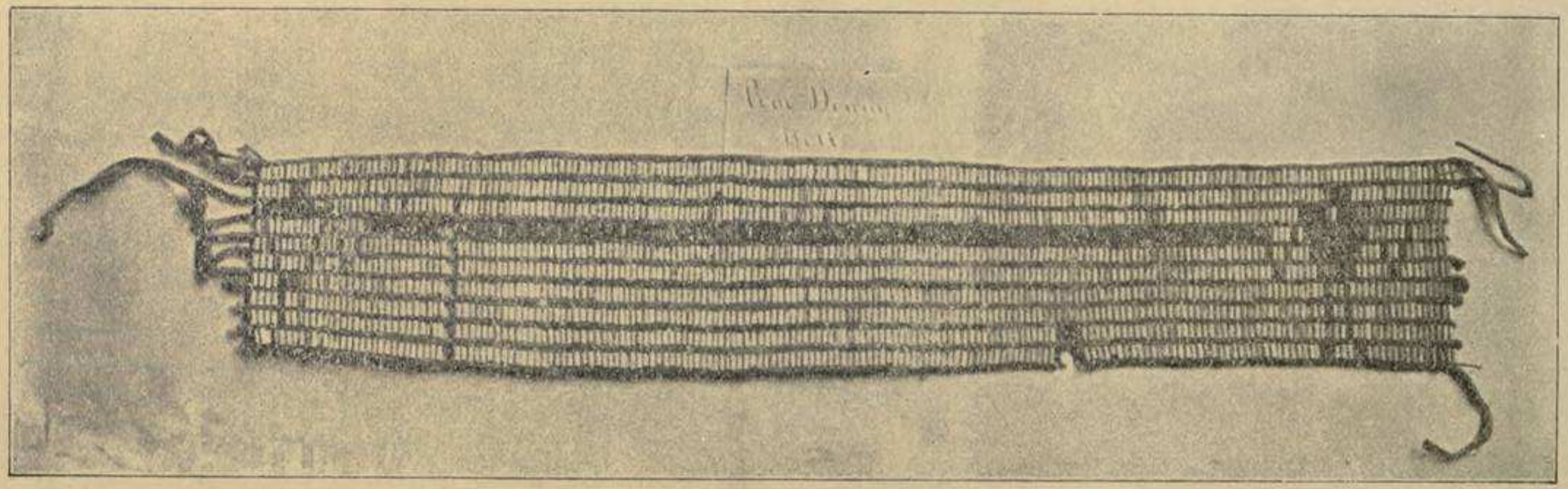
Proceedings at Council.

"An Indian council, on solemn occasions, was always opened with preliminary forms, sufficiently wearisome and tedious, but made indispensable by immemorial custom; for this people are as much bound by conventional usages as most artificial children of civilization. The forms were varied, to some extent, according to the imagination of the speaker; but in all essential respects they were closely similar, throughout the tribes of the Algonquin and Iroquois lineage * * * .

"An Indian orator was provided with a stock of metaphors, which he always made use of for the expression of certain ideas. Thus, to make war was to raise the hatchet; to make peace was to take hold of the chain of friendship; to deliberate was to kindle the council fire; to cover the bones

Greenville Treaty Medal
Presented to White Swan, a Wea Chief, and secured from one of his descendants in Oklahoma by D. B. Dyer, of Augusta, Ga. Now in the Public Museum, Kansas City, Mo.

[Reproduced from "The Indian and the Northwest," by courtesy of C. & N. W. Ry.]



GOVERNOR DENNY WAMPUM BELT,
Made in 1758, showing an Indian and a White Man holding the Chain of Friendship between them. Now owned by the Winnebagoes and valued at $5,000.
[Reproduced from "The Indian and the Northwest," by courtesy of C. & N. W. Ry.]

of the dead was to make reparation and gain forgiveness for the act of killing them. A state of war and disaster was typified by a black cloud; a state of peace by bright sunshine, or by an open path between two nations.

"The orator seldom spoke without careful premeditation of what he was about to say; and his memory was refreshed by belts of wampum, which he delivered after every clause in his harangue, as a pledge of the sincerity and truth of his words. These belts were carefully preserved by the hearers, as a substitute for written records; a use for which they were the better adapted, as they were often in hieroglyphics expressing the meaning they were designed to preserve. Thus, at a treaty of peace, the principal belt often bore the figure of an Indian and a white man holding a chain between them."

Accordingly when addressing the council on June 16th, Wayne first passed around the calumet, to be smoked by the assembled chiefs, after which he said: "I have cleared the ground of all brush and rubbish, and opened roads to the east, to the west, to the north and to the south, that all nations may come in safety and ease to meet me. The ground on which the council house stands is unstained with blood and is as pure as the heart of General Washington, the great chief of America

Wayne Addresses the Chiefs.

and of his great council—as pure as my heart, which wishes for nothing so much as peace and brotherly love. I have this day kindled the council fire of the United States; we will now cover it up and keep it alive until the remainder of the different tribes assemble and form a full meeting and representation. I now deliver to each tribe present a string of white wampum to serve as record of the friendship that is this day commenced between us."

Owing to the great distance of some of the tribes and the difficulty of travelling, also to the interference of the British agents, the Indians kept arriving in small bands from their homes on the Maumee, the Wabash and the Great Lakes. These were the chief men, the scions of many a proud and noted tribe. Some had met in former treaties and had fought the Americans on many a bloody field, many had helped to rout the army of St. Clair in 1791 and all had been defeated on the Maumee. As they arrived they were cordially received and expressed sentiments of peace. On the 15th of July Wayne addressed the council at length, explaining his powers and urging the treaty of Fort Harmar as a basis for lasting peace. Time was given for deliberation and discussion followed on the

Council Assembles.

18th relative to the merits and force of this treaty of which some of the chiefs pleaded ignorance.

On the 20th Wayne read to the assembled warriors the offer of peace sent to them just before the battle on the Maumee. He also read and explained the treaty of Fort Harmar and pointed out a number of chiefs who were present and had signed both that and the previous treaty at Fort McIntosh, and asked them to consider seriously what he had said and make known their thoughts at their next meeting. On the 21st the discussion was continued, several prominent warriors took part, and were followed by Me-she-kun-no-quo, or Little Turtle, the great chief of the Miamis, who claimed ignorance of the lands ceded along the Wabash and expressed surprise that these lands had been ceded by the British to the Americans when the former were beaten by and made peace with the latter. On Wednesday, the 22nd, this tall and crafty warrior made a shrewd and eloquent address before the great council, setting forth in a touching, forceful and statesmanlike manner the claims of his offended nation. Let us imagine this tall and swarthy chieftain stepping majestically to the center of the assembled council. Thoughts of the past power and prestige of his waning nation and the early victories over the advancing Ameri-

Little Turtle Speaks.

cans throng his brain as he casts his eagle eyes toward the blazing July sun and then turns impressively toward his large and picturesque audience. On the one side he beholds the somber, but sympathetic, faces of a hundred bronzed warriors who had figured in every raid and engagement of the tribes throughout the border wars; on the other side he sees the Great Chief who defeated his people on the Maumee, a young aide who will one day lead the victorious Americans against the combined British and Indian foe and finally sit in Washington's chair, besides a motley assembly of officers, interpreters and spies required to properly conduct the important deliberations of the occasion.

On this interesting occasion he arose with dignity and said: "General Wayne! I hope you will pay attention to what I now say to you. I wish to inform you where my younger brothers, the Miamis live, and also the Pottawattomies of St. Joseph, together with the Wabash Indians. You have pointed out to us the boundary line between the Indians and the United States; but I now take the liberty to inform you that that line cuts off from the Indians a large portion of country which has been enjoyed by my forefathers, time immemorial, without molestation or dispute. The prints of my ancestor's houses are everywhere to be seen in this portion. I was a little astonish-

ed at hearing you and my brothers, who are now present, telling each other what business you had transacted together, heretofore, at Muskingum, concerning this country. It is well known that my forefather kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the head-waters of the Scioto; from thence to its mouth, from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago, on Lake Michigan. At this place I first saw my elder brothers, the Shawanese. I have now informed you of the boundaries of the Miami nation, where the Great Spirit placed my forefather a long time ago and charged him not to sell or part with his lands, but to preserve them for his posterity. This charge has been handed down to me. I was much surprised to hear that my brothers differed so much from me on this subject; for their conduct would lead me to suppose that the Great Spirit and their forefathers had not given them the same charge that was given to me; but on the contrary, had directed them to sell their lands to any white man who wore a hat, as soon as he should ask it of them. Now, elder brother, your younger brothers, the Miamis, have pointed out to you their country and also to your brothers present. When I hear your proposals on this subject, I will be ready to give an answer. I came

with an expectation of hearing you say good things, but I have not yet heard what I expected.

"Brothers, the Indians! I expected, in this council that our minds would have been made up, and we should speak with one voice. I am sorry to observe that you are rather unsettled and hasty in your conduct."

After the great chief of the Miamis had spoken, Tar-he, the Wyandot, arose and said that the ground belonged to the Great Spirit above, and that they had an equal right to it; that he always considered the treaty of Muskingum as founded upon the fairest of principles, as being binding upon the Indians and the United States alike; and that peace was now desired by all. During the following days, discussion concerning the boundaries and terms were continued and on the 24th, General Wayne arose and spoke in part as follows:

"Brothers, the Miamis! I have paid attention to what the Little Turtle said, two days since, concerning the lands which he claims. He said his father first kindled the fire at Detroit and stretched his line from thence to the headwaters of the Scioto; thence down the same to the Ohio; thence down that river to the mouth of the Wabash, and from thence to Chicago, on the south-west end of Lake Michigan; and observed that his

forefathers had enjoyed that country undisturbed, from time immemorial.

"Brothers! These boundaries enclose a very large space of country indeed; they embrace, If I mistake not, all the lands on which all the nations now present live, as well as those which have been ceded to the United States. The lands which have been ceded have within these three days been acknowledged by the Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Wyandots, Delawares and Shawanese. The Little Turtle says the prints of his forefathers' houses are everywhere to be seen within these boundaries. Younger brother! It is true these prints are to be observed, but at the same time we discover marks of French possessions throughout this country established long before we were born. These have since been in possession of the British, who must, in their turn, relinquish them to the United States, when they, the French and the Indians, will be all as one people.

"I will point out to you a few places where I discover strong traces of these establishments; and first of all, I find at Detroit, a very strong print, where the fire was first kindled by your forefathers; next at Vincennes on the Wabash; again at Musquiton on the same river; a little higher up on that stream, they are to be seen at Ouiatenon. I discover another strong trace at Chicago, an-

other on the St. Joseph's of Lake Michigan. I have seen quite distinctly the ptints of a French and of a British post at the Miami villages, and of a British post at the foot of the Rapids, now in their possession. Prints, very conspicuous, are on the Great Miami, which were possessed by the French, forty-five years ago; another trace is very distinctly to be seen at Sandusky.

"It appears to me that if the Great Spirit, as you say, charged your forefathers to preserve their lands entire for their posterity, they have paid very little regard to the sacred injunction, for I see they have parted with those lands to your fathers the French, and the English are now, or have been, in possession of them all; therefore, I think the charge urged against the Ottawas, Chippewas and other Indians, comes with bad grace indeed, from the very people who, perhaps, set them the example. The English and French both wore hats; and yet your forefathers sold them, at various times, portions of your lands. However, as I have already observed, you shall now receive from the United States further valuable compensation for the lands you have ceded to them by former treaties.

"Younger brothers! I will now inform you who it was who gave us these lands in the first instance; it was your fathers, the British, who did

not discover that care for your interests which you ought to have experienced. This is the treaty of peace, made between the United States of America and great Britain, twelve years ago, at the end of a long and bloody war, when the French and Americans proved too powerful for the British; on these terms they obtained peace." Here part of the treaty of 1783 was read.

"Here you perceive that all the country south of the Great Lakes has been given up to America; but the United States never intended to take that advantage of you, which the British placed in their hands; they wish you to enjoy your just rights, without interruption, and to promote your happiness. The British stipulated to surrender to us all the posts on this side of the boundary agreed on. I told you some time ago treaties should ever be sacredly fulfilled by those who make them; but the British on their part did not find it convenient to relinquish those posts as soon as they should have done, but a precise period is now fixed for their delivery. I have now in my hand a copy of a treaty, made eight months since, between them and us, of which I will read you a little. (First and second articles of Mr. Jay's treaty read).

"By this solemn agreement they promise to retire from Michilimackinac, Fort St. Clair, Detroit, Niagara and all other places on this side of

the Lakes, in ten moons from this period, and leave the same to the full and quiet possession of the United States.

"Brothers! All nations present, now listen to me!

"Having now explained those matters to you and informed you of all things I judged necessary for your information, we have nothing to do but to bury the hatchet, and draw a veil over past misfortunes. As you have buried our dead, with the concern of brothers, so I now collect the bones of your slain warriors, put them into a deep pit which I have dug, and cover them carefully over with this large belt, there to remain undisturbed. I also dry the tears from your eyes, and wipe the blood from your bodies, with this soft, white linen. No bloody traces will ever lead to the graves of your departed heroes; with this I wipe all such away. I deliver it to your uncle, the Wyandot, who will send it around amongst you. (A large belt, with a white string attached.)

"I now take the hatchet out of your hands, and with a strong arm throw it into the center of the great ocean, where no mortal can ever find it; and I now deliver to you the wide and straight path to the Fifteen Fires, to be used by you and your posterity, forever. So long as you continue to follow this road, so long will you continue to be a happy

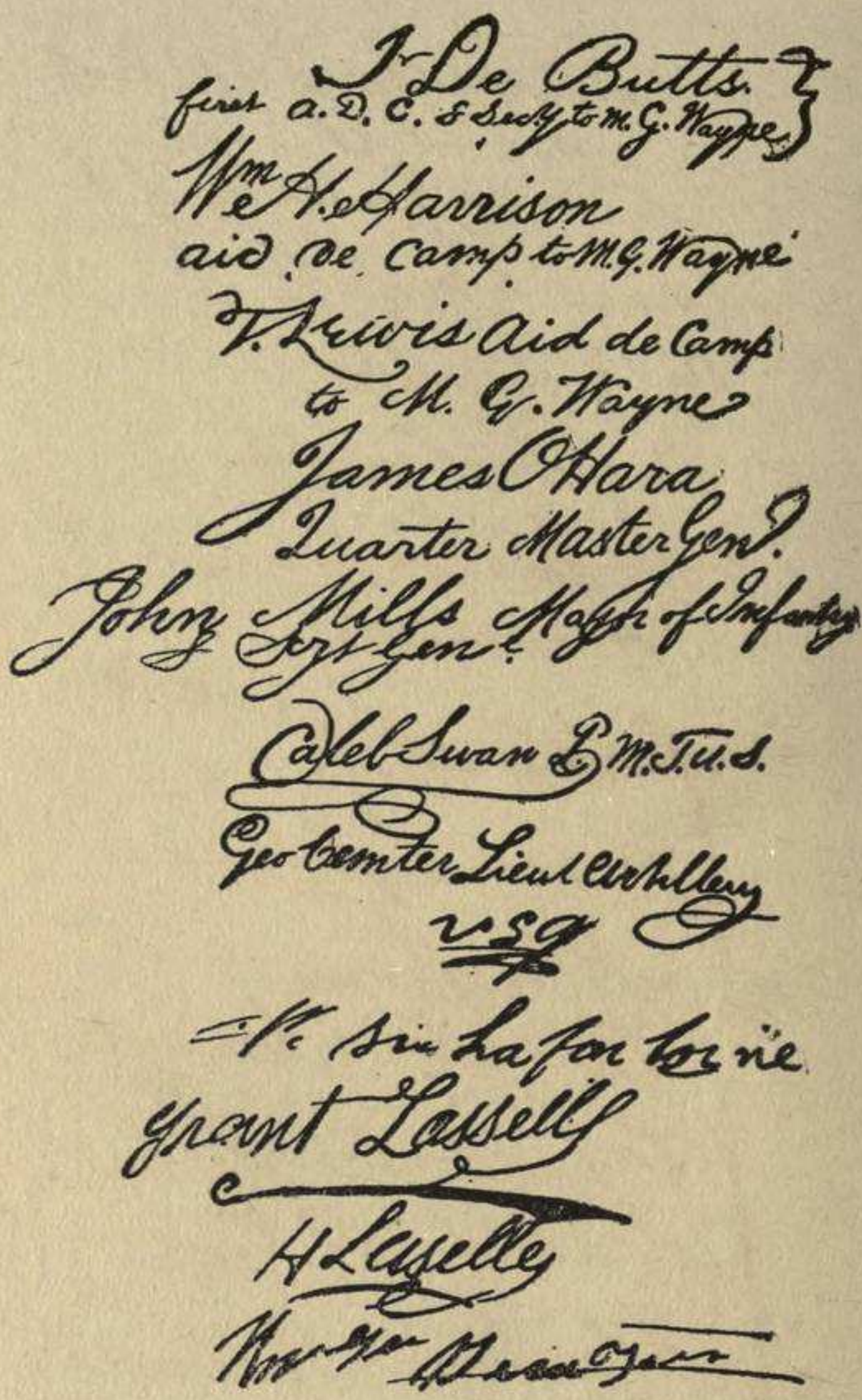
people. You see it is straight and wide, and they will be blind indeed, who deviate from it. I place it also in your uncle's hands for you. (A large road belt).

"I will, the day after to-morrow, show you the cessions which you have made to the United States, and point out to you the lines which may for the future divide your lands from theirs; and, as you will have to-morrow to rest, I will order you a double allowance of drink, because we have buried the hatchet and performed every necessary ceremony to render propitious our renovated friendship.

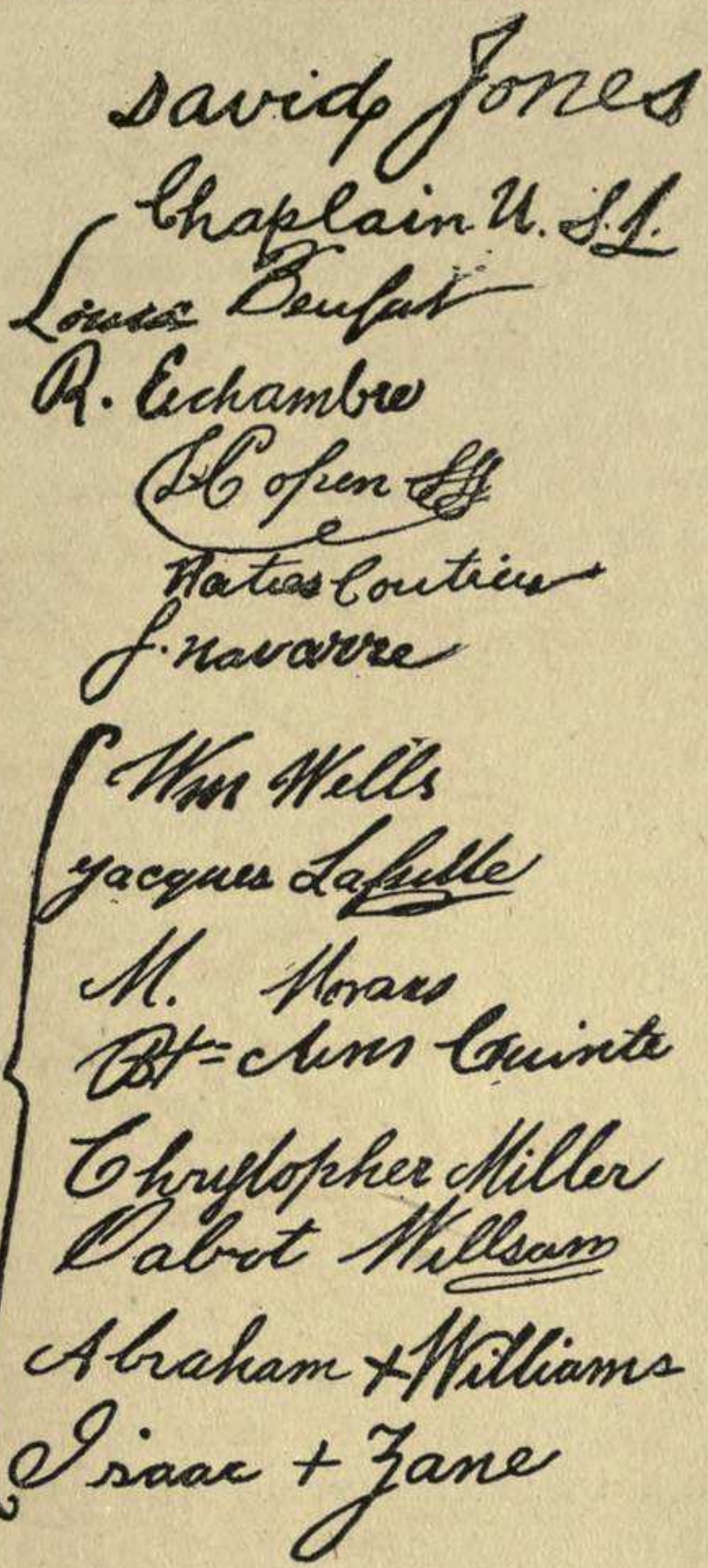
Discussion and explanation continued until the 3rd of August, various noted chiefs acting as spokesmen for their respective tribes.

Treaty Signed.

On that day the general read for the third time the articles of the proposed new treaty, which was then signed by the chiefs and tribal representatives on the part of the Indians, by General Wayne, several officers, his aides de camp, interpreters, and guides on behalf of the United States. A large number of belts and strings of wampum were passed by the various tribes during the deliberations; mention being made of road belts, mixed belts, a blue belt, a belt with nine white squares, a large belt with men and a house designated upon it, a war belt, nu-



Facsimile of the American Signatures to the Treaty of GreeneVille, slightly reduced. (Reproduced from Vol. XII, Ohio Arch. & Hist. Soc. Pub.)



Facsimile of the American Signatures to the Treaty of GreeneVille, slightly reduced. (Reproduced from Vol. XII, Ohio Arch. & His. Soc. Pub.)

merous white and blue and white belts and strings of wampum. Some of these belts contained a thousand or more beads of wampum, and, as each bright, flinty bead is said to have represented a day's labor for these primitive people, we readily conclude that they meant more than a great sum of money might mean to the whites, and were, indeed, a striking pledge of good will. The Indians remained a few days at Fort GreeneVille; speeches were delivered and the calumet of peace was finally passed to those who had not yet smoked it. Thus was consummated a treaty of far reaching importance, concerning the effectiveness of which King, the historian, testifies: "Never after that treaty, to their honor be it remembered, did the Indian nations violate the limits which it established. It was a grand tribute to General Wayne that no chief or warrior who gave him the hand at GreeneVille ever after lifted the hatchet against the United States. There were malcontents on the Wabash and Lake Michigan who too sides with Tecumseh and the Prophet in the War of 1812, perhaps for good cause, but the tribes and their chiefs sat still."

The tribes were represented as follows at the treaty: Delawares, 381; Pottawattomies, 240; Wyandots, 180; Shawanese, 143; Miamis and Eel Rivers, 73; Chippewas, 46; Ottawas, 45;

Weas and Piankeshaws, 12; Kickapoos and Kaskaskias, 10; in all, 1130.

Some ninety chiefs and representatives signed the document for the tribes. Among the chief speakers were Blue Jacket, the Shawanese; Massas, the Chippewa; Tarhe, or Crane, the Wyandot, and Au-goosh-away, the Ottawa. Besides the signatures of George Washington and Anthony Wayne, the names of William H. Harrison, aide de camp, and several officers, interpreters and scouts appear on the treaty. Among the latter were William Wells, Christopher Miller and Isaac Zane. The treaty was neatly engrossed in the legible penmanship of the day on two pieces of parchment about twenty-six inches square, one of which was inscribed on both sides.

An excellent photographic copy, exact size of the original, is to-day framed and exhibited on the walls of the public museum in the basement of the Carnegie Library, Greenville, Ohio.

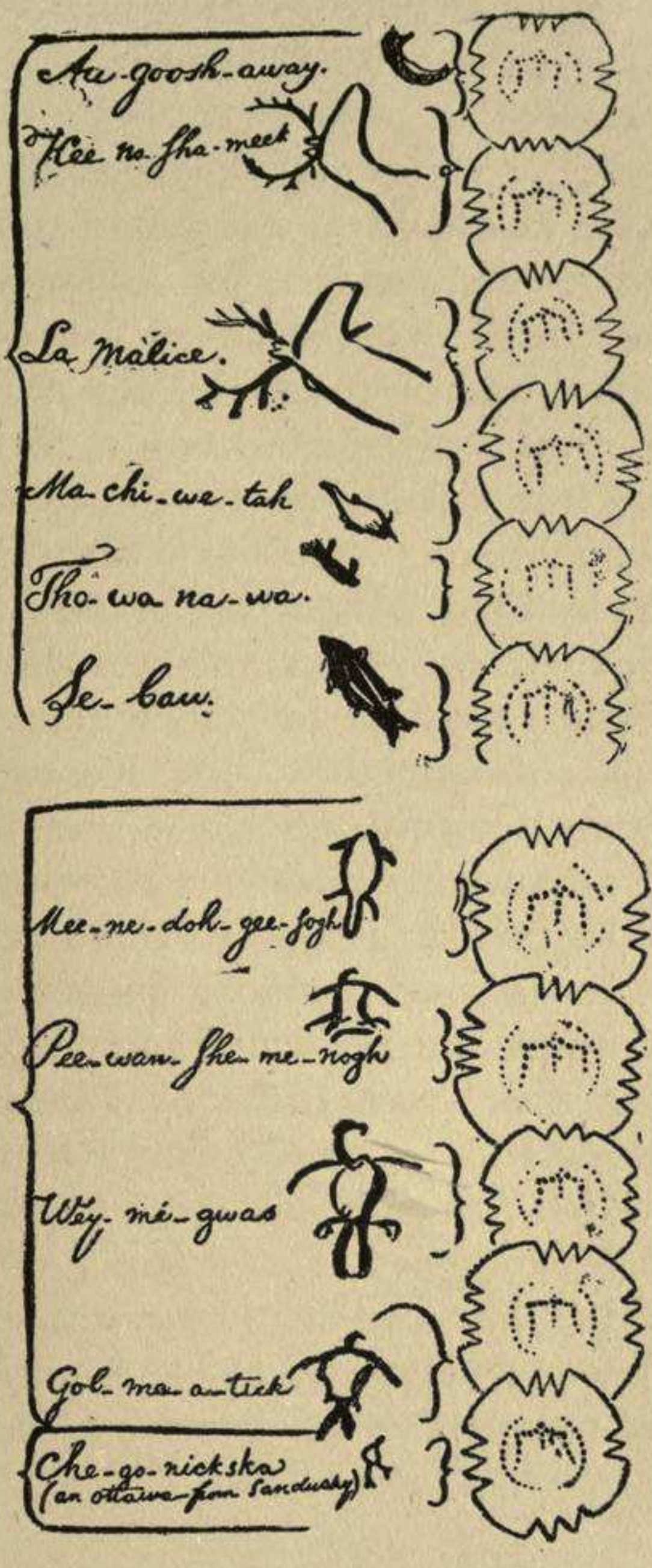
The preamble states the purpose of the treaty—"to put an end to a destructive war, to settle all controversies and to restore harmony and friendly intercourse between the United States and Indian tribes."

The nine articles provide for the cessation of hostilities, exchange of prisoners, definite description of boundaries, the delivery of $20,000 worth of

Digest of Treaty.

good at once to the Indians and the promise of $9,500 worth of goods yearly forever thereafter.

The respective rights and privileges of the Indians and Americans within the lands and reservations ceded and the penalties for violation are also explicitly set forth. The boundary line established began at the mouth of the Cuyahoga river, ran up that stream to the portage crossing to the Tuscarawas, down that stream to Fort Laurens (near Bolivar, O.) thence westerly to near Loramies (on a branch of the Miami at the beginning of the portage to the St. Marys) thence to Fort Recovery and thence southwesterly to a point on the Ohio opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river, embracing about two-thirds of the present state of Ohio, and a triangular piece of southeastern Indiana. Besides this large and valuable tract numerous small but invaluable tracts, mostly from two to twelve miles square, were included, among them being the present sites of Defiance, O., Fort Wayne, Ind., Toledo, O., Fremont, O., Detroit, Mich., St, Mary's, O., Sandusky, O., Mackinac, Chicago, Ill., Peoria, Ill., Vincennes, Ind., The privilege of trading between these posts was also granted to the Americans, and this proved to be an entering wedge, which was



Facsimile of some of the Indian Signatures to the Treaty of GreeneVille, slightly reduced. (Reproduced from Vol. XII, Ohio Arch. & His. Soc. Pub.)

finally to help split up the tribal confederacy and counteract its power.

The pledge of security given by this treaty encouraged immigration, a hardy population soon settled in the fertile valleys, and gained a foothold which has never been relinquished, and to-day millions of people live and enjoy the blessings of civilized life where, but a short time since, a few untutored savages dwelt.

The importance of this peace is not measured simply by the amount of land ceded but comprehends also its effect in opening up the Ohio valley for settlement. In fact, viewed in one light, it may be considered the end of the Revolutionary War. It is also true that this was not the last treaty with the northwestern Indian tribes, but measured by results it stands pre-eminent. The fact that Ohio was applying for admission to the Union in seven years from this treaty is forcible testimony to its significance.

On August 3, 1906, the Greenville Historical Society unveiled a beautiful bronze tablet with this inscription: "Placed to commemorate the Treaty of GreeneVille, signed August 3, 1795, by General Anthony Wayne, representing the United States Government, and the chiefs and agents of the allied Indian tribes of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio river."

This inscription is enclosed in a circle surrounded by emblems of savage war and peace. The tablet is attached to a large black diorite boulder standing nearly five feet high, near the spot where the treaty was signed.

The hero of Fallen Timbers lies buried in Pennsylyania. After leaving GreeneVille he returned to that State and was appointed sole commissioner to treat with the Indians of the Northwest and to take possession of all the British forts in that territory. In the autumn of 1796, after receiving the surrender of Detroit, he embarked on Lake Erie for home, but was seized with a severe attack of the gout and died at Erie, Penn. Here his remains were interred, but in 1809, his bones were transferred to the family burying ground in the village of Radnor, Penn. Over this grave the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati erected a small marble monument, which was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies, July 4th, 1809.

Thus ended the forty years of war which had scourged the frontiers with blood and fire, and reduced the power and prestige of the brave and warlike tribes of the old Northwest, opening the flood-gates through which the sons of Western Europe were to pour into and subdue the mighty unbroken forests with ax and plow. Henceforth the remnants of the once powerful

tribes must seek shelter in the remoter West, retreating before the ever advancing Whites, As descendants of the hardy pioneers who occupied their lands, we ought not lightly to forget their many heroic traits and the bitter regret with which they reluctantly left one of the richest and most beautiful tracts of land that the sun ever shone upon. Neither should we disregard the inestimable services of Clark, Harmar, St. Clair, Wayne, and the host of less prominent soldiers, who blazed the way for all that followed. Harmar was chagrinned by his reverses and soon retired to private life, dying in obscurity; St. Clair was maligned in the East and passed the declining years of his life amidst turmoil and vituperation and died at an advanced age stinging from the poor appreciation of his countrymen; Wayne passed away in the prime of life performing the arduous labors appointed by his government. Let us raise suitable memorials to all these servants of the State, at the places of their most noted labors, that the fire of patriotism be not allowed to go out in the hearts of coming generations.

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