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## The Americans Win The Northwest

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Superintendent of Public Schools 1886-1897—Died 1916

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### FIRST PRINTING

An eventful and critical period in the history of the Northwest followed the close of Pontiac's war from 1765 to the Treaty of Paris in 1763. The priests and explorers of France had first sought out the wild inhabitants of the western wilderness, had penetrated and mapped the vast domain of the Mississippi valley. The aggressive Anglo-Saxon, in a bloody seven years' struggle (1754-1760), had wrested the great valley from the Frenchman's grasp.

Following this, the original occupants and claimants of the soil, the red aborigines, jealous, suspicious, cruel, fearful of the white man's steady advance had risen under the lead of Pontiac in a determined effort to save their hunting grounds and sweep the hated Englishman into the sea (1763-4). They had failed, and had slowly and reluctantly made peace with their English foes.

In these repeated and successful contests the liberty loving Anglo-American had learned his strength. He had seen Frenchman and Indian go down before his blows, and he was now ready, upon sufficient excuse, to claim the land for himself and raise his strong, trained arm against his English partner in the preceding wars.

### GEORGE THIRD ESTABLISHES A GREAT INDIAN RESERVATION

An arbitrary, exacting king, with his unjust taxation and various repressive measures, soon aroused the spirit of revolt and independence, and the long revolutionary struggle was inaugurated. George the Third had, in October, 1763, issued a proclamation setting aside as an Indian reservation all the lands bounded by the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Great Lakes. Thus all white settlers were warned to keep out of the Northwest territory. It has been thought that the English king issued this proclamation partly for the purpose of mollifying Pontiac and his fierce warriors and partly for the purpose of reserving the rich lands and ample forests of the Northwest for his own courtiers and favorites. It has been suggested by eminent writers that he did this for the express purpose of restricting the growth of the colonists westward, as both the king and his cabinet knew that a strong and numerous population on this continent meant, ultimately, independence of England.

### BOTH WHITES AND INDIANS IGNORE KING'S EDICT

The king's edict had come too late to have any effect upon Pontiac's fierce bands of warriors who were ravaging the border and besieging the forts. Nor did the white settlers, eager for homes and land, feel morally bound to pay any considerable attention to a royal mandate which excluded them from lands that had been once ceded in their old state charters, and which they regarded as theirs

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by right of conquest. Hunters, farmers and pioneer squatters pressed hard upon the frontiers.

A distinctly American population had developed along the foot hills and in the valleys of the Alleghanies. This population differed vastly from the colonists living nearer the seaboard in their dress, habits and whole manner of life. They were a strong, brave and hardy race of people who led the vanguard of civilization over the mountains and with their stockaded settlements and little farms pressed close upon the forest wilds of the savages. In times of war, and there was nearly always war, they suffered terribly. From 1765 to 1774 was an era of comparative peace, although throughout that period the rumblings of the coming revolution were plainly audible, even to the backwoodsmen of the Alleghany slopes.

### LORD DUNMORE'S WAR

During the decade preceding the revolution the borders were annoyed every year by raids from the Ohio Indians. Bands of young braves would frequently cross the Ohio river, plunder the frontier farms, burn houses, drive off the horses and even murder men, women and children. On such occasions the whites usually took a hasty and brutal vengeance upon the red transgressors, often venting their wrath upon the heads of innocent Indians and thereby making new foes. The mutual exasperation of reds and whites continued until it was evident to all that a general war would soon result. Early in the spring of 1774 the storm burst. This brief but fierce conflict is known as Lord Dunmore's war, and was an important initiatory step to the winning of the Northwest by Americans. Lord Dunmore was the last royal governor of Virginia. He was an able, energetic man, loyal to the crown, but always ready to aid the whites against the Indians and champion the cause of Virginia as against her sister colonies.

Early in 1774, a violent dispute arose between Virginia and Pennsylvania over their boundaries. Virginia claimed Fort Pitt and the valley of the Monongahela. Dunmore's agent in the disputed district was one, Captain John Conolly, and to his violent temper and bad character was due not only the bitter feeling between Virginia and Pennsylvania but the sudden precipitation upon the whites of another Indian war.

In the ten years which followed the defeat and humiliation of the Ohio Indians by Bouquet (1764), there had been nominal peace, broken only by the occasional raids and murders already mentioned. But each year the Indians had grown more sullen and insolent. The Shawnees were the chief aggressors, while outlaw bands of Delawares, Mingoos, Wyandots and even Wabash and Miami warriors aided in the depredations.

Thus the mutual irritation and exasperation had been going on until in the spring of 1774, the Virginia frontiersmen were eager for war. Conolly was the man who may be said to have lighted the fuse which exploded this magazine of human passion. In April of 1774, some traders were attacked by a party of outlaw Cherokees. One trader was killed, one was wounded and the goods were plundered. Conolly immediately issued an open letter commanding the frontier settlers to hold themselves in readiness for a general attack from the Indians. The backwoodsmen naturally regarded such a letter as this from Lord Dunmore's lieutenant as equivalent to a declaration of war. There were three or four men involved in this war who deserve some special mention, that the events may be clearly understood.

### CRESAP, GREATHOUSE, LOGAN AND CORNSTALK

Michael Cresap was a pioneer from Maryland who had come to the frontier to make a home for himself and family. He was a good woodsman, a brave fighter and an ardent patriot; but when his blood was up, like most backwoodsmen, he regarded all Indians as fair game for the white man's rifle.

Another character of this war was a man by the name of Daniel Greathouse, an inhuman and cowardly scoundrel, who will go down to posterity crowned with the blackest infamy.

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Two other actors in the fierce tragedy were Logan and Cornstalk, both Indians, but both men of a lofty and noble stamp. Cornstalk was a chieftain of the Shawnees, of fine physical presence, ever true to his word, eloquent in council, mighty in battle. He commanded an army with the valor and skill of an Alexander and faced death with the calm heroism of a Socrates. And yet the conditions under which he lived made him a fierce and cruel savage to his foes and a slayer of helpless women and children. Logan, or Tagahjute, was the son of a Cayuga chieftain. He himself was a chief among the fragments of Iroquois tribes, Senecas and Mingoes, that dwelt along the upper Ohio.

Logan was a man of the noblest physical appearance, over six feet high, straight as a Corinthian column, with a kindly, brave and honest countenance. Logan was known as the friend of the white man and the pioneers have left on record many anecdotes illustrating his hospitality, his love for children and his strict integrity. Being a skilled marksman, a mighty hunter, a courteous and dignified gentleman, Logan was greatly admired and respected by all the better class of white people. The bitter wrongs Logan afterward suffered, and the desperate deeds he committed bowed his strong form, stamped his face with an expression of gloomy ferocity and finally plunged him into the degradation of habitual drunkenness. Judge Brown, associate judge of Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, said of Logan, before the evil days came upon him, "He is the best specimen of humanity I have ever met with, either white or red."

### **CAPTAIN JOHN CONOLLY, AGENT OF LORD DUNMORE**

When Conolly issued his open letter all the borderers immediately prepared for war. Cresap and his followers showed what their interpretation of Conolly's instructions were by proceeding to ambush two friendly Shawnee Indians and kill and scalp them. On the next day Cresap attacked a party of Shawnee Indians who had been trading at Pittsburgh, and killed one of them and wounded two others. On the day following this attack, Cresap and his whole band started off to assail Logan's Mingo encampment at Yellow Creek. After going about five miles they began to reason with themselves and realizing that they were proceeding to attack a camp of friendly Indians composed mainly of women and children, they grew ashamed of their purpose and turning about went to their homes.

### **THE MURDER OF LOGAN'S FAMILY AROUSES INDIANS**

But just across the river from Logan's camp the scoundrel Greathouse, had set up a whiskey shop and to this place on the last day of April, Logan's family and near relatives repaired, nine in all, men, women and children. Greathouse plied them with liquor until they were helplessly drunk when he and his armed cronies set upon them and murdered them all. Immediately the whole border was ablaze. The Mingoes sent off runners to the other Ohio tribes and the Indians girded themselves for revenge. Logan, roused to demoniac fury, penetrated to the head waters of the Monongahela with eight chosen warriors and glutted his vengeance with the blood of innocent men, women and children.

All along the frontier of Virginia the dismal tragedy of blazing cabins and slaughtered inhabitants was renewed. Conolly was dismayed at the storm he had raised. He censured Greathouse and deposed Cresap from command of his rangers and tried to conciliate the infuriated savages. The Indians confused the Yellow Creek massacre with the two others that preceded it and wrongly held Cresap responsible for all. This notion was further perpetuated by Logan in his celebrated speech to Lord Dunmore. Greathouse no doubt escaped being charged with the infamy of the deed at the time because of his utter insignificance.

In vain were the efforts of Dunmore and Conolly to placate the enraged Indians. They swarmed across the Ohio and continued their devastations along the frontier, burning homes, killing the men and carrying off the women and children into a horrible captivity. A panic ensued along the border. The settlers fled across the mountains or gathered in their palisaded villages. The backwoods farmers could only cultivate their lands by stealth and with weapons in their hands.

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### LORD DUNMORE SENDS 3,000 TROOPS AGAINST THE INDIANS

The frontiersmen clamored to be led against their red foes. Lord Dunmore raised an army of fifteen hundred men and Colonel Andrew Lewis raised a force of fifteen hundred hunters and backwoods farmers west of the Blue Ridge. It was planned that the two armies should meet at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, unite their forces and thence march into the heart of the Indian country along the Scioto and the Pickaway plains.

Lord Dunmore led his army to Fort Pitt. There he changed his plans and instead of meeting Lewis at the mouth of the Kanawha as he had agreed to do he descended the Ohio in boats to the mouth of the Hockpocking, ascended that stream to the Falls, thence marched across to the Scioto and entrenched himself in a fortified camp on the edge of the Pickaway plains near the Indian town of Old Chillicothe. From this place he sent out detachments to burn and harry hostile Indian villages.

### CORNSTALK, THE SHAWNEE CHIEF, LEADS INDIANS

In the meantime, Cornstalk had gathered a thousand braves, the pick of the Ohio tribes, the most invincible warriors between the Ohio and the Great Lakes. With the craft and foresight of a great general he determined to strike the white forces separately before they could unite and to let the blow fall first where it would be least expected. He knew that if he could surprise and annihilate Colonel Lewis's force of backwoodsmen it would only be a question of a few days with Dunmore's army. He quickly mustered his plumed and painted band of warriors and led them by swift marches through pathless miles of autumnal forest to the banks of the Ohio.

On the evening of the sixth of October, 1774, Lewis reached the cape of land jutting out between the Ohio and Kanawha with about eleven hundred of his backwoods levies. These men were brave and skilled marksmen and mighty hunters. They had been cradled in palisaded forts and in the rough cabins of the frontier. They were familiar with the war whoop of savages and were all burning with a thirst for revenge for some personal wrong. They were not uniformed but all wore the customary hunter's garb, the long, fringed hunting tunic, belted at the waist, with moccasins and deer skin leggings and coon skin caps or slouch hats. They were armed with the long barreled, unerring rifle and wore a tomahawk and a long knife in their belts.

On the ninth a messenger arrived from Dunmore telling Lewis that he had changed his plans and requesting him to march and meet Dunmore on the Pickaway plains. Lewis was not pleased but prepared to break camp next morning.

### THE BATTLE OF POINT PLEASANT

That night Cornstalk reached the banks of the Ohio. He ferried his army over on rafts during the night, six miles above Lewis's camp, and in the early gray of the morning began to creep stealthily upon the sleeping backwoodsmen. Fortunately two hunters were out in the first dawn in pursuit of a deer. They suddenly ran into the advance line of Cornstalk's braves. One of them was instantly shot dead, the other wheeled and ran swiftly to the camp, giving the alarm.

The drum beat to arms, the backwoodsmen, sleeping in the open air, rolled from their blankets, looked to their flints and priming and were instantly ready for battle. Soon the two armies met amid the brush, trees and fallen logs and one of the hottest battles ever fought between Indians and whites raged all day long. The opposing lines were a mile and a quarter in length but were never more than twenty yards apart. Sheltering themselves behind rocks, stumps and tree-trunks, the backwoodsmen poured in their deadly fire whenever a plumed head or a painted face became visible. White and red foes grappled in deadly personal combats between the lines and tomahawked or stabbed each other to death in the brushwood. The voices of Cornstalk and the other chief could be plainly heard shouting their orders and urging the warriors to be brave and strong. But gradually the backwoodsmen by their determined valor and superior marksmanship drove the Indians backward. Darkness came on and the firing ceased.

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During the night the Indians gathered up their dead and wounded and unknown to the whites made a most skillful retreat across the river. The Indians, because of their superior skill in hiding themselves, had not suffered half as severely as the whites who had lost nearly a fifth of their whole number in killed and wounded.

Lewis left his wounded in the camp at Point Pleasant, and with a force of over a thousand strong marched on to the Pickaway plains. When within a few miles of Lord Dunmore's camp a messenger met him informing him that a peace was being negotiated with the Indians. Lewis and the backwoodsmen were enraged by their losses and were not willing to grant peace upon any terms. It was not until Dunmore rode out and addressed them with threats and commands that they could be induced to relinquish their desire for more bloodshed, and march homewards.

### INDIANS ANXIOUS FOR PEACE

The Indians were thoroughly cowed and broken by their defeat and were anxious for peace. Cornstalk alone remained defiant and resolute to fight to the bitter end. But all his burning eloquence could not rouse the warriors again to battle. In vain he urged them to kill all their women and children if necessary and die to the last man in battle with their foes. When he saw he could not rouse the hearts of the dejected warriors he struck his tomahawk into a post of the council house and said he himself would go and make peace with the whites. Grunts of approval met this declaration, and Cornstalk with other chiefs repaired to Dunmore's camp and made a treaty of peace. They gave up all their white prisoners and stolen horses and relinquished all claims to lands south of the Ohio.

### LOGAN REFUSES TO ATTEND COUNCIL

At this council all of the prominent chiefs were present except Logan. He refused to come, saying that he was a warrior and not a councillor. Dunmore hesitated to make peace with such an influential chief absent, so he sent Colonel John Gibson, a capable, veteran frontiersman to communicate with Logan. Gibson repaired to the Indian town where Logan made his home. The chief took Gibson aside into a grove and dictated to him that marvelous burst of eloquence which has been declaimed by every American school boy, beginning with, "I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not?"

When the speech was read in camp, Dunmore's soldiers were deeply interested and moved by the sad recital of Logan's wrongs and his proud declaration of the vengeance he had taken. Dunmore insisted no further upon his presence at the peace council and marched his army homeward.

### RESULTS OF LORD DUNMORE'S WAR

The war had lasted about six months and had an important bearing upon the Revolutionary struggle just beginning, and upon the winning of the Northwest. The two important results of Lord Dunmore's war were these: it kept the fierce Ohio tribes quiet for the first two years of the Revolutionary War, and rendered possible the settlement of Kentucky, which latter fact contributed to the acquisition by the Americans of the whole Northwest Territory.

Little more was heard of the chief actors in this war. Logan's remaining days were darkened by brooding over his wrongs and the dire vengeance he had taken. He became a moody, sullen, resentful savage and finally on his way to Detroit was killed by the tomahawk of a brother Indian in a drunken brawl. Cresap died a brave soldier in the war for independence and his grave may be seen in the old Trinity churchyard, New York. Dunmore showed himself a virulent Tory when the war broke out, and was driven from the country.

### ASSASSINATION OF CORNSTALK

A tragic fate befell the mighty Cornstalk. True to his treaty pledges he held the fierce Shawnees in check for two years, although the British were constantly urging them by bribes and entreaties to take up the hatchet against the colonists.

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At last, early in 1777, when Cornstalk could no longer restrain the Ohio Indians he came into the garrison at Point Pleasant and told the commandant, Captain Arbuckle, that while he himself was for peace his people were determined to go to war in behalf of the British; and that if they did he should be compelled to join them. He was seized on the spot with his son and chief Redhawk, and all three confined in the fort as hostages.

While they were thus held in captivity in the fort a member of a company of rangers named Gilmore was killed in the forest near by. When Gilmore's body was brought in his fellow rangers were frenzied with rage and raised the cry of "Kill the red dogs in the fort." Captain Arbuckle tried to persuade the men to desist but led by their own captain, one John Hall, the infuriated rangers rushed for the cabin where Cornstalk, his son Ellimpico, and Redhawk were confined. Cornstalk heard them coming and knew that his last hour was at hand. He seated himself and calmly exhorted his son not to fear death, that it was the will of the Great Spirit that they should die there together. The frenzied rangers burst into the cabin. Cornstalk rose calmly to meet them and fell pierced by seven bullets. His son and Redhawk were both immediately shot down. This unreasoning act of vengeance, this deed of infamy, has scarcely a parallel in border history.

### **FAMOUS MEN WHO FOUGHT IN DUNMORE'S WAR**

None of the leaders in Lord Dunmore's war ever became noted afterwards. Indeed, the ablest officers were all killed in the battle of Point Pleasant where the whites suffered far more severely than the Indians. But some of the men who afterwards became renowned in border history fought in the ranks or acted as scouts during Dunmore's campaign. Chief among these were William Crawford, a friend of Washington, Daniel Boone, the great hunter and Indian fighter and founder of Kentucky; Simon Kenton, the famous scout, hunter and hero of border story.

Among them also was Simon Girty, afterwards known as "the white renegade," infamous for his savage cunning and ferocious cruelty. Girty was the son of a vicious Irish trader, was captured in his infancy and grew up among the Indians, adopting their habits, dress and mode of warfare. He escaped from the Indians and lived for a time among the whites, taking part in Dunmore's war. He soon deserted to the Indians and spent his life among them, taking the lead in terrible deeds of cruelty and torture. For this reason his name became a synonym of dread and horror among the white borderers. He lived to be an old man and is said to have lost his life fighting with the Indians against the Americans in the war of 1812.

Another famous man who fought in Dunmore's war was George Rogers Clarke. He was the ablest of all the brave borderers who have become renowned in frontier history and he performed for the United States great service while engaged in the revolutionary struggle on the frontier.

### **SOLDIERS, THOUGH LOYAL TO KING, WILL DEFEND AMERICAN LIBERTY**

While Dunmore was conducting his campaign against the Ohio Indians (1774), the first Continental Congress was in session at Philadelphia. Dunmore's troops knew this and while on their homeward march from the Pickaway plains they halted at Fort Gower at the mouth of the Hockhocking and passed resolutions of sympathy for the American cause, professing attachment and loyalty to George Third but at the same time declaring that, "As the love of liberty and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defence of American liberty, and for the support of her just rights and privileges."

In 1776 came the Declaration of Independence and the patriot armies of the seaboard were in the midst of the great revolutionary struggle for independence. Clarke, Boone and other brave backwoodsmen lingered on the frontier, helping to drive back marauding bands of Indians and build up the palisaded villages that formed the nuclei of the Kentucky settlement.

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### BRITISH SEEK INDIAN ALLIES

It soon became evident to the frontier patriots that the British were endeavoring to rally the Indians of the West and Northwest to the cause of England against the Americans. General Henry Hamilton who commanded the strong British post at Detroit, spent the winter of 1776 and 1777 in sending emissaries among the savages to win them to the British side by speeches, presents and bribes.

It is doubtful if the savages ever clearly understood the real nature of the struggle, but a few things they did understand. The British were rich and the Americans were poor, and moreover, the hated backwoodsmen, the bitterest foes of the Indians, were on the side of the Americans. These facts determined their course of action and served to ally most of the Indians to the British cause, though many of the Ohio Indians, especially the Delawares, were held in check by the influence of the Moravian missionaries on the Muskingum, and by recollection of the chastisement they had twice received at the hands of Bouquet and Dunmore's backwoodsmen.

### ENGLISH PARLIAMENT ANNEXES NORTHWEST TO QUEBEC

In October of 1774, the English Parliament had passed what is known as the Quebec Act, which annexed all the territory north of the Ohio river and between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River to Quebec. This act, together with the repeated assaults of Hamilton's war parties of Indians and white rangers on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, makes it extremely probable that one of England's supreme objects at this time was to push back the frontiers, to stop the growth of the English race westward. The great Northwest was to be a region where only savages should dwell.

Fortunately in the early years of the Revolution the Kentucky settlements were left comparatively unmolested and the main strength and fury of Hamilton and his savage allies were directed against the Pennsylvania and Virginia border.

Later, in 1778 and 1779, the whole strength of the Indian tribes was hurled repeatedly against the Kentucky settlements, but the brave Kentuckians strongly entrenched in their blockhouses and behind their palisades, and with such leaders as Boone, Kenton, Clarke and Benjamin Logan, bade defiance to the painted hordes that poured down upon them from the North.

### THE FUTILE EXPEDITION OF GENERAL MCINTOSH

In the spring of 1778, the Continental Congress became alarmed at the frequent and destructive incursions of Indians on the frontiers and resolved to strike a blow at Detroit whence most of the Indian expeditions, supported by British supplies and counsel appeared to proceed. It was feared that if the whole confederated force of savages, led by British officers, should come out of the western wilderness and strike the frontiers, with the British armies on the seaboard, between the two, the American cause would come to disaster. The Continental Congress planned to attack Detroit with a force of 3,000 men. Not more than half of that number was ever levied.

In the spring of 1778, General McIntosh crossed the mountains with 500 men, marched westward as far as the mouth of the Big Beaver and built there a stockade with bastions, named after the commander, Fort McIntosh. This fort was intended as a cover or point of departure for western expeditions. At this fort in October, 1778, McIntosh assembled 1,000 men for an expedition against the Wyandot Indians near Sandusky, the project of attacking Detroit having been for the time abandoned.

McIntosh marched his troops westward as far as the margin of the Tuscarawas River where, on an elevated plain near the mouth of the Sandy Creek, he built another stockade which he called Fort Laurens after the President of the Continental Congress. Leaving in this fort a garrison of 150 men under Colonel John Gibson, McIntosh turned back to Fort Pitt, having accomplished nothing except to further enrage the Indians. Fort Laurens was soon fiercely besieged by British and Indians and was eventually abandoned as being useless and untenable.

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### GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE

In marked contrast to this feeble and ineffectual campaign were the results achieved by George Rogers Clarke in the Illinois country. Clarke deserves special notice for he was a great western hero of the revolutionary contest. He was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, in 1752. He obtained a fair education for those days and engaged in land surveying on the frontiers where he soon became noted as a hunter, Indian fighter and all around backwoodsman. He was a great blond giant, over six feet high, with tawny curls clustering about an expansive forehead beneath which gleamed large, deep set blue eyes. Clarke was a born leader of men, brave, tactful, resolute and endowed with military genius which triumphed over all obstacles.

During the years of 1776 and 1777, Clarke devoted his energies to promoting the welfare of the Kentucky settlers. He made a trip to Virginia and succeeded in having the settlements organized by the legislature as the county of Kentucky. He also succeeded by his convincing and persistent representations to the legislative committees in obtaining an abundant supply of gun powder to aid the settlers in repelling the frequent raids of the Indians.

Clarke finally reached the conclusion that all the murderous attacks of the savages emanated from the British posts of Detroit and of the Illinois and Wabash country. He therefore sent two spies, in the summer of 1777, to the British garrison of the Kaskaskia region and Vincennes. These forts and French towns had been transferred to the English by the treaty of 1763 and occupied by British troops in 1765.

Clarke's spies returned and reported to him that many of the French people of the western towns were friendly to the British garrisons of the West and were keeping the Indian tribes hostile to the Americans, and were supplying them with clothing, arms and provisions which enabled them to raid the frontier settlements.

### CLARKE ORGANIZES AN EXPEDITION INTO ILLINOIS COUNTRY

This report convinced Clarke that the only way to stop the Indian attacks on the border was to capture the British posts in the West. He resolved to organize and lead an expedition into the Illinois country, capture the forts and take possession of the Whole region for the Americans. But he had neither the means nor the authority to do this.

Wisely keeping his plans to himself, he set off alone for Williamsburg, the Capital of Virginia, 600 miles away, and laid his plans before Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia. Henry cordially approved Clark's project but could do little for him as the resources of Virginia were already taxed to the utmost, and to make the matter public by bringing it before the legislature would surely defeat it, by forewarning the British Government.

Henry, however, gave Clarke 1,200 pounds in depreciated currency and two letters, one for the public, authorizing him to raise seven companies of fifty men each for the defence of Kentucky, another private letter ordering him to enlist his troops, obtain boats, arms and ammunition at Fort Pitt and proceed against the British posts in the Kaskaskia region, all the time observing the strictest secrecy as to the true destination of his forces. Thus the whole responsibility in enlisting, organizing and equipping the force was placed upon Clarke and he deserves all the credit for its success. In the backwoods countries of Virginia, west of the Blue Ridge, by dint of unwearied effort he succeeded in enlisting about 150 men. Securing flat boats and supplies at Pittsburgh and Wheeling, he descended the Ohio, accompanied by a number of private adventurers and several families of settlers. For many days the clumsy flat boats drifted down the silvery reaches of the beautiful stream between the forest clad, Indian haunted shores, the tall riflemen lounging on the decks or wielding the long sweeps that guided the flotilla to its destination.

On the twenty-seventh of May, 1778, Clarke reached the Falls of the Ohio and landed on the spot where afterwards rose the beautiful city of Louisville, named after the French king. Here Clarke received the news that France had allied herself with the Americans and he knew this would aid him with the French inhabitants of the Illinois.



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A number of Kentuckians joined Clarke at the Falls, increasing his force to about 170 men. He here disclosed to them for the first time the true destination of the expedition. His men received the news with joy and were ready to follow him.

### CLARKE CAPTURES KASKASKIA AND CAHOKIA

On the twenty-sixth of June, Clarke embarked his men in boats and with oars double manned shot the Falls and proceeded down the river, rowing day and night until they reached old Fort Massac near the mouth of the Tennessee River, but on the right bank of the Ohio. Hiding his boats in the mouth of a small creek, Clarke struck out across the treeless prairie for the town of Kaskaskia, distant about 100 miles. It is remarkable that his little army was not discovered on the treeless plain swarmed with hostile savages many times his own number. Clarke knew that his success depended upon secrecy, so he timed his march to reach the vicinity of Kaskaskia at night fall. Capturing boats at a farm-house a mile above the town, the little army ferried over the Kaskaskia River in the darkness.

Clarke divided his force into two divisions, one to surround the town, the other to seize the fort occupied by a British garrison commanded by a Frenchman named Rocheblave. The surprise was complete and in fifteen minutes Clarke had possession of the town and the fort, and squads of backwoodsmen were patrolling the streets. The French cowered in their houses in terror of their lives, for they had been taught by the British to regard the American backwoodsmen as brutal and inhuman murderers, and Clarke had sent runners through the town warning the inhabitants not to emerge from their homes on pain of death.

It is related that when Clarke's rangers surrounded the fort in the darkness the officers were giving a ball in the great hall of the fort and the sentries had left their posts. Clarke entered the hall alone and unobserved. The fun-loving creole maidens were tripping it gaily to the sounding violins with the British officers. Clarke stood with folded arms leaning against a door post, calmly looking on. An Indian, lounging in the entry, scanned Clarke's face intently in the flickering light and suddenly gave an unearthly warwhoop. Instantly all was confusion and dismay. Clarke waved his arm and calmly bade them to go on with the dance, but to remember that they were now dancing under Virginia instead of Great Britain.

### CLARKE'S CLEMENCY WINS THE FRENCH AND INDIANS

A body of the chief citizens waited upon Clarke the next morning and humbly begged for the lives of the people, or even that they might be slaves instead of being killed. Having artfully increased their terror to the proper pitch, Clarke then surprised them with generous clemency, telling them he came to free and not to enslave, that if they were willing to be patriotic American citizens and take the oath of allegiance to the United States, they should be secure in their lives, home and property, and that those who did not wish to do this might leave the town in safety.

The French inhabitants were overjoyed at this unexpected magnanimity. Pierre Gibault, a Jesuit priest of great influence and ability, asked Clarke if he might open his church. Clarke replied, "Assuredly you may. The Americans interfere with no religion or churches except to protect them from insult." The joy and enthusiasm of the French people became manifest in songs, in the construction of parti-colored pavilions and in adorning the streets with flowers.

Rocheblave, the captured commandant, alone was intractable and insulting, and him Clarke sent as a prisoner to Virginia, and sold his slaves for 5,000 pounds which he distributed as prize money among the troops. The Catholic priest, Gibault, immediately became one of Clarke's warmest friends and a devoted champion of the American cause.

Clarke at once sent off small detachments of his troops to take possession of Cahokia and other neighboring villages. The news of what had happened at Kaskaskia, the alliance of France with the Americans and the enthusiasm of Clarke's new friends, soon served to convert all the white inhabitants of the whole region into warm adherents of the United States, and all took the oath of allegiance to Congress.

**THE FRENCH AT VINCENNES RAISE THE AMERICAN FLAG**

Gibault begged the privilege of going to Vincennes, saying he felt sure he could secure the allegiance of all the people there to the American cause. He set off alone and returned the first of August, reporting that all the people had assembled in the church and had taken the oath of allegiance and that the American flag was flying over the fort. Gibault proved a most faithful friend and ally, and was unwearied in winning friends for the cause of the Americans and in providing money and supplies for the support of Clarke's troops. In the annals of the Northwest he deserves an honored place as one of the most loyal friends of America in the hour of need.

The whole Illinois and Wabash region swarmed with hostile Indians and Clarke's most difficult and trying task was to deal with them. They had been clothed, fed and armed by the British, for their raids against the American frontiers and they now swarmed by hundreds in Kaskaskia, greatly puzzled by the sudden change in the sentiments and action of the French. Insolent and threatening they filled the streets and intruded everywhere. Some of their chiefs and warriors even attempted to seize Clarke in his home and carry him off. Clarke's guards rescued him and the French immediately armed themselves in his behalf, thus proving to the savages that their friendship for the Americans was no mere pretense. Clarke ordered the creoles to seize the aggressors and put them in irons. The offending Indians were glad to escape with their lives. By his bold and confident demeanor, his artful diplomacy and his skill in Indian oratory, Clarke soon succeeded in disarming the Indians of their hostility and in winning them to a friendly alliance with the Americans.

**BRITISH DETERMINE TO RETAKE VINCENNES AND ILLINOIS POSTS**

Hamilton, at Detroit, heard with dismay of Clarke's success on the Wabash and Illinois. He knew that this, if unchecked, meant the ruin of all his plans for annihilating the Kentucky settlements and scattering blood and flame along the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers. He resolved to retake Vincennes and the Illinois towns and immediately set out with 400 picked Indian warriors of the lake regions and about 200 British and French Canadians. He paddled down the Detroit River, crossed the western end of Lake Erie and slowly toiled up the Maumee. By means of cattle and carts sent ahead he drew his heavy batteaux, cannon and stores across the Portage and launched them again on the Wabash, and proceeded toward Vincennes. Captain Helm, one of Clarke's officers, occupied the fort at Vincennes with a body of French militia. On hearing of Hamilton's approach the people of the town were terrified and the militia deserted in a body.

**GOVERNOR HAMILTON OCCUPIES VINCENNES**

Hamilton entered the town on the fifteenth of December, having consumed seventy days in his march from Detroit. Captain Helm occupied the fort with only one or two Americans. He promptly surrendered, on assurance from Hamilton, of humane treatment. The fickle French inhabitants made their peace with Hamilton, by assembling in the church and taking humiliating oaths of repentance and loyalty to the British. The French militia were given their weapons and enrolled in Hamilton's army. The French were no doubt in sympathy with the Americans, but they did not care to sacrifice their lives and homes for either side in the contest.

If Hamilton had now pushed on to the Illinois he could no doubt, with his large force, easily have reconquered the whole country, as Clarke had only about one hundred men upon whom he could depend. But Hamilton dreaded the long winter march. The severity of the weather and the impassable nature of the country led him to settle down in the fort at Vincennes, to await the mild weather of spring. He allowed most of his Indians to scatter for the winter in war and hunting parties, and he also sent away detachments of his white troops to fortify other posts. A number of them no doubt went to assist in the reduction of Fort Laurens on the Tuscarawas, which was besieged at this time.

During the winter, Hamilton planned a formidable campaign for the spring. He sent off emissaries to the South, with war belts to rally the Creeks, Cherokees and Chickasaws to his standard. He also arranged to have all the warriors of

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the lake region rejoin him, as well as the regulars and militia of Detroit. With this large force he planned to reconquer the Illinois country, on the opening of mild weather, and then to proceed against the Kentucky settlements, batter down their stockades with his cannon and drive all the Americans of the West, beyond the Alleghanies. There can be no doubt that if he had been left to himself, Hamilton would have easily executed his plans.

### **CLARKE PLANS TO RECAPTURE VINCENNES**

But in Clarke he had an adversary of indomitable courage, remarkable foresight and great military genius. Fortunately for Clarke he had, early upon his arrival in the Illinois country, secured the friendship of a certain successful trader by the name of Francis Vigo, whose headquarters were at St. Louis. Vigo ventured to Vincennes in the winter of 1778 and 1779 and was thrown into prison by Hamilton. Upon being released he came to Kaskaskia late in January and told Clarke that Hamilton had only fifty men in garrison with but a few light cannons mounted, but that he was preparing a large force to take the offensive as soon as winter broke.

Clarke instantly determined to anticipate his enemy's movements and march against Vincennes, for he said, "If I do not capture Hamilton, he will take me." He first equipped a row-galley with stores, two four pounders, four swivels and a crew of forty men, and sent her down the river with instructions to Lieutenant Rogers her commander, to ascend the Wabash within a few miles of Vincennes and there await further orders. The galley was named the "Willing" and was the first gun boat floated on western waters.

### **CLARKE'S ARMY STARTS FOR VINCENNES**

Clarke gathered his little garrison from the French towns, enlisted a few more creoles, and on the fifth of February, 1779, with 170 men, started on his memorable march of 240 miles for Vincennes.

A February thaw came on, and through steaming mists, pouring rains and the deep standing water that flooded the level, miry country, the devoted band of patriots struggled on toward the distant goal. Clarke's success depended on the valor and spirits of his men. He encouraged them to hunt the buffalo, deer, elk, bear and wild turkeys, with which the country abounded, and, at night, having no tents, they built camp fires, roasted their game, danced, sang songs and amused themselves with tales of love and war. After a week's march they came to the "drowned lands" of the Wabash. The melting ice and incessant rains had flooded the whole country. The two branches of the little Wabash formed but one stream and it was five miles from the higher land of the west to the opposite hills. Three days were spent in building a piroque, in ferrying the men and baggage, swimming the pack horses over the streams, and in wading the flooded plain between.

### **HARDSHIPS OF THE CAMPAIGN**

The men began to suffer from hunger and exposure. The floods had driven away most of the game and they were getting so near Vincennes that they dared not fire their guns for fear of discovery. They came to the Embarras River, but could not cross it, so they followed the stream down to the Wabash, wading through water waist deep and huddling at night, cold, wet and hungry, upon unsubmerged hillocks. They at last made and captured enough canoes to ferry themselves across the Wabash to the eastern bank on which Vincennes stood. But it still seemed impossible to reach the town for in every direction stretched leagues of ice-cold water with only a few little hills rising like islands above the flood. The cold rains continued to pour down and the men had now been without food for three days. Some of the troops became discouraged and the creole volunteers talked of going home, but Clarke led the way in person and cheered and animated his followers with jokes, songs and promises of certain victory.

Thus they journeyed on, the weak and famished in the canoes, and the stronger wading breast high in water. Once they came to a place so deep and swift, it seemed impossible to cross, and the canoes could find no ford. The troops huddled together in silent despair. Suddenly Clarke blackened his face with gunpowder, gave a war-whoop and plunged up to his neck in the ice-cold water.

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His men followed without a word. They reached that night a hillock covered with maples where there was a sugar camp. The night was bitterly cold but the sun rose bright and warm, and Clarke again led forth his men, cheering them in every possible way.

They came to a place called Horse Shoe Plain which the floods had converted into a lake four miles wide. Here they experienced the greatest hardship of the entire march. Clarke plunged boldly into the water aiming for a woods on the distant shore. The water was ice cold and breast high to the troops. Midway, some of the weaker men became exhausted and had to be rescued by the canoes. After superhuman struggles and incredible suffering they all got ashore and built fires in the woods. Some of the men captured an Indian canoe containing buffalo meat of which they made broth to revive the shivering and famished men.

In the afternoon they set off again and after rowing and wading, reached a point from which they could see the fort and the town two miles away. Here they captured a creole horseman, out shooting ducks, and learned from him that neither Hamilton nor the towns-people had the least intimation of their approach. Clarke decided that the boldest course was the safest, so he sent off the prisoner with a letter to announce his approach, proclaiming to the inhabitants that he was about to attack the town, that his friends should remain in their houses, that his enemies should repair to the "hair buyer general" in the fort, and fight for their lives. The backwoodsmen called Hamilton "the hair buyer" because they attributed many of the fearful wrongs they had suffered in the back settlements, to the murderous hordes that had been incited to their bloody deeds by Hamilton's rewards for scalps.

### VINCENNES OCCUPIED AND HAMILTON MADE PRISONER

Clarke's plan worked better than he expected. His friends repaired to their houses and a few British sympathizers hastily left the town with a number of hostile Indians, not even stopping to inform the garrison of Clarke's approach. He entered the town at seven o'clock in the evening of February twenty-third, 1779, having made his long and perilous winter march from Kaskaskia in nineteen days.

Clarke immediately attacked the fort and kept up a hot fire throughout the night, throwing up an intrenchment to protect his men from the cannon and swivels. As daylight approached, Clarke's skilled riflemen concentrated their fire upon the port holes and killed and wounded seven or eight men of the garrison and silenced several of the cannon. Early in the day Clarke summoned the fort to surrender and while waiting for the answer the backwoodsmen took breakfast, the first regular meal for six days. Hamilton refused to surrender and the firing began again. The cannon balls from the fort tore up the earth and crashed through the houses of the towns but did Clarke's men no damage, while the bullets from the backwoodsmen's rifles, hissed through the port holes with deadly and terrifying effect.

In the afternoon Hamilton sent out a flag of truce and the two commanders met in the old French church, where Hamilton agreed that his garrison, seventy-nine men in all, should surrender as prisoners of war. The garrison marched out and delivered up their arms and the Virginia woodsmen and creole militia marched in and took possession. The row-galley arrived soon after the capture and the crew was bitterly disappointed that they had not come in time to take part in the fighting.

### GOVERNOR HAMILTON IMPRISONED IN VIRGINIA

Most of the British prisoners were paroled and permitted to return to Detroit, but Hamilton and twenty-six others were sent as prisoners to Virginia. Hamilton was held in close confinement for a long time but was finally set free by the intercession of Washington. The Northwest was henceforth freed from his baneful presence and influence, and his great plan for crushing the Illinois towns and Kentucky settlements and raiding the Alleghany frontier came to naught.

The dream of Clarke's life was to lead an expedition against Detroit and capture that important fort but he never succeeded in doing this. The men and

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the means were lacking and the impoverished American Congress could not help him. But he bravely held what he had won in the West and Southwest and when the revolutionary struggle was over and the time came for a treaty of peace, the full significance of Clarke's conquest was realized.

### **TREATY OF PEACE WITH GREAT BRITAIN**

The American peace commissioners who negotiated the peace treaty of 1783, were Adams, Franklin, Jay and Laurens. France, who had aided the Americans in the war, was none too friendly when it came to fixing the boundaries of the new republic, and was jealous and fearful of its future greatness and expansion. Spain set up an absurd claim to the whole valley of the Mississippi and was supported by France; the feeble Continental Congress had instructed its commissioners to make no treaty without heeding the suggestion of our French ally. England having conceded the main point of independence for the colonies was practically indifferent as to the extent of territory ceded and saw no special advantage to be gained for herself by yielding to the demands of France and Spain.

And thus many weeks were frittered away in vain talk and profitless negotiation. Through it all, Jay alone was firm in declaring that the boundary must be fixed at the Mississippi and not at the Alleghanies. He quickly perceived that France, through Count Vergennes, was intriguing with Spain to hem the Americans between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic. Jay pointed out this fact to Adams and urged that they negotiate the treaty with England alone. Adams adopted the views of Jay and the peace treaty was quickly signed with the English commissioners, to the surprise and chagrin of France and Spain whose mutterings were powerless to annul it.

And thus passed into American hands the vast and fertile domain bounded by the Mississippi, the Alleghanies and the Great Lakes of the North. The unflinching heroism of George Rogers Clarke and his backwoods rangers, and the matchless diplomacy of John Jay, saved the great Northwest from the dominion of a foreign king and made it the home of forty million free Americans.

### **DIPLOMACY OF JOHN JAY**

The matchless diplomacy of John Jay during the negotiations of the Peace Treaty of 1783 and the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation of 1794, reinforced by the military operations of Clarke (1778-9), Harmer (1791), St. Clair (1792), and Anthony Wayne (1794), resulted in the evacuation by the British of all American Posts. It also resulted in the opening up for white settlement of that vast and fertile domain lying west of the Alleghanies and between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers comprising what is known as the Old Northwest territory, and the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.

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as, in some measure, traitors and recreant to the Indian race, in that they consorted with white men and adopted the ways of peace and civilization. The tory leaders, McKee, Girty and Elliott, who under the British Governor, Hamilton were continually urging the Indians to attack the whites, were extremely hostile to the Moravians whose influence was always for peace. The British leaders about Detroit and the Sandusky plains suspected that the Moravians gave warning to the whites whenever a war party was mustering to attack the frontiers.

A cardinal principal of the Moravians was non-resistance to enemies and peace and good-will to all men. There is abundant evidence that the sympathies of the Moravians were with the whites and that they did on several occasions prompted by sentiments of humanity, send runners to the authorities at Pittsburgh to warn them of intended British and Indian raids, and thus prevent bloodshed and desolation along the frontiers. But for these kindly services they received no credit with the whites, as the officers were obliged to keep secret the sources of their information.

### FRIENDLY WYANDOTS URGE MORAVIANS TO MIGRATE TO THE MAUMEE

Pomoacan, the Half King of the Wyandots, waited upon the Moravians accompanied by a large retinue of warriors and urged them to abandon their villages and move to the Maumee (Miami) where they might cultivate their fields in peace and be secure from hostility of both whites and Indians. The missionaries gave a firm but gentle refusal to this request, stating that they were friends of all men, that they desired to be left alone and undisturbed in a peaceful neutrality.

From the year 1776 onward, the Indian ravages on the frontiers became frequent and terrible. The white people on the border saw that the Moravian villages served as a sort of recruiting station, or half-way house, where the savages who raided the border stopped and obtained rest and refreshments, both coming and going. Indeed the Moravians did not dare to refuse entertainment to the war parties who passed through their settlements or they would have brought upon themselves immediate destruction. When a war party returned from the frontier with plunder and captives the Moravians received them kindly, gave them food and did all in their power to alleviate the sufferings of the wretched prisoners. They even ransomed captives occasionally and returned them to their friends.

They also received hospitably the retaliatory bands of white men in pursuit of Indian war parties. But it enraged the whites to learn that only a few hours before, perhaps, the inhuman fiends who had burned their houses and murdered or carried off their wives and children, had rested and eaten in the Moravian villages. At times the whites would find in the Moravian towns articles which had been plundered from their own homes. And it is doubtless true, as the Moravian historians assert, that these articles were purposely left by the retreating savages to draw upon the Christian Indians the wrath of the white borderers.

### DELAWARES OF MUSKINGUM VALLEY JOIN BRITISH

The Delawares under Netawatwes at Goshocking, remained for a long time the friends and protectors of the Moravians, but the influence of the Shawnees and Wyandots, finally prevailed and the Delawares of the Muskingum valley went over to the British.

Owing to the capture of Governor Hamilton at Vincennes by Clarke, and the influence of the Moravians, there was no general combination of the western Indians against the Americans until 1780. By that time the Franco-American alliance and the growth of the Kentucky settlements had rendered the worst disasters impossible. But fearful ravages were committed by scattered war parties. The hitherto peaceful village of Goshocking at the Muskingum Forks sent out bands of savage warriors who spread havoc through the Monongahela region.

### **COLONEL BROADHEAD'S EXPEDITION AGAINST MUSKINGUM INDIANS**

Colonel Broadhead, commanding at Pittsburgh, in the summer of 1781, determined to punish the savage horde whose headquarters were at the Forks of the Muskingum. He raised a body of 800 militia and marched upon Goshocking. He halted near the Moravian town Gnadenhutten and sent in a request for supplies. The peaceful Indians and the Moravians immediately sent out to the camp an abundance of provisions for the troops. Heckewelder was invited to visit the camp and while he was receiving assurances of friendship and good-will of the whites from the commander, an officer rushed in, informing Broadhead that the militia were breaking off to attack the Moravians and destroy their towns. Broadhead hurried out and it required the utmost exertions of himself and his subordinate officers to prevent the enraged and lawless militia from falling upon the helpless Moravians and destroying them and their villages. This ought to have been a sufficient warning to the missionaries of the temper of the whites, but they still continued in their perilous position of neutrals.

### **BROADHEAD CAPTURES GOSHOCKING**

Broadhead marched on to the Forks, divided his force into three divisions and surrounded the town of Goshocking at day-break. The Indians were taken utterly by surprise and the entire population was captured. Sixteen of the savages were recognized as having recently been engaged in atrocities on the border. They were tomahawked on the spot. The rest were marched off toward Pittsburgh, but after going a short distance the militia fell upon the captive Indians and killed them, sparing only women and children.

### **MORAVIANS DISREGARD REPEATED WARNINGS OF DANGER**

Considering the extreme hostility of the savage Indians about Detroit and Sandusky, and the sudden suspicion and bitterness of the white frontiersmen near the Ohio River it was inevitable that the Moravians would sooner or later meet with destruction. The missionaries had received repeated warnings of the fate that awaited them if they continued to dwell in the war-path of contending enemies. But a dumb apathy, or a stubborn clinging to their homes and fields, seemed to possess the Moravians, and their constant reply to the entreaties and warnings they received was, "We are too heavy to think of going away," meaning that they were in possession of too much property to remove.

Much of the responsibility for the direful fate that came upon the Moravians must rest upon their teachers and pastors. They had taught the simple-minded Indian converts the duty of non-resistance and implicit obedience. If the missionaries had said the word the Indians would have defended themselves, or would have gladly followed their beloved instructors to Pennsylvania or to some safe settlement on the Maumee or the Wabash. But the repeated invitation from both sides to come within either the British or American lines, the frequent warnings and hostile demonstrations produced no effect upon the missionaries who continued blindly to trust that their peaceful occupations and neutral attitude would save them from the storm of vindictive passion raging around them.

The first blow fell upon them from the British and Indians. On the eleventh of August, 1781, about three hundred Wyandots and Delawares from the lake region led by the Half King, Pomoacan, and Captain Pipe, and accompanied by a body of white rangers under Elliott the tory leader, appeared at Gnadenhutten and demanded that the Moravians withdraw from the Tuscarawas valley and remove to the Sandusky plains. The missionaries begged for more time and pointed to their ungathered crops of corn, vegetables and fruit. But the chiefs, urged by Elliott, who scented pillage and plunder, insisted upon the removal.

Pomoacan addressed the Moravians, saying, "Cousins, ye believing Indians in Gnadenhutten, Schoenbrun and Salem, I am much concerned on your account, perceiving that you live in a dangerous spot. Two powerful, angry and merciless gods stand ready, opening wide their jaws against each other; you are sitting down between both, and are thus in danger of being devoured and ground to powder by the teeth of either one or the other, or both."

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The Moravians still pleaded for time, and promised to give a favorable answer after their crops were harvested, but Elliott and the wild Indians were inexorable.

### MISSIONARIES RELUCTANTLY ABANDON THEIR VILLAGES

The missionaries were seized and imprisoned in a house and the pillage of crops and houses and the slaughter of the cattle and hogs began. After the plundering had gone on for some time the missionaries sorrowfully consented to go with the Indians and British to Sandusky. The Moravians throughout their whole history in Europe and America had been inured to great persecution and frequent removals, "but they never," says Loskiell, their historian, "forsook any country with more reluctance."

They were now obliged to forsake three beautiful settlements, Gnadenhutten, Salem and Schoenbrun and the greater part of their possession in them. They had already lost about two hundred head of horned cattle and four hundred hogs. Besides this, they left a great quantity of Indian corn in store, three hundred acres of corn land where the harvest was just ripening, besides potatoes, cabbage and other roots and garden fruits in the ground. According to a moderate calculation their loss was computed at twelve thousand dollars or two thousand pounds. But what gave them most pain was the total loss of all their books and writings for the instruction of their youth. These were all burnt by the savages.

The Moravians followed their hostile red brethren down the Tuscarawas to Goshocking and then ascended the Walhonding by canoes to its source and thence journeyed by land to the Sandusky plains. On this long and toilsome journey, through thicket, bog and forest, the wife of John Heckewelder carried in her arms the first white child that is known to have been born in Ohio.

When the Moravians reached the Sandusky River the wild Indians left them. Dazed and bewildered they roved aimlessly about through the dreary waste and finally selected a spot where they settled down and built some rude huts of logs and bark. They had been stripped of everything by the thieving wild Indians and during the severe winter that followed they suffered incredible hardships from cold and hunger.

The missionaries were carried off to Detroit and arraigned before De Peyster, the British commandant, on a charge of conniving with the Americans. As there was no proof to support such a charge, De Peyster soon released them and permitted them to return to the Christian Indians at Sandusky. But through the insatiate malice of McKee, Girty and Elliott, they were not suffered to dwell with their beloved Indian converts but were again seized and sent away to Detroit.

### MISSIONARIES RETURN TO THE TUSCARAWAS FOR HARVEST

And now we come to the darkest part of the tragic story. Early in the spring of 1782, about 150 of the destitute and starving Moravians returned to their villages on the Tuscarawas to harvest some of their corn that had been left standing in the fields over winter. These Christian Indians divided themselves into three parties, one for each village, and began gathering their corn in the fields adjacent to the villages.

In February, it happened that there had been fine weather and some of the Sandusky Indians had taken advantage of it to make a number of murderous raids upon the frontier, and several white families were butchered with circumstances of horrible atrocity. Four Sandusky Indians in particular, captured some prisoners on the frontier and impaled two of them, a woman and a child. With the remaining prisoners they stopped at the Moravian towns and ate and rested before their retreat, at the same time warning the Moravians that the whites were pursuing and that vengeance would doubtless fall upon them. But the innocent Moravians, benumbed by their misfortunes and privations, continued to work in their fields, oblivious of their impending doom.



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### **EXPEDITION OF DAVID WILLIAMSON AGAINST MORAVIANS**

In the meantime, a company of eighty or ninety frontiersmen gathered together under the leadership of David Williamson, a militia colonel, and set out to destroy the Moravian towns. In three days they reached the villages on the Tuscarawas and found the peaceful Indians at work in their corn fields. By kind words and fair promises the borderers induced the Indians of Salem and Gnadenhutten to give up their arms and assemble in the latter village. The unsuspecting Moravians were then seized, to the number of about ninety, bound and confined in two houses, the men in one and the women and children in another. The inhabitants of Schoenbrun received a timely warning and escaped into the forests.

The frontiersmen now held council to determine what should be done with the prisoners. Those who were in favor of sparing the lives of the Indians were asked to step forward into a front rank. Only eighteen of the entire number of this band of inhuman and cowardly miscreants voted to spare the helpless and unfortunate prisoners and these retired calling upon God to witness that they washed their hands of the blood of the innocent victims.

The Moravians were now notified that they were to be put to death. At first some of them fell to weeping and entreating for mercy. But soon realizing that their sentence was fixed, with Christian resignation, they only asked time to prepare for death. This request was granted and throughout the night of March seventh, the Indians, true to the faith of their teachers, busied themselves with prayer, with messages of love, comfort and farewell to one another, and in singing "hymns of hope and praise to the Most High."

### **SLAUGHTER OF THE MISSIONARIES**

On the morning of the eighth, the white butchers entered the houses and with gun, spear, knife and hatchet put to death their unresisting victims. Only two Indian boys, scalped and covered with blood, escaped from the heap of the slain and made their way to the Sandusky plains with the news of the awful tragedy. Williamson and his band of ruthless murderers fired the houses in which were heaped the slain and then returned to the white settlements of the border.

Doddridge and other historians have tried to excuse or palliate the atrocity of this bloody deed, but in spite of all the mitigating circumstances that may be recounted, the blood of all just men will boil with shame and indignation whenever this heartless and fiendish deed is recalled to memory. That cold and shameless butchery of innocent men, women and children has cast a stigma upon the white race that centuries of civilization cannot efface. A day of terrible retribution was near at hand for the border people who either took part in the massacre of the helpless Moravians or who so readily forgave and condoned that shameful butchery.

### **EXPEDITION AGAINST SANDUSKY DELAWARES AND WYANDOTS**

Williamson and his men had no sooner returned to their homes than the borderers set about organizing another expedition to proceed to the Sandusky plains and destroy the Delawares and Wyandots dwelling there. It has been claimed by some writers that the express object of the expedition was to complete the destruction of the Moravians who were scattered among wild Indians along the Sandusky River. It is not probable that the expedition was organized solely for this purpose, though the temper of the frontiersmen made it certain that had they found the remnant of the Moravians at the Sandusky River they would not have hesitated to complete the destruction begun by Williamson and his band at Gnadenhutten.

There can be little doubt however that the main object of the new expedition was to inflict dire punishment upon the wild Sandusky Indians who under British influence had been for so many years ravaging, burning and murdering along the frontier and often far into the interior of the white settlements.

**COLONEL WILLIAM CRAWFORD ELECTED COMMANDER**

On the twenty-fifth of May, 1782, a little more than two months after the Moravian massacre, 480 Pennsylvania and Virginia militia from the border regions assembled at the old Mingotown just below Stubenville on the western side of the Ohio River. They held an election to choose a commander for the expedition. The candidates were Colonel William Crawford and the same Williamson who had commanded at the massacre. Crawford was chosen by a majority of only five votes. He was a just and upright man and was highly esteemed by Washington, but he seemed to have had no special fitness for the hazardous and daring command now given him. The troops were well armed and were all well mounted upon the best horses that could be found but they were an unruly, undisciplined class of men, only a few experienced Indian fighters among them.

C. W. Butterfield has written the history of this expedition, giving minute details and valuable information, but his attempt to make the men composing the little army appear as brave and wary heroes will not bear searching criticism. Williamson himself and many others of the men who aided in the bloody deed at Gnadenhutten, were of the party and neither prudence nor bravery could be expected of them. The truth is the expedition was badly managed from beginning to end and resulted in defeat and disaster. Even before they left the Ohio their number and destination were known to their red foe and swift Indian runners dogged their march, watched their encampments and spied upon their every movement from the time they left the Mingo bottom until they reached the Sandusky plains. While Crawford's mounted militia were approaching, firing their guns at game along the route and swarming in undisciplined encampments at night, the Indian tribes of Ohio were mustering for revenge. They sent off to Detroit for aid and the British commandant readily sent them a body of Indians and a company of rangers under Captain Caldwell.

After nine days of marching through the unbroken forests, Crawford's command came out upon the Sandusky plains. Before them stretched undulating prairie, covered with tall, coarse grass and patches of timber, where all kinds of game abounded. On the sixth day of June, the Moravian village on the head waters of the Sandusky was reached but the army found it deserted. The officers held a council and resolved to march one day longer in the direction of Upper Sandusky.

**INDIANS ATTACK CRAWFORD'S ADVANCE GUARD**

Late in the afternoon, Crawford's advance guard was attacked by Indians hidden in the tall grass. Soon a fierce battle was raging and the Indians were dislodged from a grove of which they had taken partial possession. The Indians lying hidden in the grass poured in a hot fire upon the whites who returned it from the shelter of the timber. The fight continued several hours and Crawford's troops failed to gain any great advantage over their foes. The white militia, (among whom were so many of the Moravian murderers), did not show themselves particularly expert in killing Indians who had weapons in their hands. In the battle Crawford lost nineteen men killed and wounded and the enemy seventeen.

Night came and the firing ceased. Both sides built large fires along the lines and retiring back of these slept on their arms to prevent a night attack. Next morning the Indians did not renew the attack. They were waiting for reinforcements. The only hope for the Americans lay in crushing their enemies before reinforcements could arrive, but instead of doing this they lay all day idle in the grove, except for occasional stray shots fired at skulking savages in the grass. The generalship of Crawford seems to have been as bad as the fighting capacity of his men.

**DISASTROUS RETREAT OF CRAWFORD'S FRONTIERSMEN**

In the afternoon the Indians were reinforced by one hundred and forty Shawnees, and Crawford's men saw in the direction of Sandusky the gleam of British uniforms and cannon. The dismayed militia now thought of nothing but

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flight. That night at nine o'clock the sentinels were withdrawn, the wounded were placed on stretchers and the militia began a hurried and disorderly retreat. Firing was heard in the rear, the whole command was thrown into a panic, some got into the marsh and the wounded were abandoned to their fate. Many got scattered in small parties and the next morning only about three hundred were left together in one body. Less than three hundred reached the frontier in safety. The rest, except a few who straggled back to the frontier singly or in groups of twos and threes, were captured in small squads and put to death by the most horrible torture.

### **CRAWFORD CAPTURED AND BURNED AT THE STAKE**

Crawford while seeking for his son and other near relatives, got lost from the main body during the confusion of the night retreat and together with a physician named Knight, fell next day into the hands of a small party of Delawares. He was taken to a spot on the eastern bank of Tymochtee creek about three miles west of Upper Sandusky. There in the presence of about a hundred Indians, consisting of warriors, squaws and children, Crawford suffered death from the most excruciating torture. He was stripped naked and tied to a high stake. A ring of hickory poles was built about six yards from the stake so that the fire might only roast and scorch him and thus prolong his torture. Crawford was tied at such a length that he might walk two or three times around the stake. The Indians first fired at short range seventy loads of powder into his body from his feet up to his neck, burning and blackening the flesh. They kindled the hickory poles and the awful death by fire began. Hideous old squaws shoved the ends of burning poles against his body and strewed the red hot embers beneath his feet. For two or three hours he bravely endured the dreadful torment, walking about the stake and in a low voice calling upon the Almighty to have mercy upon his soul. He then lay down when his tormentors scalped him and showered live coals upon his blackened but seemingly insensate body. He again rose and walked slowly about the stake a few times then fell down and died. Simon Girty and a number of Wyandots stood near laughing at his agony but taking no part in the torture.

### **ESCAPE OF DOCTOR KNIGHT**

Dr. Knight was compelled to sit near and gaze upon the dreadful scene. During the burning of Crawford, Knight was taunted by Girty and told that he too would soon suffer a like fate at the Shawnee towns. Knight was placed in charge of a burly savage named Turtulu, to be conducted to the Shawnee village. On the way he made friends with the Indian and when the latter stopped to build a fire, Knight offered to assist him if Turtulu would unbind the thongs which, Knight complained, hurt his wrists. Turtulu complied and, loosing the thongs, stooped to blow the fire. Knight seized a dogwood stick and struck the savage a stunning blow. Knight seized the Indian's rifle but cocked it with such force that he broke the lock. Turtulu sprang to his feet and seeing the rifle in Knight's hands fled with a yell into the tall grass and bushes. Knight threw away the useless rifle and hastened homeward subsisting upon young birds and berries by the way. Torn, blackened and emaciated he finally reached the Ohio and was safe among friends. He afterwards wrote, as an eye witness, a minute account of the expedition, of Crawford's death and his own escape.

The failure of the expedition and Crawford's dreadful fate excited the greatest horror and consternation throughout the country. Crawford was a valued friend of Washington and was greatly beloved and respected along the frontier. Many recognized that in this deplorable event the red men of Ohio had taken a just vengeance for the pitiless murder of the helpless brethren at Gnadenhutten. A marble monument on the banks of the Tymochtee marks the spot where Crawford's life went out in fire, and reminds the men of today of the direful suffering and tragedy through which our fore-fathers passed before the land was won.

## Midwest Historical Notes

**Ten Foremost Ohioans Named**—Sponsored by the "Cleveland Plain Dealer," a group of thirty citizens of the State, has recently chosen the ten most famous Ohioans, who died prior to 1932 and who were either born in Ohio or who performed their greatest service to mankind in this State. The judges comprised: thirteen educators, ten historians and seven of various vocations. It is interesting to note that three hundred and eight names were considered. By a process of elimination, these were reduced to forty-six and finally to the following ten, viz.:

- 1—Thomas Alva Edison .....1847-1931—Invention
- 2—William Holmes McGuffey .....1800-1873—Education
- 3—Ulysses Simpson Grant.....1822-1885—War
- 4—Wilbur Wright .....1867-1912—Invention
- 5—William Dean Howells.....1837-1920—Literature
- 6—William Howard Taft .....1857-1930—Statecraft
- 7—Salmon Portland Chase .....1808-1873—Law
- 8—Harriet Beecher Stowe.....1811-1896—Literature
- 9—William Rainey Harper .....1856-1906—Education
- 10—John Sherman .....1823-1900—Statecraft

**United States gets Confederate Cemetery on Lake Isle**—Sandusky, Ohio, May 19th—The historic cemetery on Johnson Island, where 604 Confederate officers are buried, becomes the property of the federal government on Wednesday next.

The island, which is the most lonely and isolated of the group lying off the mainland here, was used as a prison camp for officers of the Confederacy during the civil war. At one time there were more than 3,500 prisoners there.

**George Washington Bicentennial Celebration**—Anthony Wayne Chapter, of the Ohio Society, Sons of the American Revolution, dedicated an American white elm at Highland Park, Toledo, Ohio, on May Day, Sunday, May 1, 1932, as its contribution to the George Washington Bicentennial celebration.

This elm, a pedigreed tree now about twenty feet high, was grown from seed gathered many years ago in Alexandria, Virginia, by Mr. Robert Bingham, of Alexandria, and planted in Toledo about twenty years ago, by Mr. Milton L. Moore, former Superintendent of Parks and Boulevards.

The parent tree was planted by George and Martha Washington on a small piece of ground owned by them, at the intersection of Pitt and Cameron Streets in Alexandria.

**Ohio's Shrine to the Composer of "Dixie"**—Daniel Decatur Emmett was born and died in Mount Vernon, Ohio.

In 1843 he organized the Virginia Minstrels, which is said to have been the first minstrel troupe. From 1857 to 1865 he was employed by the Bryant Minstrels as musician and composer of negro melodies and plantation walk-arounds. He composed hundreds of songs, many of which were never published. "Dixie" was a chance hit.

After the performance on one Saturday evening in 1859, when the company was in New York, Jerry Bryant asked him to write a "walk-around" of the plantation type and have it ready for rehearsal Monday. He tried to compose a song that night, but failed. On Sunday morning he picked up his violin and played snatches of melodies in an effort to compose something acceptable.

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The morning was cold and rainy. He walked idly to the window and looked down at the dreary street. Often he had traveled with minstrel troupes and circuses in the sunny South, and the contrast in the weather there came to his mind. Half to himself and half to his wife, he said, "I wish I was in Dixie land." Humming these words, he wove the now-famous melody "Dixie." He then composed a stanza and the chorus, and finally other stanzas.

The song immediately became popular. In the Civil War, which was soon to follow, it became the war song of the Confederacy.

A memorial tablet, recently unveiled in Mount Vernon by the United Daughters of the Confederacy reads as follows:

1815—1904  
In Grateful Remembrance of  
DANIEL DECATUR EMMETT  
Composer of "Dixie" Whose Melody Inspired  
And Encouraged the Southern People  
And Now Thrills the Hearts of a Reunited Nation  
Presented to the City of Mount Vernon  
By the Ohio Division  
United Daughters of the Confederacy  
1931

—See "Musical America," April 10, 1932.

**Lincolnia**—The Lincoln Historical Research Foundation (Dr. L. A. Warren, Editor), endowed by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Co., publishes a very readable and instructive weekly bulletin entitled, "Lincoln Lore." One hundred and sixty-eight numbers have been issued to date.

At Gentryville on March 1, 1930, Spencer County dedicated two stone markers, one on the site of the Jones store, where Lincoln clerked for three years and the other at the point where the neighbors assembled and bade farewell to the family as they started westward.

Recent newspaper notices stated that the corner cupboard made by Abraham Lincoln more than a century ago for Mrs. Elizabeth Crawford, has been purchased from Mrs. Maud Cryderman of Peru, by Henry Ford, for his museum at Dearborn, Michigan.

"The Indianapolis Star" has recently published an illustrated feature article entitled, "102 years ago Lincoln took his long, flat boat ride from Rockport, Ind. to New Orleans, La." Pictures of the Lincoln flat boat as it looked in 1828 and the old boat landing near Rockport, appeared with the article.

The Historical Pageant, "When Lincoln went flat boating from Rockport" given biennially by the Spencer County Historical Society at Rocky Side Park, was presented July 4, 1930, with a cast composed of 165 people.

**Lincoln Memorial Highway**—June 2, 1932, in Cannelton, Indiana, the first stake in the proposed Lincoln Memorial Highway, was driven by Governor Leslie of Indiana. This marks the official beginning of the memorial highway, a road to extend from Abraham Lincoln's birthplace at Hodgenville, Kentucky, to the martyred President's last resting place in Springfield, Illinois.

Governor Harry G. Leslie, of Indianapolis, was in attendance at the celebration on June 2nd, and drove the first right-of-way stake at the court house in Cannelton. The entire membership of the Lincoln Memorial Highway commission, the state highway commission of Indiana, as well as representatives from the Lincoln Memorial Highway commission of Kentucky and Illinois were present to assist in this ceremony.

When the Governors of Illinois, Indiana and Kentucky appointed a commission in each State to find the actual route Lincoln followed after he left his home in La Rue County, Kentucky, they were greatly surprised at the many claims that were brought up. The Kentucky Commission was confronted with claims from West Point, down the river as far as Rockport, Indiana.

Historical records reveal that the Lincoln family crossed the Ohio River at Cloverport when they made their famous pilgrimage from Kentucky to Indiana.

Colonel David R. Murray, a veteran of the War of 1812, was living at Hardinsburg during the period Lincoln passed. He saw Lincoln and talked to

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him. His description of the Lincoln outfit is as follow: A two-wheeled wagon drawn by a yoke of oxen, a cow leading behind the wagon and an old colored slave. He fed little Abe and sister on the steps of the old Murray home, giving them bread and milk. Thomas Lincoln and his family then left Hardinsburg and went to Joeville (now Cloverport), his cart being carried across the Ohio River on a raft made of logs. The cattle were made to swim the river behind the raft.

The ferrymen, Jacob Weatherholt and John De Haven were old pioneers, and they too, talked with Mr. Lincoln and his family. Their description of the outfit coincided with Colonel Murray's. Milly Pate, daughter of Jacob Weatherholt, who died June 11, 1914, at the age of 97, told the same story and said her father, Jacob Weatherholt, related to her the incident.

These stories are backed up by recorded memories of Jacob Weatherholt's son and are to be found in the old deed book at Cannelton, Indiana, which gives identically the same description of the crossing of the river in 1816."

—See "Breckenridge News."

**Charles Elihu Slocum, M. D., 1841-1915—Ph. D., L. L. D.**—Author of "The Ohio Country, 1783-1815," "History of the Maumee River Basin" and many magazine articles on history, erected his own tomb at Defiance, and inscribed on the four sides thereof the following, viz.:

(1) Charles Elihu Slocum, M.D. Columbia University, Ph.D. University of Pennsylvania. Practiced medicine and surgery at Defiance, Ohio, from July 13, 1871. He carried Cheer, Hope and Relief into many afflicted households.

(2) The governing principle of his business life was to always make it more to the interest of others to patronize him than it was to his interest to be patronized by them. He was successful.

(3) The names of American ancestors of Charles Elihu Slocum are:

Caleb W. 8	Joseph 7	Eleazer 6	John 5
Eleazer 4	Giles 3	Eleazer 2	Anthony 1

who came from Taunton, England and was one of the founders of Taunton, Mass., in the year 1637 A.D. He was free from the use of tobacco, alcoholic beverages and other habits that enslave the will. He combatted the fictions of life.

(4) The periods of recreation from his professional labors were given to Genealogical, Scientific and Historical Researches. He was a constant hard worker.

**Fort Defiance**—Inscription on bronze tablet at site of Fort Defiance, Ohio, erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

"Fort Defiance was erected upon this site by General Anthony Wayne, August 9, 1794, and thus the Grand Emporium of the hostile Indians of the West was gained without loss of blood. From this point General Wayne advanced against the Indians and signally defeated them in the Battle of Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794. At this strategic center in October, 1792, convened the largest Indian council ever held on the American Continent. Fort Defiance was an important military post in the War of 1812."

**Fort Ouiatenon**—The Tippecanoe County Historical Association has recently erected a replica of the original log block house on the site of old Fort Ouiatenon on the Wabash River, southwest of Lafayette. The old fort was established by the French in 1719, and was the earliest trading post of white men in Indiana. The Association has acquired nine acres of land on the site of the fort.

The replica of the block house on the site of the old fort was dedicated June 14, 1930, under the auspices of the Tippecanoe County Historical Society.

**West Virginia Encyclopedia**—This encyclopedia is a comprehensive book of reference for West Virginia, covering all important cities, industries, institutions, natural features and biographies and is profusely illustrated. It is said to be the first general reference book of one State to be published in the United States. It is published by the West Virginia Publishing Company at Charleston.